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PVBLI VERGILI MARONIS  
AENEIDOS  
LIBER QVARTVS

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## SIGLA

<i>A</i>	=	Augusteus; Vat. Lat. 3256 + Berol. 2, 416 . . . . .	S. IV
<i>F</i>	=	Vat. Lat. 3225 . . . . .	S. IV
<i>G</i>	=	Sangallensis 1394 . . . . .	S. IV
<i>M</i>	=	Mediceus; Laurent. 39, 1 . . . . .	S. V
<i>P</i>	=	Vat. Palat. 1631 . . . . .	S. IV-V
<i>R</i>	=	Romanus; Vat. Lat. 3867 . . . . .	S. V
<i>V</i>	=	Veron. XL, 38 . . . . .	S. IV
<i>O. P. 1099</i>	=	Oxyrhynchus Papyri, no. 1099 . . . . .	S. V
<i>Pap. Fl.</i>	=	Papyrus Florent. ( <i>Pap. gr. e lat.</i> 1 (1912), 47, no. 21)	S. V
<i>a</i>	=	Bern. 172 + Paris. Bibl. Nat. 7929 . . . . .	S. IX
<i>b</i>	=	Bern. 165 . . . . .	S. IX
<i>c</i>	=	Bern. 184 . . . . .	S. IX
<i>f</i>	=	Vat. Lat. 3225 ( <i>Aen.</i> 4, 93-120) . . . . .	S. X
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<i>a</i>	=	Mediol. Ambros. 35 . . . . .	S. XIII-XIV
$\gamma$	=	Guelferbytanus Gudianus 2, 70 . . . . .	S. IX
$\pi$	=	Pragensis S. Viti L. 86 . . . . .	S. IX
<i>dett.</i>	=	<i>codices deteriores</i>	

For minor MSS, seldom cited, see p. 79.

Testimonia are listed under the line at which they first appear, and numbers in brackets refer to that line, an asterisk indicating that a variant reading will there be found.

# LIBER QVARTVS

## I. At regina gravi iamdudum saucia cura

1-38: FGMPR. (a)d G, ad γ. iandudum MPP, iamdudum FGP<sup>2</sup>Rγbc.

1-2. at . . . igni: *Prisc. Inst.* 17, 163 (G. L. K. 3, 190) — iamdudum NO, iandudum ML; uolnus MO, uulnus cel. —; *Aldhelm. De Septen.* (Patr. Lat. 89, 181) — uulnus; igne —.  
 1. at . . . cura: *Prisc. Partit.* 4 (G. L. K. 3, 478); *Mar. Vict. Art. gram.* 2 (G. L. K. 6, 71); *Atil. Fortun. Ars.* 2 (G. L. K. 6, 279); *Vel. Long. De Orthogr.* (G. L. K. 7, 69); *Diff. Serm.* (*Anecd. Helv.* 276); *Isid. De Propriet. Serm.* (Patr. Lat. 83, 1332); *Anth. Lat. no.* 15, 100 (1, p. 53 Riese); *Map, De Nug. Curial.* 3, 2 — iam dudum graui —. 1. at regina gravi saucia cura: *Mar. Vict. Art. gram.* 3 (G. L. K. 6, 120); 4 (G. L. K. 6, 155); *Terent. Maur.* 1950 (G. L. K. 6, 384). 1. at regina gravi: *Mar. Vict. Art. gram.* 1 (G. L. K. 6, 10); *Anth. Lat. no.* 653, 25 (2, p. 122 Riese); no. 654, 17 (2, p. 126 Riese). 1. at regina: *Gl. Ansil.* 30, 635 — ad regina —. 1. gravi cura: *Gl. Abstr.* 43, 30. 1. iamdudum . . . cura: *Mar. Vict. Art. gram.* 3 (G. L. K. 6, 121) — dudum AB<sub>5</sub> —; *Terent. Maur.* 1843 (G. L. K. 6, 380); *Philargyr. in Ecl.* 10, 22.

1. at: the conjunction links this book more closely with the preceding than is usual in the *Aeneid* (cf. however the disputed first two lines of Book Six), and at the same time gives it a fresh start. The *Diff. Serm.* (*Anecd. Helv.* 276 Hagen), derived from Suetonius, distinguishing *inilia* from *principia*, state: *inueniuntur tamen inilia quae natura sui carent et speciem principii habent, ut 'at regina . . . cura,' etc.* The preceding books have centred about Aeneas and his experiences; this book is to be focussed upon Dido. Yet not only does *at* introduce sharply contrasted characters, as in lines 156, 279, 296, 393, and 504 below (cf. *Thes. Ling. Lat.* 2, 999), but, as Servius (*ad loc.*) notes, it offsets to the calm repose of Aeneas in the last sentence (3, 718: *factoque hic fine quievit*) the wakeful anxiety of Dido (4, 5; cf. Cartault, *L'Art de Virgile dans l'Énéide*, 1 (1926), 301), thus creating, with the same actors, an entirely new situation, to which a close parallel is found in 4, 529, where *at* contrasts all the rest of nature (including Aeneas) in slumber with Dido in sleepless watching. We may also cf. the situations in *Il.* 10, 1-4 and *Od.* 6, 1-3. Buscaroli (*ad loc.*) notes that various books of Homer similarly begin with *αὐτάρ* (cf. *Il.* 3; 9; 15; 22, 3; 23; *Od.* 6; 11; 12; 14; 19; 20;

22). Mackail (ed. of the *Aeneid* (1930), 129) remarks that the words *at regina* here and in lines 296 and 504 introduce three main sections of the fourth book. For the emotional connotations of *at* cf. Rebert in *Cl. Phil.* 24 (1929), 175. On the assonance of the five opening lines, with their alliterations of *a*, *c* (*qu*), *g*, *h*, *m*, *ur*, and *v*, cf. Loewe, *Symbolae ad enarrandum Sermonem Poetarum Lat.* 2 (1873), 9-10; Headlam in *Cl. Rev.* 34 (1920), 24-25. The passage is recalled by *Hist. Apoll. Reg. Tyr.* 18 (Rec. A): *sed regina sui iam dudum saucia cura Apolloni figit in pectore vultus verbaque, cantusque memor credit genus esse deorum* (4, 12 infra). *nec somnum oculis nec membris dat cura quietem.* For *at regina* cf. 12, 54; Vida, *Scacchia*, 139.

1. *regina*: at the beginning of the tragedy of Book Four the loftiness of its characters is emphasized, in Dido's case by this word, in that of Aeneas by lines 11-12; cf. Arist. *Poet.* p. 1453a 10-11. Whether or not *regina* was, for the Romans, free from the bad connotations attaching to *rex*, as DeWitt holds (*The Dido Episode in the Aeneid of Virgil* (1907), 47) — though, as pointed out by Ussani in *Atene e Roma*, 10 (1907), 270, in view of Cleopatra this may be doubted —, Virgil intended to emphasize throughout the



## 2. volnus alit venis et caeco carpitur igni.

( )lnus P, uulnus FGMRbp, uolnus γ, uul. nus C. uenus P, uenis P<sup>2</sup>. carpitur (r pr. add. sup.) C. ig ( ) G, igni FMPR, igne F<sup>1</sup>.

[1\*] 2. volnus . . . igni: *Prisc. Inst.* 7, 68 (G. L. K. 2, 345) — uulnus; ceto; carpitur (r pr. add. sup. G) —; *Comm. Cruq. in Hor. C.* 1, 18, 14 — uulnus —; C. 1, 27, 12 — uulnus —. 2. volnus . . . venis: *De dub. Nomin.* (G. L. K. 5, 593) — uulnus —; *Schol. Dan. Aen.* 4, 67 — uulnus —; [*Acro*] in *Hor. C.* 1, 27, 11–12 — uulnus —. 2. alit venis: *Gl. Ansil.* 45, 247. 2. et . . . igni: [*Serg.*] *Explan. in Donat.* 1 (G. L. K. 4, 497) — ut ceto F —; *Anth. Lat. no.* 17, 173 (1, p. 68 Riese). 2. caeco igni: *Gl. Abol.* 110, 25; *Gl. Arma.* 10, 150 — igne —. 2. carpitur igni: *Anth. Lat. no.* 654, 17 (2, p. 126 Riese). 2. carpitur: *Gl. Abstr.* 17, 51. 2. igni: *Schol. Dan. Aen.* 4, 2: sane 'igni' pro 'igne,' dativus pro ablativo; *Gl. Ansil.* 105, 33 — c(a)eco igne —.

queenliness of Dido (Glover, *Virgil* (1912), 185–186), as Horace (C. 1, 37, 30–32) did that of Cleopatra.

1. *gravi*: Servius (*ad loc.*) says: *bene regina, quia contra dignitatem amor susceptus gravior esse solet*. For this adjective as applied to cura cf. *Thes. Ling. Lat.* 4, 1474, 36–39; Pichon, *De Sermone amatorio* (1902), 161; also *Hor. C.* 1, 14, 18: *curaque non levis*; the same metaphor being frequent in other languages; e.g., βαρυνετής and other compounds of βαρπs.

1. *iamdudum*: indications of Dido's interest in Aeneas have appeared at various times from their first meeting; e.g., 1, 613; 1, 628–630; 1, 657–690; 1, 712–722; 1, 749. The objections of such writers as Crump (*Growth of the Aeneid* (1920), 59, n. 1) and Cartault (*op. cit.*, 1 (1926), 301) that *iamdudum* is awkward, when only one night has elapsed, need not force us to any particular theory of the composition of the books of the *Aeneid*; to a lover like Dido the time seems long, however short it may objectively be, and her infatuation had occupied a relatively large part of the brief period of her acquaintance with Aeneas. Heinze (*Virgils epische Technik*, 3 ed. (1915), 122–125) perhaps goes too far to the other extreme in contrasting the suddenness of Medea's love for Jason with the gradual (cf. 1, 720: *paulatim abolere Sychaeum*) effect of Dido's passion for Aeneas, for in 1, 613 the word *obstipuit* may suggest a sudden but deep initial impression, and I cannot entirely accept the attempts of Kvčala (*Vergil-Studien* (1878), 159–160) to minimize

the hints which Virgil has delicately given of the oncoming of Dido's love.

1. *saucia*: Dido's passion is described under a variety of metaphors, as a wound (*saucia*, *volnus*, and the simile of the smitten deer in 4, 69), a fire (cf. 4, 2, n. (*igni*)), a poison (1, 688: *veneno*), a disease (4, 389: *aegra*; cf. Liban. *Progymn. Chriae*, 4 (8, 97 Foerster) on the subject Θεόφραστος ἐρωτηθεὶς τί ἐστιν ἔρως ἐφησε πάθος ψυχῆς σχολαζούσης; *Hor. C.* 1, 37, 10; Smith on *Tib.* 2, 5, 109–110; etc.), or a madness (4, 8: *male sana* (and n.); 4, 69: *furens*; 4, 78: *demens*; 4, 301: *bacchatur*; 4, 642: *effera*; and similar words); cf. Preuss, *Die metaphorische Kunst Vergils in der Aeneis* (1894), 18; DeWitt, *op. cit.*, 19; 25; 71–72; Preston, *Stud. in the Diction of the Sermo amatorius in Rom. Comedy* (1916), 5–8; 47; also Plut. *De Amore*, 2: οἱ μὲν γὰρ νόσον τὸν ἔρωτα οἱ δ' ἐπιθυμῶντες οἱ δὲ μανίαν οἱ δὲ θεῖόν τι κίνημα τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ δαιμόνιον, οἱ δ' ἀντικρὺς θεὸν ἀναγορεύουσιν. While there are plenty of literary parallels for Virgil's use of these metaphors it seems likely that most if not all are ultimately derived from popular psychology rather than from literary invention.

There here appears a double result of Cupid's weapon and of fire, as in *Apoll. Rh.* 3, 286–287: βέλος δ' ἐνεδαλετο κόρυη / νέρθεν ὑπὸ κραδίῃ; cf. 3, 291–297: ὡς δὲ γυνὴ μαλερῶ περὶ κάρφεια χεῦατο δαλῶ / χερνήτης, τῆπερ ταλάσια ἔργα μέμνην, / ὥς κεν ὑπάροφιον νύκτωρ σέλας ἐντύναιτο, / ἀγχι μάλ' ἐγρομένη· τὸ δ' ἄθεσφατον ἐξ ὀλίγοιο / δαλοῦ ἀνεγρόμενον σὺν κάρφεια πάντ' ἀμαθύνει / τοίος ὑπὸ κραδίῃ εἰλυμένος

αἰθερο λάβρη / οὐλος Ἔρως (for imitation of Apollonius in the opening lines of this book cf. Kakrides in *Hermes*, 45 (1910), 463; Rütten, *De Vergiliū Studiis Apollonianis* (1912), 66); Cornutus, 25: ὁ Ἔρως . . . τοξότης . . ., ἐπεὶ πληγὴν τιμὴν ὁμοίον ἀπὸ τῆς προσήκους οἱ ἀλυσκόμενοι αὐτῷ πάσχουσιν . . . [ἀποδίδονται δὲ καὶ λαμπὰς αἰτῶν πυροὺν δοκοῦντι τὰς ψυχὰς]; *Anth. Pal.* 5, 124, 3-4: ἀλλ' ἤδη θοὰ τόξα νέοι θήγουσιν Ἑρωτες, / Δυσειδικη, καὶ πῦρ τίφεται ἐγκρύφειον; 5, 180, 1-2: Ἔρως τὰ πυρίπνοα τόξα / βάλλει; 5, 188, 2-3: βέβλημαι δ' ἐκ δοῦλου κέραος, / καὶ πᾶς τεφροῦμαι; 5, 189, 3-4: οὐ γὰρ ἔρωτα / Κύπρις, ἀνιερὸν δ' ἐκ πυρός ἦκε βέλος; *De Metiocho et Parthenope*, 20-25 (*Erol. Frag. Pap.* 23 Lavagnini): (εἴη δὲ) ἂν κάκεινο παντελῶς ἀπίθανον, εἴπερ βρέφος ἐστὶν ὁ Ἔρως, περινοστέειν αὐτὸν π(ερὶ τὴν οἰκον)μύειν (καὶ) τοξέειν μὲν τῶν ὑπαν(τῶν)των (τὰς ψυχὰς), τῶν (δὲ) οὐδ' ἂν αὐτὸς ἐθέλῃ(ση) πυρ(πο)λεῖν. (καὶ φασὶν) μὲν ταῖς τῶν ἐρώντων ψυχαῖς ἐγγίνε(σθαι) γλυκερόν πνεῦμα π(ῦρ) οἶον θερμότητα. The combination of a weapon with a flame may be a mixture of two distinct metaphors (as in 4, 66-67, below), or we may suppose that the dart is a fiery one, wounding both by heat and by incision; cf. Sen. *Phaedr.* 275-276: *Cupido / impotens flammis simul et sagittis*; 283-293; Isid. *Etym.* 8, 11, 80: *sagittam et facem tenere fingitur* (sc. *Cupido*). *sagittam quia amor cor vulnerat; facem quia inflammat*.

With this use of *saucia* cf. also Enn. *Med.* 254: *Medea animo aegro amore saevo saucia*; Catull. 64, 250: *multiplices animo volvebat saucia curas*; Lucr. 4, 1048: *mens unde est saucia amore*; Tib. 2, 5, 109: *iaceo cum saucius*; Ov. *H.* 5, 152: *e nostro saucius igne fuit*; 12, 57: *ut positum tetigi thalamo male saucia lectum*; Sil. 2, 422: *ipsa pyram super ingentem stans saucia Dido*. For *saucia* in the sense of *volnerata* (cf. 12, 652) see Bell, *The Latin Dual* (1923), 200.

1. *cura*: used, almost solely in poetry, for the passion of love (e.g., 1, 662; 4, 5; 4, 332), often in the plural (e.g., 4, 394; 4, 448; 4, 488; 4, 528; 4, 531; 4, 551; 4, 608; 4, 639; 4, 652; 6, 444; 6, 474; 7, 345; Hor. *Epod.* 2, 37; *Ep.* 2, 3, 85; Ov. *H.* 7, 34); cf. Kvíčala, *Neue Beitr. z. Erkl. d. Aeneis* (1881), 203-204; *Thes. Ling. Lat.* 4, 1474, 80-1475, 41; Pichon, *De Sermone amatorio* (1902),

120; Preston, *Stud. in the Diction of the Sermo amatorius in Rom. Comedy* (1916), 8; Kroll, *Stud. zum Verständnis der röm. Lit.* (1924), 264-265 (on figures in amatory writing). In Greek μέριμνα and μελεδών are so used (cf. Kvíčala, l.c.).

2. *volnus*: cf. 4, 1, n. (*saucia*); Pichon, *op. cit.*, 302; 4, 67 infra: *tacitum vivit sub pectore volnus*; Auson. Parent. 9, 15: *volnus alit*; *Carm. Lat. epigr.* 607, 2 Bücheler: *volnus habet venis et celo carpitur ipse*; also Eur. *Hipp.* 392: μ' ἔρως ἔρωσεν; Xen. *Mem.* 1, 3, 13; Theocr. 11, 15; Lucr. 1, 34: *volnere amoris*; 4, 1120: *tabescunt volnere caeco*; Hor. C. 1, 27, 11-12: *quo beatus / volnere, qua pereat sagitta*; Prop. 3, 22, 7; Ov. *H.* 4, 20: *urimur. et caecum pectora volnus habent*; Rem. Am. 283; M. 9, 721; Maximian. 4, 16 (P. L. M. 5, 337); Heliod. *Aethiop.* 7, 10; Hist. *Apoll. Reg. Tyr.* 1: *pectoris vulnus ferre non posset*; 18: *vulnus amoris tolerare*; Petr. Remensis, *Vit. S. Eustachii*, 143 (*Notices et Extraits*, 31 (1884), 68): *vulnus . . . cecum*. The metaphor is frequent in other literatures; e.g., Shakesp. *As you like it*, Act 3, Sc. 5, 30-31: "the wounds invisible / that love's keen arrows make"; Racine, *Phèdre*, 1, 3, 253: *de quel amour blessée*.

2. *alit*: Schol. Dan.: *ut curam pascit*; cf. 1, 36: *servans sub pectore volnus*; Val. Fl. 6, 660: *quas alit inscia curas*; *Anth. Lat. no.* 83, 85 (1, p. 117 Riese): *sed sua victus amor tantummodo vulnera pascit*; Tasso, *Ger. lib.* 1, 45, 8: *che (i.e., amor) si nutre d' affanni, e forza acquista*; Pichon, *op. cit.*, 82. Conington (*ad loc.*) compares Aesch. *Suppl.* 620: *ἐμήχανον βόσκημα πημονῆς*; Soph. *Philoct.* 313: *βόσκων τὴν ἀδηγόγον νύσον*.

2. *venis*: cf. *Cir.* 163: *venis hausit sitientibus ignem*; Cic. *Tusc.* 4, 24: *fervor concitatioque animi . . . tamquam in venis medullisque insedit*; Sen. *Phaedr.* 279-280: *labitur totas furor in medullas / igne furtivo populante venas*; 642: *(ignis) penitus medullas atque per venas meat*; Serv. *ad loc.*: *quia per venas amor currit, ut sanguis; nam in sanguine anima, in anima amor est; aut sicut venenum*; and he compares 1, 749. Henry, comparing the *Ciris* passage, thinks *venis* means 'with her veins,' but I incline to the ablative of place.

2. *caeco*: fulfilling the instructions of

## 3. multa viri virtus animo multusque recursat

(m)ulta GP. recusat R, r( ) G, recursat (rsa in corr.) b, (r sup. u add.) c, re add. sup. γ.

3-5. multa . . . quietem: *Ioann. Saresb. Policr.* 2, 15, p. 429a — herent infixi in pectore uultus —. 3-4. multa . . . honos: *Sen. Ep.* 102, 30 — multumque primo BA; recusat codd. BA —; *Diomed. Art. gram.* 2 (G. L. K. 1, 447) — recusat M —. 3-4. multusque . . . honos: *Arus. Ex. Eloc.* (G. L. K. 7, 506). 3. multa . . . animo: *Donat. in Ter. Eun.* 1079 — uiri u. a. (uir. ui. a. V, uitia C) —.

Venus to Amor (1, 688): *occultum inspires ignem fallasque veneno*; cf. G. 3, 210: *caeci stimulos avertere amoris*; Catull. 67, 25: *mens caeco flagrabat amore*; Lucr. 4, 928: *ex igni caeco consurgere flamma*; 4, 1120: *tabescunt volnere caeco*; Ov. M. 3, 490: *et caeco paulatim carpitur igni*; 8, 516-517: *caecis torreret viscera sentit / ignibus*; F. 2, 762: *caeco raptus amore furit*; H. 4, 19-20: *urimur intus; / urimur, et caecum pectora vulnus habent*; Pers. 4, 43-44: *ilia subter / caecum vulnus habes*; Sen. Med. 591: *caecus est ignis stimulatus ira*; Mantuan, Ecl. 2, 102-103: *flammasque tuendo / hausit et in pectus caecos absorbuat ignes*; Flodoardus Rem. De Christi Triumphis, 5, 2, 124 (Patr. Lat. 135, 678): *caecoque miserrima carpitur igne*; Guilelmus Blesensis, Alda, 165: *et caeco carpitur igne*; Cayado, Ecl. 7, 45: *caeco si carpimur igne*; Leopardi, Le Ricordanze, 109-110: *per cieco / malor*; Racine, Phèdre, 1, 1, 134: *un feu secret*; Pichon, op. cit., 96. In most of these cases *caecus* has a passive sense, meaning not 'blind' but 'invisible'; cf. 3, 232; 10, 733; *Thes. Ling.* Lat. 3, 45, 45-82. Alington (ed. of Bks. IV-VI (1922), ad loc.) compares Browning's phrase of the moon, "blind to Galileo on his turret." Virgil probably thinks of this flame as invisible to Dido up to the beginning of Book Four (and to Anna till Dido there reveals it), to the public until after the cave scene, when Rumor spreads the tidings of it (4, 173), and to Aeneas until Mercury's message to him (cf. 4, 281-284; 4, 291-294). In a very different sense are the *caeci* . . . *ignes* of 4, 209 (where see the note).

2. *carpitur*: Schol. Dan.: *carpitur autem paulatim consumitur, ut carpit enim viris paulatim* (G. 3, 215); cf. 4, 32; Hor. C. 4, 9, 32; Ov. M. 10, 369-370: *at virgo Cinyreia per-vigil igni / carpitur indomito*; *Thes. Ling.*

Lat. 3, 495, 12-56; Pichon, op. cit., 100. The phrase is perhaps imitated by Val. Fl. 3, 365: *aegro assidue mens carpitur aestu* (cf. Stroh, *Stud. z. Val. Flacc.* (1905), 58); *Gesta Apollonii*, 317 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 2, 493).

2. *igni*: hardly a dative (*dativus pro ablativo*, say the Schol. Dan.), for *igni* is the preferred ablative form in Virgil (cf. Wetmore, *Index Verborum Vergilianus* (1911), 220), occurring in many cases where it cannot be construed as a dative.

Fire is perhaps the commonest of the metaphors associated with passion, being expressed by such words as *φλέγεσθαι τῷ πάθῳ*, *ἐκφλέγεσθαι*, *ὑποτερίφθαι*, *κεκαῦσθαι*, *θερμαίνεσθαι ἐπὶ τινι* (cf. Pollux, 3, 7, 68), and *accendo*, *ardeo*, *ardesco*, *caleo*, *flagro*, *flamma*, *ignis*, *incendo*, *tepeo*, *uro* and compounds. In general cf. Plat. *Phaedr.* p. 251 A: *ιδόντα δὲ αὐτὸν οἷον ἐκ τῆς φρίκης μεταβολὴ τε καὶ ἰδρώς καὶ θερμότης ἀήθης λαμβάνει· δεξάμενος γὰρ τοῦ κάλλους τὴν ἀπορροήν διὰ τῶν ὀμμάτων ἐθερμάνθη, κτλ.*; Arist. *De Motu Anim.* 8, p. 702a 3: *θάρρη γὰρ καὶ φόβοι καὶ ἀφροδισιασμοὶ καὶ τὰλλα τὰ σωματικὰ λυπηρὰ καὶ ἡδέα τὰ μὲν κατὰ μόριον μετὰ θερμότητος ἢ ψυχρόεως ἐστί, τὰ δὲ καθ' ὅλον τὸ σῶμα.*

Among Virgilian illustrations may be cited: G. 3, 244; 3, 258; *Aen.* 1, 660; 1, 662; 1, 673; 1, 688; 1, 713; 4, 23; 4, 66; 4, 101; 4, 697; 8, 389-390; *Cir.* 163. Cf. also Sappho, 2, 9-13: *λέπτον δ' / αὐτικὰ χρῶ πῦρ ὑπαδεδρόμακεν / . . . / ἃ δὲ μ' ἰδῶς κακχέεται* (imitated by Catull. 51, 9-10: *tenuis sub artus / flamma demanat*; cf. also what [Longinus], *De Subl.* 10, says of the passage); Apoll. Rh. 3, 286-287: *βέλος δ' ἐνεδαίετο κόρυνη / νέρθεν ὑπὸ κραδίῃ*; Theocr. 2, 26; 2, 29; 2, 131-134: *καὶ μετὰ τὰν Κύπριν τὴ με δευτέρα ἐκ πυρὸς εἶλεν, / ὧ γύναι, ἐσκαλέσσασα τὸν ποτὶ τοῦτο μέλαθρον / αὐτῶς ἡμίφλεκτον Ἐρως δ'*

ἄρα καὶ Λιπαραιῶ / πολλὰκις Ἀφαίστειο σέλας  
φλογώτερον αἶθει; 3, 17; 7, 56: θερμὸς γὰρ ἔρωσ  
αὐτῷ με καταίθει; 7, 102: ὡς ἐκ παιδὸς Ἄρατος  
ὕπ' ὀστέον αἶθε' ἔρωτι; 11, 52; Mosch. 1, 22-  
23: πολὺ πλεον ἂ δαῖς αἰτῶ [sc. Love] / βαίῃ  
λαμπὰς ἐόισα τὸν ἄλιον αὐτὸν ἀναίθει; Ael. fr.  
69 Hercher: ὁ τοῖνον Μέλητος φλεγόμενος τῷ  
ἔρωτι; *Anth. Pal.* 5, 139, 6: πυρὶ φλέγομαι;  
5, 239, 1-6; 5, 290, 5; 12, 79, 2; 12, 80, 1-4;  
12, 82, 1-6; 12, 83, 1-6; 12, 89, 3-4; 12, 90,  
2-7; 12, 91, 1-8; 12, 92, 7-8; etc.; Long.  
*Daph. et Chloe*, 2, 8: οἱ ἐρώντες . . . καθέβ-  
δειν οὐ δύνανται . . . κάεσθαι δοκοῦσι, καὶ παρ'  
ἡμῖν τὸ πῦρ; Anon. in Powell, *Collectanea*  
*Alexandr.* (1925), 177-178, lines 15-16; 24;  
Catull. 64, 92-93: *quam cuncto concepit cor-  
pore flammam / funditus atque imis exarsit*  
*tota medullis*; 64, 124; 64, 197; Cic. 2 *Verr.*  
5, 92: *amoris turpissimi flamma*; Lucr. 4,  
1138; Publil. Syr. 39: *amans, sicut fax,*  
*agitando ardescit magis*; Hor. C. 1, 4, 19; 1,  
13, 9; 1, 19, 5: *urit me Glyceræ nilor*; 1, 19,  
7; 1, 25, 13; 1, 27, 15-16; 1, 27, 20; 3, 7, 11;  
4, 11, 33; *Epod.* 14, 9; 14, 13; etc.; Ov. H.  
4, 19-20; 5, 152; 7, 23; F. 2, 779; 3, 545:  
*arserat Aeneae Dido miserabilis igne*; 6, 575-  
576; Tr. 2, 383; Sen. *Phaedr.* 190-191; 640-  
644: *pectus insanum vapor / amorque torret.*  
*inimicus feret ferus* / [*penitus medullas atque*  
*per venas meat*] / *visceribus ignis mersus et*  
*venas latens / ut agilis altas flamma percurrit*  
*trabes*; Sil. 2, 517: *sui flagrantem inspirat*  
*amore*; Val. Fl. 6, 663; Maximian, 3, 56  
(P. L. M. 5, 335); Heliod. *Aethiop.* 7, 9;  
*Hist. Apoll. Reg. Tyr.* 1: *flamma concupi-*  
*scientiae*; 1, 17: *vulneris saevo capitur igne*;  
on three *fibulae* (C. I. L. XII, 5698, 18; XIII,  
10027, 167-168; cf. *Carm. Lat. epigr.* no. 39  
Engström): *uror amore tuo*; *Inscr. Lat. sel.*  
8757 Dessau (a love charm): οὐραβουρ φουρεψ  
αμορε ετ δεσιδεριο μεο, αμια ετ χορ οουραβουρ;  
*Rom.* 1, 27; 1 *Cor.* 7, 9: κρείττον γὰρ ἐστιν  
γαμεῖν ἢ πυροῦσθαι; Dante, *Par.* 9, 97.

For general treatments of the metaphor  
cf. Spitta, *Quaest. Vergilianae* (1867), 42;  
Braumüller, *Ueber Tropen u. Figuren in*  
*Vergil's Aeneis*, 1 (1877), 28; Biese, *Die*  
*Entwicklung des Naturgefühls bei den Griechen*  
(1882), 142, n. 91; Preuss, *Die metaphor.*  
*Kunst Vergils in der Aeneis* (1894), 18;  
Pichon, *De Sermone amatorio* (1902), 301;  
DeWitt, *The Dido Episode in the Aeneid of*

*Virgil* (1907), 71; Crawley, *The mystic Rose*,  
2 ed. 1 (1927), 237-238: "There is an univer-  
sal connection, seen in all languages, between  
love and heat"; *id.*, 2 (1927), 20: "heat,  
natural or artificial, is a concomitant of sexual  
desire"; Burris in *Cl. Weekly*, 24 (1930), 44.  
The Second Vatican Mythographer (35) ex-  
plains that Cupid is represented with a torch,  
*quia turpis amor cum calore et fervore quodam*  
*accenditur*.

3. *multa* . . . *multus*: for the polyptoton  
cf. Breazeale in *Stud. in Philol.* 14 (1917),  
314, n. 19; and on the use of *multa* (*multus*)  
cf. 2, 429-430: *plurima* . . . / . . . *pietas*; 11,  
312: *plurima virtus*; Loewe, *Symbolae ad*  
*enarr. Serm. Poet. Lat.* (1876), 6. The repeti-  
tion emphasizes the two advantages to Dido  
from a marriage with Aeneas: (i) in uniting  
herself with such a person as his appearance  
and the recital of his adventures have indi-  
cated him to be, and (ii) in connecting her-  
self and her new city with such a race; cf. 4,  
11-12 and the recognition by Anna of the  
same two motives: 4, 38: *placito* . . . *amori*  
(the personal motive); 4, 47-49 (the politi-  
cal). With her thoughts of Aeneas cf. Apoll.  
Rh. 3, 453-458: προπρὸ δ' ἄρ' ὀφθαλμῶν ἐτι οἱ  
ινδᾶλλετο πάντα, / αὐτὸς θ' οἶος ἔην, οἰοισί  
τε φάρεσιν ἔστο, / οἷα τ' ἔειψ', ὥς θ' ἔξερ' ἐπὶ  
θρόνου, ὥς τε θύραζε / ἦεν· οὐδὲ τιν' ἄλλον  
ὀσασαο πορφύρουσα / ἔμμεναι ἀνέρα τοῖον· ἐν  
οὐασι δ' αἰὲν ὁράει / αὐθ' τε μῦθοι τε μελι-  
φρονες, οὓς ἀγόρευσεν, which, as Conrady (*De*  
*Vergilio Apollonii Rhodii Imitatore* (1904),  
15) notes, probably suggested lines 3-5, 11-  
13, and 83 (where cf. my n. on *absens absen-*  
*tem*). Buscaroli (*ad loc.*) notes the imitation  
of our lines by Tasso, *Rinaldo*, 9, 56, 5-9, 57,  
3: *la regina però, cui rio veleno / tacito per le*  
*vene ognor serpea, / non dava gli occhi stanchi*  
*in preda al sonno, / che le cure d' amor dormir*  
*non ponno. / ma rivolgea nell' agitata mente /*  
*del nuovo amator suo l' alta beltate, / e 'l valor*  
*così raro ed eccellente*. For the verse tag  
*multa viri* cf. 5, 433.

3. *virī virtus*: *figura etymologica*; cf. Cic.  
*Tusc.* 2, 43: *appellata est enim ex viro virtus*.  
For the four qualities here set forth (*virtus*,  
*gentis honos, voltus, verba*) cf. 4, 11, n. (*quem*,  
etc.). Note also Mackail on *Aen.* 1, 91 for  
Virgil's frequent use of *vir* to avoid the pro-  
saic *is* (*virī* = *eius* 13 times in the *Aeneid* of

## 4. gentis honos, haerent infixi pectore voltus

(g)entis *GP.* infixi (i sup. alterum i add.) *M.* pector(e uoltus) *G.* uultus *MPRbcp*, uoltus *F*, uoltus (o corr. in u, i m. 2) *γ*.

[3\*] 4-5. haerent . . . quietem: *Macrob. Somn. Scip.* 1, 3, 6 — uultus —; *Cento Probae*, 640-641 — herent (corr. in herere m. 2) *P*; uultus; placida menbris *T*; curam *P* —. 4. multus gentis honos: *Gl. Ansil.* 372, 145. 4. gentis honos: *Gl. Ansil.* 265, 191; 265, 192 — (h)onus —; *Gl. Abstr.* 43, 10. 4. haerent . . . voltus: *Anth. Lat. no.* 15, 142 (1, p. 55 *Riese*) — uultus —; *Asper*, 535-536 *Hagen* — uult —.

3. animo . . . recursat: cf. 1, 662; 12, 802; *Tac. H.* 2, 78: *recursabant animo vetera omina*; *Sil.* 2, 519-520; 6, 555; *Vida, Christias*, 5, 3-4: *facta viri virtusque animo egregiique recursat / oris honos*; *Placek, Re in den Compositis in Vergils Aeneis* (1882), 32. *Servius* well emphasizes the frequentative sense of the verb.

4. gentis honos: "either the glory of Aeneas' ancestry, or that of his nation, opposed in either case to his personal merits" (*Conington, ad loc.*).

4. haerent: for the asyndeton cf. *Loewe, op. cit.*, 12 (with collection of instances in this book). On the meaning of *haerent* see *Ov. H.* 7, 25-26: [*Aeneas oculis semper vigilantis inhaeret*.] / *Aenean animo noxque diesque refert*; *Maximian*, 4, 17-18 (*P. L. M.* 5, 337): *singula visa semel semper memorare libebat*: / *haerebant animo nocte dieque meo*; also *Cic. Phil.* 2, 64: *infixus haeret animo dolor*. With *Dido's* memories cf. *Ov. F.* 2, 769-774, especially 773: *hos habuit voltus, haec illi verba fuerunt*. That lovers constantly see in imagination the objects of their love is a commonplace; cf. 4, 83, where, as here, the recollection is of both words and appearance (cf. my note there on *absens absentem*); *Achill. Tat.* 1, 9. Reminiscences of this passage are found in *Hier. Ep.* 125, 7, 2: *quarum vultus cordi tuo haereant*; *Petrarch, Sonnets*, 68, 12-13: *e 'l volto e le parole che mi stanno / altamente confitte in mezzo 'l core*.

4. pectore: the seat of life and intelligence seems to have been early localized in the liver, and thence to have migrated to the diaphragm (as in *Homer*), the heart (as in most classical authors), and finally, with *Alcmaeon of Croton* and others, to the

brain; cf. *Pease on Cic. De Div.* 1, 16, p. 95; *id.*, in *Cl. Phil.* 20 (1925), 277-278. While the lower emotions tended to linger behind (as *Horace* frequently considers the liver as the seat of anger and passion; cf. *C. I.* 13, 4; 1, 25, 15; 3, 4, 77; 4, 1, 12; *Epod.* 5, 47), reflection and memory, which belong in the higher group, are in Greek often localized in the στήθος and by *Virgil* commonly placed in the pectus (e.g., in this book, in lines 67, 412, 448, 530, 553, 563; cf. 4, 528: *corda oblita laborum*; *La Cerda (ad loc.)* well compares *Artemid. Oniocr.* 3, 40: κατὰ δὲ τοῦ στήθους γενόμενον (sc. τραῦμα) ἢ τῆς καρδίας νεύς μὲν καὶ ἀνδράσι καὶ γυναιξὶν ἔρωτα σημαίνει), and though he several times mentions the cerebrum it seems to be for him a part of the body rather than the seat of any psychic process. The use of the ablative is paralleled in *Cic. Phil.* 2, 64, quoted above.

For the rhythm of the end of this line cf. 4, 67: *pectore volnus*; for imitation *Carm. Lat. epigr.* no. 454, 10 *Bücheler*: *heret et in fixo pectore volnus*; no. 490, 5: *eretque in pectore volnus*.

4. voltus: the poetic plural, frequent in Greek, described by *Arist. Rhet.* 3, 6, p. 1407b 33, and noted also by *Quintil.* 8, 6, 28 (who takes *voltus* as an example), falls in several distinct categories (as classified by *Kühner-Stegmann, Ausf. Gram. der lat. Spr.* 2, 1, 2 ed. (1912), 82-86), of which one consists of parts of the body (this type in Latin first in *Cicero's Aratea*). Cf. also *Maas in Archiv f. lat. Lex. u. Gram.* 12 (1902), 479-550; *Witte, Singular u. Plural* (1907), 14-21 (on Greek cases); and the works cited by *Kroll, Stud. z. Verständnis d. röm. Lit.* (1924), 258, n. 27.

5. verbaque, nec placidam membris dat cura quietem.  
postera Phoebea lustrabat lampade terras

(u)erba G, uerbor F (uerba F<sup>1</sup>). membris (is m. 2 in ras.) γ. dat (cura quietem) G.  
(p)ostera P, (p)ostea FG (postera F<sup>1</sup>). phebea G (phoebea G<sup>1</sup>). ter(ras) G.

[3, 4\*] 5. nec dat cura: Gl. Ansil. 386, 44.

6-7. postera . . . umbram: Diomed. Art. gram. 2 (G. L. K. 1, 461) — postea M; u. a. p. d. u. —; Sacerd. Art. gram. 1 (G. L. K. 6, 466) — humentemque; umbras B —; Iulian. Tolet. De Vitiis et Figuris, 6, 53 — humentemque —. 6. postera . . . terras: Non. p. 335 M. (p. 529 L.); Schol. Virg. G. 1, 431 (in Jahrb. f. d. Philol. 4 Supplbd. (1867), 879). 6. Phoebea lampade: Gl. Ansil. 237, 3 — febea —; 430, 3 — pebea —; Gl. Abol. 127, 28 — febea —; Gl. Aa, 250, 458 — foedera lampada —.

5. nec, etc.: on the sleeplessness of lovers cf. 4, 9, n. (insomnia); Smith on Tib. 1, 2, 76; Achill. Tat. 1, 9, 1; Long. Daph. et Chloe, 2, 8 (quoted in 4, 2, n. (igni), above); Heliod. Aethiop. 4, 4; 4, 7; 7, 9; Chariton, 6, 7; also (stated or implied) in the paraclausithyron (cf. Canter in Am. Journ. of Philol. 41 (1920), 355-368). Homer often alludes to wakefulness or troubled sleep; cf. Basset in Cl. Weekly, 27 (1934), 114.

5. placidam . . . quietem: a frequent phrase, occurring in the same metrical position in Cir. 343; Ov. F. 6, 331; Claud. Carm. min. 2, 5; Paul. Nol. Carm. 4, 3; Mart. Cap. 5, 425; Aonius Palearius, De Anim. Immortal. 2, 33; and in different positions or in prose in Aen. 1, 691: placidam per membra quietem; 9, 187; Varr. Atac. Argon. 3, 2 (F. P. R. 333); Lucr. 1, 463 (cf. 6, 73); Ov. M. 9, 469; F. 1, 205; Octavia, 717-718; Stat. Silv. 2, 2, 140; Apul. M. 8, 7: placidae quieti; Nazar. Paneg. Const. Aug. 35, 3: placidam . . . rerum quietem; Boeth. Cons. 3, poet. 10, 5; Ekkehard, Waltharius, 390: nec placidam membris potuit dare cura quietem; Cayado, Ecl. 2, 67: placidae . . . quieti; the seal of Massachusetts bears the inscription: ense petit placidam sub libertate quietem. See also McCartney in Cl. Phil. 22 (1927), 196, and n. 11 (on modifiers reflecting the etymology of the words modified), who compares as similar phrases pax tranquilla, placida pax (Aen. 1, 249; 8, 325), secura quies (G. 2, 467), to which add Aen. 4, 522: placidum . . . soporem (and n.); Cic. Tusc. 4, 10: placidam quietamque constantiam; Venant. Fort. Misc. 9, 7, 59 (Patr. Lat. 88, 307);

Gualterus, Alexandreis, 4, 334: placidae torpore quietis; Getty in Am. Journ. of Philol. 54 (1933), 8. Serv. Aen. 1, 691 well remarks aut epitheton est quietis, aut ideo placidam dixit quia est quies quae potest etiam somniorum terrore turbari (cf. also his n. on the present line).

5. membris . . . quietem: cf. 10, 217: neque enim membris dat cura quietem (where a different sort of cura is described); also 8, 30: seramque dedit per membra quietem; and the collocation of membra with quies or sopor in 5, 837; 8, 406; Cul. 158; 213. On Virgilian phrases for 'sleep' cf. Preuss, Die metaphor. Kunst Vergils in der Aeneis (1894), 24-25.

5. cura: cf. 4, 1, n. (cura). With the phrase cf. Paul. Nol. Carm. 18, 341: quamquam neget aegro cura quietem.

5. quietem: offset to 3, 718: quievit; cf. 4, 1, n. (at); for quies = somnus cf. Braumüller, Ueber Tropen u. Figuren in Vergil's Aeneis, 1 (1877), 4.

6. postera, etc.: against the view of Schüler (Quaest. Vergilianae (1883), 24-31) and Sabbadini (L'Eneide commentata, IV-VI, 2 ed. (1898), x-xi) that lines 6-55, with the first dialogue between Dido and Anna, are not part of the poet's original plan see Heinze, Virgils epische Technik, 3 ed. (1915), 128, n. 1. The elaborate assonance and alliteration in lines 6-10 is discussed by Headlam in Cl. Rev. 34 (1920), 24, who notes particularly the repetitions of a, an (am), en, h, l, n, or, os, p, s, and um. On the slight logical inversion of the order of events in lines 6 and 7 cf. Serv. on 4, 7; Bell, The Latin Dual

## 7. umentemque Aurora polo dimoverat umbram,

{u}mentemque GP. aurara γ<sup>1</sup>. dimouera(t) G, demouerat F (dimouerat F<sup>1</sup>). {umbram} G, umbra p.

[6\*]

(1923), 271; also Sabbadini and Buscaroli *ad loc.*

DeWitt (in *Cl. Journ.* 26 (1930), 26) asserts that "Vergil in his treatment of the element of time has chosen to follow the practice of the drama rather than that of the epic. There is no Homeric counting of the days, no rosy-fingered dawn or darkening of the roads. Sunrise and sunset receive mention only when emotionally useful." It is true that in the present case the mention of night leads easily to Dido's narration of her dreams, yet Servius (*Aen.* 1, 223) seems on surer ground in saying *sciendum est Vergilium non semper dicere ortum vel occasum diei, sed aut intellectui relinquere, ut hoc loco, aut negotiis tempora significare. est autem poetica colloquistia non omnia exprimere*. He does, however, consider (4, 6) our line as a *circumlocutio orientis diei*. Further, we find some definite time indications which Heinze (*op. cit.*, 340-341) has arranged to show the chronology of Aeneas's stay at Carthage, divided by days: I. *Aen.* 1, 34-304; departure from Sicily, storm, landing in Africa. II. 1, 305-4, 5; night (1, 305), arrival at Carthage, evening banquet (1, 726; 2, 8), Dido's sleepless night (4, 5). III. 4, 5-128; sunrise (4, 6-7), dialogue of Dido and Anna, sacrifice, new evening banquet (4, 77), dialogue of Juno and Venus. IV. 4, 129-168; sunrise (4, 129), hunt, and storm. After these days comes a period of uncertain length (4, 169-197), designated as *hiemem . . . quam longa fovere* (4, 193). A second series of more definite days follows: I. 4, 198-583; the Iarbas incident, dialogue of Dido and Anna with Aeneas, followed by night (4, 522), with the monologue of Dido and the dream and departure of Aeneas. II. 4, 584-5, 41; death of Dido, voyage to Sicily, reception by Acestes. Various other time schemes for the *Aeneid* have been devised, including those of Bentley (published by Stachelscheid in

*Rh. Mus.* 35 (1880), 313), Chabert (in *Annales de l'Univ. de Grenoble*, 16 (1904), 444-445), and Mackail (edition of *Aeneid* (1930), 89-90).

Into the question of time expressions in the Greek epic we need not enter, but among Latin passages to be compared with the present line are: 3, 588: *postera iamque dies primo surgebat Eoo* (followed by 3, 589 = 4, 7); 4, 129; 4, 584-585; 5, 42; 7, 148: *postera cum prima lustrabat lampade terras*; *Ov. M.* 7, 835: *postera depulerant Aurorae lumina noctem*; cf. Preuss, *Die metaphor. Kunst Vergils in der Aeneis* (1894), 21. Cicero had employed analogous phrases: *De Cons.* 2, 2 (ap. *De Div.* 1, 17, where cf. my note): *totum conlustrat lumine mundum*; *De Fat.* fr. 3 Müller (a translation of Homer): *Iuppiter auctiferas lustravit lumine terras*; *Aratea*, 578: *haec sol aeterno convestit lumine lustrans*, and Norden (2 ed. of *Book VI* (1916), 375), from the likeness of Cicero and Virgil, would suspect Ennius as a source. Cf. also *Sil.* 8, 174: *lustrabit lumine terras*; *Il. Lat.* 870: *luna cava et nitida lustraret lampade caelum*; *Audradus, Carm.* 1, 33 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 3, 74): *ornabat lampade terras*; *Flodoardus Remensis, De Triumphis Christi* (Antioch.), 2, 8, 374: *crastina lux roseo lustrabat lumine terras*; *Gaulterus, Alexandreis*, 3, 274-275; *Waldo, Vita Ansgarii*, 2068-2069 (cited by Manitius, *Gesch. d. lat. Lit. d. Mittelalters*, 2 (1923), 608): *rosea iam lampade Phoebus / terras lustrabat, tenebras Aurora fugarat*; *Albertus Stadensis, Troilus*, 5, 185: *postera Phoebea lux lustrat lampade terras*; *Vida, Christias*, 3, 302: *et sol pallentes lustrabat lampade terras*; *Mantuan, Ecl.* 8, 201: *lampas Phoebea*. Milton (*P. L.* 5, 1-2) uses a similar time device. For descriptions of morning cf. the twelve quatrains in *Anth. Lat.* nos. 579-590 (2, pp. 79-82 Riese); also Preiswerk, *Der Morgen in der gr. u. röm. Dichtung* (*Wiener Blätter*, 1922, 101-105), who traces the sub-



## 8. cum sic unanimam adloquitur male sana sororem:

( )um G, ( )m P, tum R. unanimam P, unaanimem M (unanimam M<sup>2</sup>), unanimem bcr Serv.: dicimus autem et 'unanimus' et 'unanimis,' sicut 'inermus' et 'inermis.' adloquitur (d corr. in l) b. mala P (male P<sup>2</sup>), Schol. Dan.: et quidam 'malesana' nolunt hyphen legere, nec esse compositum verbum, quia composita unum plerumque corrumpant necesse est, ut 'malesuada.' (-sana sororem) G. soror R.

8. male . . . sororem: Schol. Dan. G. 1, 105; [Acro] in Hor. S. 1, 3, 31. 8. male sana: [Acro] in Hor. S. 2, 2, 8; Lact. Plac. in Stat. Theb. 1, 314; Gl. Ansil. 354, 424.

ject from Homer to Ambrose, pointing out that Homer indicates rather than describes; Apollonius (following the tragedians) describes; and Virgil returns to mythology but adapts his descriptions to circumstances.

6. *Phoebea . . . lampade*: on the sun as the torch of Phoebus (probably not in Cic. *De Cons.* 2, 20: *Phoebi fax*, where I have tried (on *De Div.* 1, 18) to show that a meteor is meant) cf. *Aen.* 3, 637; *Phoebeae lampadis instar*; Ov. *Rem. Am.* 256: *Phoebi . . . orbis*; Sen. *Phoen.* 87: *Phoebea lampas*; Sil. 1, 193: *lampade Phoebi*; 10, 111: *Phoebea lampade*; Cayado, *Ecl.* 5, 19: *Phoebea lampade*. In Lucretius we find *lampas* similarly used, or employed for the day restored by the torch: 5, 402; 5, 610; 6, 1198. Cf. also Braumüller, *Ueber Tropen u. Figuren in Vergil's Aeneis*, 1 (1877), 31.

6. *lustrabat*: cf. 4, 607; and on this impressive word, combining the ideas of motion, illumination, and purification, Serv. *ad loc.*: *aut inlustrabat aut revera lustrabat, id est, purgabat; nam nox quodammodo polluit mundum; vel circumibat, ut* (8, 231) *lustret Aventini montem*; Ariosto, *Orl. fur.* 3, 2, 3: *Febo, che 'l gran mondo lustrì*; Fowler, *Death of Turnus* (1927), 96-98.

7. *umentemque, etc.*: = 3, 589; cf. Georgii, *Über das dritte Buch der Aeneide* (1877), 80, for Virgil's repetitions of his own lines; also Gladow, *De Vergilio ipsius Imitatore* (1921), 23; Sparrow, *Half-lines and Repetitions in Virgil* (1931), 55-154. The dampness is due to the heavy night dew; cf. G. 1, 290: *noctes lentus non deficit umor*; *Aen.* 2, 8: *nox umida* (so 3, 198; 5, 738; 5, 835; 11, 201); 4, 351-352: *quotiens umentibus umbris / nox aperit terras*; 11, 210: *lux gelidam caelo dimoverat umbram*; Sil. 2, 469: *umentis rores noctis*; Ariosto, *Orl. fur.* 8, 86,

7: *e fe' l' ombra fuggire umida e nera*. On the moon as the cause of the night dews, as the sun is of the heat of the day, cf. Pease on Cic. *De Div.* 2, 33.

7. *Aurora*: mentioned twenty-five times in Virgil, usually with little personification and in phrases indicating a new day; cf. 4, 129, n. (*Oceanum, etc.*); 4, 584 (*et iam, etc.*).

7. *polo*: from its literal sense of the axis (or end of the axis) of a sphere this word, like *πόλος*, came to be applied to the sphere itself, that is, to the starry heavens, as here and commonly in Virgil; cf. 4, 482, n. (*axem*), below.

7. *dimoverat umbram*: cf. *Cul.* 44: *tenebras Aurora fugarat*; Dante, *Purg.* 1, 115-116: *l' alba vinceva l' ora (= ombra) mattutina / che fuggia innanzi* (cf. Scartazzini's n.).

8. *cum, etc.*: in Apollonius Medea, after fearful dreams (3, 618-632), is reluctant to confide in her sister Chalciope (3, 640-673), but in Valerius Flaccus (6, 587) she voluntarily asks her about Jason and later seeks comfort from her (7, 117). For the somewhat similar communication to a sister of an erotic dream cf. the Vestal Virgins in Enn. *Ann.* 1, 35-51. With the phraseology here used cf. Stat. *Silv.* 5, 1, 176: *tum sic unanimum moriens solatur amanlem*.

8. *unanimam*: *ὁμόφρονα, σύμφρονα*. Two adjectives occur, *unanimus* and *unanimis*, the former used here and in 7, 335, while in the only other Virgilian case (12, 264) MSS and editors are divided. As Heyne-Wagner (*ad loc.*) realize, the choice between these words, as between *exanimis* and *exanimus*, is made in part on the basis of euphony. In one form or the other the term is applied to parents (Stat. *Theb.* 4, 353-354; Paul. Nol. *Carm.* 33, 40), brothers (*Aen.* 7, 335; also Catull. 9, 4; Domitius ap. Philargyr. in *Ecl.* 3, 90; Sil. 13, 651; Stat. *Theb.* 8, 669; 10,



## 9. 'Anna soror, quae me suspensam insomnia terrent!

(a)nna G, (an)na P. sorque G (soror quae G<sup>1</sup>). quae (a sup. add.) G. suspensa M (suspensam M<sup>1</sup>). insomnia(a) G, insonia F (insomnia F<sup>1</sup>), insona (corr. in insomnia) b. terrent FMPR (om. G), terre c<sup>1</sup>, terret c<sup>2</sup>; cf. Serv. in explicatione infra citatum.

9. Anna . . . terrent: *Macrob. Somn. Scip.* 1, 3, 6 — suspensa P —; [*Iul. Rufin.*] p. 60 Halm; *Ioann. Saresb. Policr.* 2, 15, p. 429a. 9. Anna soror: *Donat. in Ter. Hec.* 131. 9. quae . . . terrent: *Serv. Aen.* 4, 5; *Charis. Inst.* 1 (G. L. K. 1, 101) — qua me suspensus (corr. in suspensam) insomnia cod. N —. 9. qu(a)e insomnia: *Gl. Ansil.* 477, 29. 9. insomnia: *Gl. Ansil.* 310, 1568; q.v.

727), sisters (Auson. *Parent.* 19, 11; San-nazaro, *Ecl.* 5, 25), husbands and wives (Catull. 66, 80; Sen. *Oed.* 773; Stat. *Silv.* 5, 1, 176; Claud. *De III Cons. Hon.* 189; *Panegy.* 231; *C. I. L. VI*, 12845, 31711 (cf. Harrod, *Lat. Terms of Endearment* (1909), 46), XIII, 128, 22 (= *Anth. Lat.* no. 722, 22 (2, p. 207 Riese); *Carm. Lat. epigr.* 360 Engström), other kinsmen (Auson. *Parent.* 3, 7), intimate friends (Catull. 30, 1; Stat. *Silv.* 5, 2, 155; Claud. in *Rufin.* 1, 105; *Hist. Apoll. Reg. Tyr.* 39), or military allies (*Aen.* 12, 264; *Sil.* 16, 261). Donatus (*ad loc.*) remarks: *cum poeta praemittit sororem, praemittit unanimum, ostendit aliquid Didonem germanae dicturam quod in vulgus non deberet exire.* To what extent Anna falls short of being completely *unanima* the sequel shows; cf. 4, 476-477; 4, 500-502; 4, 675-683. Rébelliau (*De Verg. in inform. muliebr. quae sunt in Aen. Personis Inventore* (1892), 135), however, thinks *unanimem* means, not that both naturally had the same thoughts but that whatever Dido desired or thought Anna seconded. Antigone (*Soph. Ant.* 1) addresses Ismene as ὦ κοινὸν ἀνδράδελφον Ἰσμήνης κάρα, which DeGraff (in *Cl. Weekly*, 25 (1932), 149) compares with our line, but Jebb (*ad loc.*) thinks that the phrase of Sophocles "will not bear the added moral sense, 'having common interests and feelings,'" save so far as that may result from kinship.

8. *adloquitur*: cf. Wilms, *Qua Ratione Verg. in Aen. aut locuturum aliquem aut locutum esse indicaverit* (1865), 9.

8. *male sana*: Bell (*The Latin Dual* (1923), 293) would here detect an amphibole, taking the adverb both with *adloquitur* (in the sense of *perniciose*, derived from the note of Servius) and with *sana* (in the sense of

*minus* or *non*), and translates: "When the queen far from sane with consequences disastrous to herself addresses her loving sister." This perhaps presses too far an adverb very closely phrased with *sana*, like the Greek compounds of *δυσ-*, as *bene* is similarly used in imitation of the Greek *εὖ-* (cf. Wölflin, *Lat. u. roman. Komparation* (1879), 14 (= *Ausgewählte Schriften* (1933), 138-139 — including *bene sanus*); Lejay on *Hor. S.* 1, 3, 61; Pease on *Cic. De Div.* 2, 82); in fact, we are told by the Scholia Danielis: *quidam malesana nolunt hyphen legere* (cf. 6, 276: *malesuada*). Other cases of *male sanus* (*sana*) include *Cic. Ad Att.* 9, 15, 5; *Hor. Ep.* 1, 19, 3; *Ov. M.* 3, 474; 4, 521; 9, 600; *Colum.* 10, 232; *Curt.* 6, 7, 15; *Min. Fel. Oct.* 11, 9; *Salvian, Ep.* 5, 4; *Damas. Epigr.* 14, 7 Ihm; Auson. *Urbes*, 19; *Cypr. Heptat. Iudic.* 683 (*C. S. E. L.* 23, 205); *Venant. Fort. Misc.* 2, 11, 19 (*Patr. Lat.* 88, 99); Angilbertus, *Carm.* 6, 358 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 1, 375); Ermoldus, *In Hon. Hludowici*, 3, 426 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 2, 53); *Carm. Cenomanensia*, 5, 14 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 2, 625); Flodoardus Remensis, *De Triumphis Christi* (Antioch.), 1, 12, 11; *Milton, Sylvae, Ad Patrem*, 93. Many cases with other adjectives might be cited. *Serv. Aen.* 2, 23 remarks: *male enim minutionem habet, non negationem*, and on the present line states: *non plane sana, amore vitata*; 'male' enim plerumque 'non,' plerumque 'minus' significat, sicut 've,' ut 'vecors' et 'vesanus.' Cartault (*L'Art de Virgile dans l'Énéide*, 1 (1926), 343) points out the development of the madness of Dido (1, 659: *furentem*; 4, 8: *male sana*; 65: *furentem*; 69: *furens*; 78: *demens*; 91: *furori*; 101: *furorem*; 283: *furentem*; 300: *inops animi*; 374: *demens*; 376: *furiis*; 433: *furori*; 465:

*furentem*; 474: *furias*; 501: *furor*; 548: *furentem*; 646: *furibunda*; 697: *furor* (cf. also 1, 659), and traces a parallel in the treatment of the passion of Ariadne (Catull. 64). Cf. also 4, 1, n. (*saucia*), above. On the madness of lovers see DeWitt, *The Dido Episode in the Aeneid of Virgil* (1907), 11; Smith on Tib. 1, 4, 24; it seems to have been a stock subject for discussion, to judge from Quintil. 7, 3, 28. It is not unreasonable to suppose that continual dwelling upon her love had destroyed the normal balance of Dido's mind. From somewhat different points of view Hahn (in *Cl. Weekly*, 25 (1931), 20) compares the ungovernable violence of Dido with that of Amata, and Terzaghi (*Virgilio ed Enea* (1928), 14) emphasizes the erotic side of her passion, in which he is properly opposed by Fiore (*La Poesia di Virgilio* (1930), 244, n. 1).

8. *sororem*: Patin (*Études sur la Poésie latine*, 1 (1883), 203) notes that, contrary to the Homeric manner, Anna has not been mentioned by Virgil up to this point (cf. Henselmanns, *Die Widersprüche in Vergils Aeneis* (1914), 124). There seems, however, to have been no previous need of her appearance, for she is a foil to Dido in her private relations, and up to the Fourth Book Dido has appeared only on public or semi-public occasions. The picture of the queen, if judged only by her dialogue with Aeneas (4, 305-387), would be incomplete; we need not only her own monologues but also her unobtrusive to an intimate to make these psychologically intelligible; cf. Heinze, *op. cit.*, 332. Whether Anna may have been present at some of the dialogues between Dido and Aeneas there is no evidence, for it is in accord with Virgil's practice in the *Aeneid* to confine his dialogues to only two speakers at a time (Heinze, *op. cit.*, 404-405) — a rule more restricting than the three-actor limitation of the Greek stage, and in no way demanded by the requirements of a written epic but perhaps the result of his parsimony in the use of definitely delineated characters.

9. *Anna*, etc.: speeches form an important element in the epic, from Homer to the later Roman writers; cf. Kroll, *Stud. z. Verständnis d. röm. Lit.* (1924), 219. The

proportions of direct discourse to the entire story have been studied, for the Greek epic, by Elderkin, *Aspects of the Speech in the later Greek Epic* (1906), 6, with the following results: Homer 50% (*Iliad* 44%, *Odyssey* 56%), Apollonius 29%, Quintus 24%, Nonnus 36%, Tryphiodorus 20%, Coluthus 37%, Tzetzes 5%. Lipscomb, *Aspects of the Speech in the later Roman Epic* (1909), 13, has collected figures for the *Aeneid*: Bk. 6: 54%; 4: 49%; 8: 47%; 11: 44%; 1: 44%; 3: 40%; 2: 36%; 9: 33%; 10: 31%; 12: 30%; 5: 27%; 7: 24%; for the whole poem: 38%, with the average length of a speech 11½ lines. There is thus a considerable variation, but less than in Statius (*Theb.* 5: 74%; 6: 11%). For features of the technique of Virgilian speeches cf. Heinze, *op. cit.*, 403-465.

With the thought cf. Eur. *Hec.* 69-70: τί ποτ' αἰρομαι ἔννυχος οὐτ'ω / δέμασι, φάσμασιν; Apoll. Rh. 3, 617-618: ἄφαρ δέ μιν ἠπεροπῆες, / οἷα τ' ἀκηχεμένην, ὀλοοὶ ἐρέεσκον δνειροι; 3, 636-638: δειλὴ ἐγών, οἶόν με βαρεῖς ἐφόβησαν δνειροι. / δέϊδια, μὴ μέγα δὴ τι φέρη κακὸν ἤδε κελευθὸς / ἡρώων. περὶ μοι ξελὼν φρένες ἡερέθονται; 3, 688-691: Χαλκίοπη, περὶ μοι παιδίων σὸς θυμὸς ἄηται, / . . . / τοῖα κατακνώσσοις μινυθαδὶν νέον ὑπνῷ / λείσσω δνειράτα λυγρὰ. The dreams of Medea, however, are recounted; those of Dido, as Cartault (*op. cit.*, 1, 341) objects, are not. But perhaps mystery compensates for more exact knowledge.

For the order *Anna soror* cf. 4, 634: *Annam . . . sororem*; also *G.* 4, 341; 4, 354; *Aen.* 7, 503; 11, 823; 12, 222; *Ov. H.* 7, 191: *Anna soror, soror Anna*. So *mater* commonly follows the proper name with which it is in apposition; cf. *G.* 1, 498 (*G.* 4, 321 is ambiguous); *Aen.* 6, 778; 10, 76; 10, 172; the usage for *pater* is divided, with *Iup-pter* stereotyping the second place for *pater*, as with the names of Aeneas and Anchises the epithet holds the first; *frater* in Virgil precedes more often than it follows. Probably metrical considerations play a large part in this question. On the initial position of Anna's name in the speech cf. Kvčala, *Vergil-Studien* (1878), 53, who notes Virgil's habit of putting a vocative in the first sentence of a speech.

The sisterly relations of Dido and Anna

10. quis novos hic nostris successit sedibus hospes,

(q)uis G, (qu)is P. nouos P, nouus P<sup>2</sup>cell. se(dibus hospes) G, desedibus F (sedibus F<sup>1</sup>).

10. quis . . . hospes: *Prisc. Inst.* 17, 47 (G. L. K. 3, 137) — nouus —; *Donat. in Ter. Hec.* 817 — nouus —; *Anth. Lat. no.* 11, 79 (1, p. 44 Riese) — nouos A —. 10. quis . . . nostris: *Schol. Dan. Aen.* 3, 591 — nouus —. 10. novos hospes: *Gl. Ansil.* 397, 343 — nouus —. 10. nostris . . . hospes: *Arus. Ex. Eloc.* (G. L. K. 7, 507) *cod. M.* 10. nostris sedibus: *Gl. Ansil.* 395, 240.

are repeatedly emphasized; cf. lines 31, 420, 435, 438, 456, 476, 478, 492, 501, 549, 634, 673, 675, 682, 686. The Scholia Danielis on this passage and Serv. *Aen.* 1, 343 discuss the pedigree of Dido and Anna.

Chaucer's rendering of this story in his *Legend of good Women, Dido*, begins at line 243.

9. *suspensam*: as in 2, 114; 2, 729; 5, 827; 6, 722. Henry (*Aeneidea*, 2 (1878), 557) calls this the "agitation between the impulses of her passion on the one hand and the terrific warnings of her dreams on the other." Cf. also the *dubiae mentis* of 4, 55.

9. *insomnia*: ἐνύπνια (cf. Meillet, *Esquisse d'une hist. de la lang. lat.* (1928), 219–220; also, for the formation of this compound, the words *inaures* (ἐνώτια), *insula* (cf. Skt. bhāla, 'brow'), and perhaps *insula* (*sal* or *salum*). Serv.: *si 'terret' legerimus, 'insomnia' erit vigilia . . . sciendum igitur, quia si 'terret' dixerimus, antiqua erit elocutio; 'insomnia' enim, licet et Pacuvius et Ennius frequenter dixerit, Plinius tamen exclusit et de usu removit. sed ambiguitatem lectionis haec res fecit, quod non ex aperto vigilasse se dixit, sed habuisse quietem inplacidam, id est, somniis interruptam, ut intelligamus eam et insomniis territam, et propter terrorem somniorum vigilas quoque perpessam.* In no other Virgilian passage is the feminine noun *insomnia* used, though *insomnis* is found in *Aen.* 9, 167, while one definite case of the neuter plural noun does occur (6, 896); both words, however, in spite of Servius, appear in classical usage. Yet several considerations favor our construing *insomnia* here as the neuter plural: (1) the weight of MS evidence is for *terrent*; (2) bad dreams (and *insomnia* seem usually to be such; a fair sample is Sil. 10, 357: *exercent rabidam truculenta insomnia mentem*)

are terrifying, but not mere sleeplessness, characteristic as the latter may be of lovers (cf. 4, 5, n. (*nec, etc.*); *Apoll. Rh.* 3, 751; *Val. Fl.* 7, 6; in a charm (*Audolent, Defix. Tab.* 270; *Dessau* 8757) we read *νε σομνονυ χορνυγαθ σεθ αμορε ετ δεσινεριο μεο ουραθουρ*; cf. *Papyr. Gr. mag.* 2, pages 17; 28; 30; 39–40; 58; 82–83; 167 *Preisendanz*; in *Gl. Ansil.* 310, 1568; 477, 29 *insomnia* is glossed by *vigiliae*); (3) Dido had herself previously been led (1, 353–360) by dreams of the murdered Sychaeus to flee from Tyre, and later (4, 460–461) she receives warning intimations from his shrine; (4) Anna's allusion (4, 34) to the *manis* gains added point if the shade of Sychaeus is thought of as having just appeared to Dido, and if Anna is trying to dispel the reality of such an apparition. As Henry (*op. cit.*, 2, 558) well notes, it is the function of the *manes* to send *insomnia* (6, 896); cf. 4, 384, *infra*. As Dido is warned by dreams (probably, in part, at least, of Sychaeus) from proving false to his memory so Aeneas is later (4, 351–353) stirred by visions of Anchises warning him against the neglect of his mission (though nothing is said of the propriety of his devotion to the memory of Creusa!). Pascal (in *Athenaeum*, 5 (1917), 252–253) would read *tenent* but understand *insomnia*, the plural of *insomnium*, as meaning 'sleeplessness,' comparing Prop. 2, 25 (3, 20), 47–48 (cf. also Charis. *Inst. gram.* 1 (G. L. K. 1, 101, 22–25): *idem Vergilius insomnia pluraliter pro vigiliis posuit* (quoting our passage), *quamvis et hic somnia intelligi possint, quibus Dido terreri potuerit*), yet the reasons cited above for explaining it as dreams seem more cogent. Getty (in *Am. Journ. of Philol.* 54 (1933), 1–28) discusses at length the form *insomnia*, classifying as follows: (A) *insomnia* (fem.), 'sleeplessness,' only in

## 11. quem sese ore ferens, quam forti pectore et armis!

(q)uem GP. oreferens P (öreferens (i.e., o referens) P<sup>2</sup>). quem forti F (quam forti F<sup>1</sup>; cf. Fairclough in *Trans. Am. philol. Assoc.* 63 (1932), 208, et *Serv.*: sane subaudis 'est'); quem defend. Valesius (*Valesiana* (1694), 183) et Markland (in *Stat. Silv.* 5, 3, 46). fortis π, dell. pect (ore et armis) G.

11-12. quem . . . deorum: [Acro] in *Hor. C.* 2, 4, 19 — qui sese a V —. 11. quem . . . armis: *Isid. Etym.* 9, 7, 28 — quam sese (quem sese dell.); o. referens K; quam forti (qua se forte B) —; *Hrab. Maur. De Universo*, 7, 5. 11. quem sese ferens ore: *Gl. Ansil.* 477, 44. 11. ore ferens: *Gl. Ansil.* 416, 155. 11. quam forti . . . armis: *Anth. Lat. no.* 17, 40 (1, p. 63 Riese) — quem A —. 11. forti pectore: *Gl. Ansil.* 252, 250.

nom. and abl. sing., from Plautus on; (B) *insomnium* (neut.), 'sleeplessness,' only gen. and abl. sing., nom., acc., gen., abl. pl.; in the singular from Suetonius, in the plural ('waking visions') from our passage and 6,896 on; (C) *insomnium* (neut.), 'dream,' only acc. sing., nom. and acc. pl., from Pliny, *N. H.* 18, 118 on. His assumption of the second meaning in the present line seems unconvincing, for the fact that line 5 says that Dido did not sleep calmly is no evidence against sleep troubled by distressing dreams, and if Virgil actually coined the word he may as well have done so in the third sense as in the second. Nor does the fact that Dido lay awake the whole night at 4, 529-531, at a more critical stage in her passion, prove anything for the present occasion.

Granted that the word *insomnia* means 'dreams,' the question still remains whether they were all of Sychaeus, as Henry held, followed by Glover (*Virgil*, 2 ed. (1912), 187), or rather, as Kakridis (in *Hermes*, 45 (1910), 463-465; in part after De la Ville de Mirmont, *Apollonios de Rhodes et Virgile* (1894), 317, n. 5), followed by Stearns (*Studies of the Dream as a technical Device in Lat. Epic and Drama* (1927), 32, and n. 78), believes, of a marriage with Aeneas, as the dreams of Medea in Apollonius were not divinatory but born of the preoccupations of her waking hours. Stearns feels that the latter explanation (with which cf. Pease on *Cic. De Div.* 1, 45) better agrees with what Dido afterward decided to do, but it might well be argued that her later determination is taken because the persuasions of Anna reenforced her waking decision to neglect the supernatural warnings of the night, warnings such as actu-

ally induced the less emotional Aeneas to resolve upon flight from Carthage, and I feel that the dramatic effect of the conflict of duty and emotion is heightened by such an interpretation.

For a curious modern parallel to the situation described cf. Hartland, *Ritual and Belief* (1914), 209. Patroni (in *Atti d. r. Accad. di Arch., Lett., e belle Arti* (Naples), N. S., 3 (1915), 55-70) tries to find in a variously interpreted Pompeian wall-painting (sometimes called Dionysus and Ariadne) a representation of these dreams of Dido, with a mingling of the cave scene and other details, but he seems adequately refuted by Sogliano (in the same volume, 73-76); cf. Jahn in *Jahresb. ü. d. Fortschr. d. kl. Alt.* 196 (1924), 288.

10. quis, etc.: for similar situations cf. *Od.* 11, 335-337: τοῖσιν δ' Ἀρήτη λευκώλενος ἤρχετο μύθων / Φαίηκες, πῶς ὕμιν ἀνὴρ ὅδε φαίναται εἶναι / εἰδὸς τε μέγεθός τε ἰδὲ φρένας ἔνδον ἑσας; Val. Fl. 6, 587-590: tunc his germanam adgreditur, ceu nescia, dictis: / quis, precor, hic; toto iamdudum fervere campo / quem tueor, quemque ipsa vides? nam te quoque tali / altoniam virtute reor; Chateaubriand, *Les Martyrs*, 8, 116 (Naylor in *Johns Hopkins Stud. in Rom. Lit. and Lang.* 18 (1930), 152). Dido is not here asking Anna to supply the name of Aeneas, which was known to her from 1, 544 and 1, 596 onward, as 1, 617 shows. Gercke (*Die Entstehung der Aeneis* (1913), 46-47) thinks there is an inconsistency between the knowledge of Dido in 1, 617-618 of the divine parentage of Aeneas and 4, 12, where from his demeanor she suspects his heavenly lineage. Hence, he infers, Book I was not clearly outlined when the present passage was composed,

## 12. credo equidem — nec vana fides — genus esse deorum.

(c)redo G, (c)redeo P, credo (o ex corr.) γ. uano M (uana M<sup>1</sup>). gen' (m. rec. sup.) c. (esse deorum) G.

[11] 12. credo . . . deorum: *Serv. Aen.* 4, 365; *Donat. Aen.* 4, 365; *Isid. Etym.* 9, 7, 28 — una pro uana C<sup>1</sup> —; *Hrab. Maur. De Universo*, 7, 5. 12. credo . . . fides: *Anth. Lat. no.* 719a, 54 (2, p. 191 Riese). 12. nec . . . fides: *Gl. Ansil.* 387, 158. 12. genus . . . deorum: *De dub. Nomin. (G. L. K.* 5, 579) — esse om. *MV* —; *Gl. Ansil.* 265, 220.

and *quis*, etc. may be a genuine seeking for information as to the identity of Aeneas. This may be true, yet there is room for a contrast between the common report, which Dido uses in 1, 617, and her own observation, which leads her to believe the report well founded (4, 12); in that case *quis* is exclamatory rather than purely interrogative.

10. *nostris*, etc.: cf. *Catull.* 64, 176: *in nostris requiesset sedibus hospes*; *Ennod. Carm.* 2, 84, 1: *successit finibus hospes*.

10. *successit*: a frequent word for entering a house or some kind of shelter; e.g., *Ecl.* 5, 6; 5, 19; *G.* 3, 418; *Aen.* 1, 627; 2, 478; 7, 501; 8, 123: *succede penetibus hospes*; 11, 146.

10. *hospes*: cf. 4, 323. With the cadence cf. *Venant. Fort. Misc.* 4, 1, 15: *properavit sedibus hospes*.

11. *quem*, etc.: in this passage, describing the feminine hero worship (*Hor. S.* 1, 6, 31-33: *puellis / iniciat curam quaerendi singula, quali / sit facie, sura, quali pede, dente, capillo*; *Glover, Virgil*, 2 ed. (1912), 182; *Keith in South Atlantic Quart.* 21 (1922), 70-71), four points are emphasized, as noted by *Schol. Dan.* 4, 12: *et bono ordine amari facit Aeneam ab ea . . . primo virtute et factis, deinde generis nobilitate, inde oratione, post pulchritudine; et singula singulis reddit*. More specifically *Isid. Etym.* 9, 7, 28: *in eligendo marito quattuor spectari solent: virtus, genus, pulchritudo, sapientia. ex his sapientia potentior est ad amoris affectum. refert haec quattuor Vergilius de Aenea, quod his Dido impulsus est in amorem eius: pulchritudine: quam sese ore ferens! virtute: quam forti pectore et armis! oratione: heu quibus ille / iactatus fatis, quae bella exhausta canebat! genere: credo equidem, nec vana fides, genus esse deorum*; 10, 203; cf. the tenth-century

*Chronicon Salernitanum*, which (p. 501) borrows the same materials (quoted by *Manitius, Gesch. d. lat. Lit. d. Mittelalters*, 2 (1923), 201). These four points, recounted by Dido to Anna, have already been mentioned, in their effect upon Dido herself, in 4, 3-5: *virtus, gentis honos, voltus, verba*. The author gives us, then, a second version of the same thought (cf. 4, 188, n. (*tam ficti, etc.*); also the epic repetitions of 4, 117-127 by 4, 130-172 and 4, 223-237 by 4, 265-275); in this case either for emphasis, or because he had not made a final selection between the two versions, or to let us see the same idea from two different angles. *Ovid (M.* 7, 26-28) notes essentially these qualities in Jason: [*quem, nisi crudelem, non tangat Iasonis aetas / et genus et virtus? quem non, ut cetera desint, / ore movere potest? certe mea pectora movit*]; cf. 7, 43-46.

With Dido's description of Aeneas cf. *Apoll. Rh.* 3, 453-458, quoted in 4, 3, n. (*multa . . . multus*), above; an elaborate imitation is found in *Vida, Christias*, 3, 87-93.

11. *ore ferens*: the *Scholia Danielis* are in doubt whether this refers to speech or appearance, yet if we have the same idea as in 3, 490: *sic oculos, sic ille manus, sic ora ferebat* (cf. *Sil.* 8, 72 (of Aeneas): *noto sese ore ferebat*) it seems likely that the appearance is intended; cf. also 1, 503: *talem se laeta ferebat*.

The physical beauty of Aeneas, of which Homer says nothing (cf. *Moseley, Characters and Epithets* (1926), 69), is by Virgil several times emphasized; in 1, 589-593 Venus had specially embellished him to make an impression (as Athena had done with Odysseus for a like purpose in *Od.* 6, 229-235; cf. 23, 156-158), which 1, 613 shows us was produced, and at 4, 141 he is again called *pulcherrimus*;

cf. also 4, 84, n. (*genitoris imagine*). So Julius Caesar desired it to be thought that he had received from Venus a kind of youthful bloom (Dio Cass. 43, 43, 3), and Drew (*The Allegory of the Aeneid* (1927), 76-78) points out that Augustus, according to Suet. *Aug.* 79, had a similar pride in his appearance, which Aeneas may here allegorically suggest. Aeneas's age is perhaps to be thought of as at this time about 33 (Sainte-Beuve, *Étude sur Virgile* (1857), 207) or 35 (Daniels in *Cl. Weekly*, 23 (1930), 173), though Glover (*Virgil*, 2 ed. (1912), 214) apparently thinks of him as much older, 'a man of years.'

11. *forti pectore*: cf. *Ov. M.* 2, 754: *in pectore forti*; 11, 462; Dict. Cret. 4, 15: *forti pectore patienda*; Serv.: *pectore ad patientiam, armis ad fortitudinem*. Yet whether *pectore* is to be taken literally, of the physical appearance of Aeneas, or figuratively, of his boldness and endurance, depends upon our interpretation of *armis*, and in this word Virgil has furnished a notable ambiguity; cf. Henry, *Aeneidea*, 4 (1889), 225, on 11, 641, where *armis* is equally ambiguous, being referable either to *armus* or to *arma*. Dares, 12, describes Aeneas as *rufum, quadratum*, etc.; cf. Tzetzes, *Posthom.* 378-379: *Alvelas δ' ἀρα βαύς, ἀτὰρ παχύς, εὐστήθος πέλε, / γλαυκός, λευκόχροος, ἀναφάλας, εδρυμέτωπος*. In the present passage various editors, from Valesius to Conington (cf. Brandt, *Zur Kritik u. Exeg. in Vergils Aeneis I-III* (1876), 38, n. 1) have derived *armis* from *armus*; cf. Tennyson, *Marriage of Geraint*, 86: "O noble breast and all-puissant arms" (which Mustard, however (*Class. Echoes in Tennyson* (1904), 158), would trace to a Welsh source). It should be observed that of the seven unequivocal cases in which *armus* occurs in Virgil five (*G.* 3, 86; *Aen.* 6, 881; 10, 711; 11, 497; 12, 722) describe the *armi* of horses, bulls, or boars (cf. *Ov. M.* 10, 700; Isid. *Etym.* 11, 1, 62: *proprie armi quadrupedum sunt*), while the two cases referring to human beings (*Aen.* 10, 894; 11, 644) employ the word to designate injured parts of the anatomy rather than to convey any idea of beauty or physical strength. *Aen.* 11, 641: *ingentemque animis, ingentem corpore et armis*, I should interpret as power of mind, body, and weapons. It is

also noteworthy that Servius, usually quick to point out ambiguity or alternative interpretations, here clearly takes *armis* as from *arma*, and knows no other explanation. I should then, despite *Il.* 3, 194: *εὐπρεπὸς δ' ὤμοισιν ἰδὲ στέρνοισι ἰδέσθαι*; Val. Fl. 1, 434-435: *ostenditque umeros fortes, spatiumque superbi / pectoris Herculeis aequum, Melcagre, lacertis*; 4, 265: *pectore et armis*; and in spite of the lengthy arguments of Henry (*Aeneidea*, 2 (1878), 560-565), reject the view that the word is a form of *armus*; cf. Kvíčala, *Neue Beitr. z. Erkl. d. Aeneis* (1881), 76-77; Page in *Cl. Rev.* 7 (1893), 416. *Pectore et armis* will then roughly correspond, in a reverse order, to the *arma virumque* of 1, 1. In 6, 403: *pietate insignis et armis* the meaning 'weapons' is surely to be accepted. For such a common figurative use of *arma* cf. Braumüller, *Ueber Tropen u. Figuren in Virgil's Aeneis*, 1 (1877), 3. Bell (*The Latin Dual* (1923), 285 and 309) suggests an ellipsis, such as that of *validis instructus* or of *se gerens*.

12. *credo equidem*: cf. 4, 10, n. (*quis*); Prud. *Cathem.* 3, 196: *credo equidem neque vana fides*; Lup. *Ferrar. Ep.* 6, 185 (*Mon. Germ. hist. Epist.*); cf. 6, 187; Vida, *Christias*, 5, 301: *credo equidem hunc (non te fallit) genus esse deorum* (cf. 5, 3); and for *credo equidem* 6, 848 (also *equidem credo*: *G.* 1, 415; *Aen.* 10, 29); Val. Fl. 4, 476; Paul. *Nol. Epist.* 10, 302; *Carm.* 27, 222; *Anth. Lat.* no. 18, 35 (1, p. 81 Riese); no. 763a, 8 (2, p. 250 Riese); Maximian, 4, 45 (*P. L. M.* 5, 339); Paul. *Petric. De Vita Martini*, 1, 127 (*C. S. E. L.* 16, 24); Audradus, *Passiones Iuliani et Soc.* 2, 71 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 3, 93): *credo equidem*; Milo, *De Sobriet.* 1, 353 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 3, 626): *credo equidem nec vana fides*; Bernard. *Andegav. De Mirac.* 18 (*Patr. Lat.* 141, 155): *credo quidem neque vana fides*; also *credo quidem* (Ermoldus, *In Hon. Hludowici*, 4, 591 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 2, 74); Hrabanus Maurus, *Carm.* 4, 11 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 2, 161). In *Aen.* 2, 704 we find *cedo equidem, nec*.

12. *genus . . . deorum*: cf. Vitalis, *Aulul.* 399; from the idea of race (as in 1, 380; 5, 45; 6, 123; 6, 834; 7, 219; also 11, 305: *gente deorum*) the word *genus* comes to be applied in poetry to a particular member of

## 13. degeneres animos timor arguit. heu, quibus ille

(de)generes P, (deg)eneres G. animos . . . . que timor (que eras., *celera erasa fortasse* fatis ex v. 14) γ. he(u quibus ille) G.

13-14. heu . . . canebat: *Isid. Etym.* 9, 7, 28 — eu BDT, e C<sup>1</sup> K; iactus T<sup>1</sup>; factis C<sup>1</sup> —; *Hrab. Maur. De Universo*, 7, 5. 13-14. heu . . . fatis: *Donat. in Ter. Hec.* 167 — iactus f. —. 13. degeneres . . . ille: *Script. Lat. Rei metr.* 580 Gaisford. 13. degeneres . . . arguit: *Diomed. Art. gram.* 1 (G. L. K. 1, 310); *Schol. Dan. Aen.* 11, 164; *Marl. Cap.* 5, 494 — degeneris A<sup>1</sup> R<sup>1</sup> —; *Agroec. Ars* (G. L. K. 7, 119) — animas B —; *Lact. Plac. in Stat. Theb.* 1, 445; *Schol. Lucan.* 6, 417 (ed. Weber); *Comm. Cruq. in Hor. C.* 1, 13, 7; [Acro] in *Hor. Epod.* 11, 10, ed. Hauthal — om. codd. A2 —; *Isid. Etym.* 2, 30, 12; *Diff.* 1, 19; *Alcuin, De Dialect.* 349 (*Patr. Lat.* 101, 971); *Ioann. Saresb. Policr.* 6, 14, p. 609c (cf. 7, 19, p. 684d). 13. degeneres animos: *Prob. Cathol.* 1, 33 (G. L. K. 4, 15); *Gl. Ansil.* 166, 485 — animi —. 13. degeneres: *Gl. Ansil.* 165, 484; q.v.

that race or a descendant of some person (cf. Braumüller, *Ueber Tropen u. Figuren in Vergil's Aeneis*, 1 (1877), 21), e.g., 6, 792: Augustus Caesar, *Divi* genus; 6, 839: *Aeaciden*, genus *armipotentis Achilli*; 7, 213: *rex genus egregium Fauni*; Catull. 61, 2: *Uraniae* genus (Hymen); Hor. C. 1, 3, 27: *audax Iapeti* genus; S. 2, 5, 62-63: *ab allo / demissum genus Aenea* (where Lejay compares Hes. *Op.* 299: Πέρση, δῖον γένος), and this usage extends occasionally to prose: Serv. G. 3, 4: *Eurystheus rex fuit Graeciae, Persei* genus; Jul. Val. 1, 29: *Alexander rex genus Iovis fecisset*; 3, 60; La Cerda (*ad loc.*) compares Plut. *De Fort. Rom.* 8: λαμπρά μὲν τὰ σὰ ἔργα καὶ μεγάλα καὶ θεῖον ὡς ἀληθῶς ἐξέφηνας αἷμα καὶ γένος οὖσαν σεαυτὴν. The plural recognizes not only the mother of Aeneas (as *nate dea* in 4, 223; 4, 560; and ten other places in the *Aeneid*) but the line of her ancestry, and the implication was, of course, complimentary to Augustus in his doctrine of the Julian descent from Ascanius and Aeneas. Not only is Aeneas addressed by others or referred to by the poet in terms indicative of his partly divine origin (*nate dea*; *sate gente deum* (8, 36); *sate sanguine divum* (6, 125); *deum* gens (10, 228); *deum certissima proles* (6, 322); *heros* (4, 447, where see the n.)) but he proclaims it himself (e.g., 1, 380; 6, 123), and his lineage is acknowledged by Dido, as here and in 1, 565; 1, 615.

The construction of *genus* is uncertain. If *genus* = 'race' are we to construe (supplying *eius*): "his race belongs to the gods"

(cf. Hor. S. 1, 6, 12: *Laevinum, Valeri* genus)? Or, if *genus* = *prolem* (supplying *eum*): "he is the offspring of gods"? As here somewhat harsh I should reject the explanation (on the analogy of 5, 285: *Cressa* genus; 8, 114: *qui* genus; 12, 25: *nec* genus *indecores*; Ov. F. 4, 66: *Grainus uterque* genus: Sil. 14, 288; Löfstedt, *Syntactica*, 2 (1933), 422) that *genus* is accusative of specification, and that (supplying *eum*) we should construe: "he, in respect to his race, is of the gods." With the thought cf. Nonn. 4, 83-84: ἡλιτον οὐ τάχα Κάδμον ἐπιχθονίη τέκε γαστήρ, / ἀλλὰ Διὸς γένος ἔσχεον ἔην δ' ἐφείσατο φύλῃην.

13. degeneres: for the thought cf. Pind. Ol. 1, 130-131: ὁ μέγας δὲ κίνδυνος ἀναλκιν / οὐ φῶτα λαμβάνει, but the word *degener* — a term of poetic and post-Augustan prose usage — has an added meaning of one who lapses from the traditions or standards of his race (Serv. Aen. 2, 549: *degenerem non respondentem moribus patris*), as seeds and fruits may revert (G. 1, 198; 2, 59), and here acquires especial force from the preceding *genus . . . deorum*. The particular type of deterioration here noted (*timor*) appears in various passages, of which some were doubtless influenced by the present: Luc. 3, 149: *degeneris . . . metus*; 6, 417: *degeneres trepidant animi* (cf. schol.); Tac. Ann. 1, 40 (of Agrippina): *cum se divo Augusto ortam neque degenerem ad pericula testaretur*; 4, 38 (of Tiberius): *quidam ut degeneris animi interpretabantur*; 12, 36: *preces degeneres fuere ex metu*; Val. Fl. 7, 430; Sil. 15, 76: *degeneres*

## 14. iactatus fatis! quae bella exhausta canebat!

(i)actatus *P*, (ia)ctatus *G*, iactatus. (iactatust ?) *b*. fuit *C*<sup>1</sup> ut vid. (fatis *C*<sup>2</sup>). que *P* (a add. sup. *P*<sup>1</sup>). exhausta *b* (h add. sup.). ca(nebat) *G*.

[13\*] 14. quae . . . canebat: [*Iul. Rufin.*] p. 60 *Halm.* 14. bella exhausta: *Gl. Ansil.* 80, 25 — exhausta —. 14. exhausta canebat: *Gl. Arma*, 17, 59 — exhausta —.

*tenebris animas damnavit Avernis*; Inc. *Paneg. Const. Aug.* 14, 2 (*Paneg. Lat.*, 2 ed., 300): *degeneris, ut dictum est, animos arguebat*; Ambros. *De Off.* 2, 62: *degeneres animos vita arguit*; Auson. *Ep.* 22, 26 (p. 262 Peiper): *degeneres animos timor arguit*; Firm. *Mathes.* 1, 7, 28: *degeneris animi timore prostratus*; Paul. Nol. *Carm.* 19, 195; *degeneres animos* (cf. 31, 52); Aug. *C. D.* 2, 29; Sidon. *Ep.* 1, 7, 7; Johannes de Altavilla, *Architrenius*, 4, 136 (p. 297 Wright; cf. p. 351); Alex. Nequam, *Novus Avianus*, 2, 23 (Hervieux, *Les Fabulistes Latins*, 3 (1894), 464): *ocia degeneres animos languencia reddunt*; Gualterus, *Alexandreis*, 1, 47: *ut degener arguar absil*; 5, 212: *degeneres animi*. And with this passage Boissier (*La Fin du Paganisme*, 5 ed., 2 (1907), 46) compares Juvenc. 2, 37: *infidos animos timor inruit*. Stephenson, however (*ad loc.*), somewhat less probably, thinks *degeneres* is here used of men without a divine pedigree, 'unheroic,' as contrasted with heroes. (The view of Dunbabin (in *Cl. Rev.* 39 (1925), 112) that Dido is here thinking of herself, rather than of Aeneas, and continuing the thought of line 9, seems impossible to accept.)

13. *arguit*: cf. Ov. *Ep.* 19, 223–224: *nec, si generosa probatis / nomina, despectis arguor ortus avis*.

13. *heu*, etc.: cf. Val. Fl. 6, 678–679 (Medea speaking of Jason): *heu, quibus ignota sese pro gente periclis / obiiit!* For the effect produced upon Dido by the recital of the experiences of Aeneas Henselmanns (*Die Widersprüche in Vergils Aeneis* (1914), 53, n. 1) compares Shakespeare in *Othello*, Act 1, Sc. 3, 167: "She lov'd me for the dangers I had passed." Such speeches of *miseratio* are discussed by Billmeyer, *Rhet. Stud.* z. d. *Reden in Vergils Aeneis* (1932), 34–42. The word *heu* in about 20 of its 56 Virgilian occurrences is followed, as here, by a question or an exclamation.

14. *iactatus*: one of the characteristic expressions of the *Aeneid* (cf. Cartault, *L'Art de Virgile dans l'Énéide*, 1 (1926), 138, n. 4), which attached to Aeneas and the Trojans, especially in the first half of the *Aeneid*, something of the feeling which Homer created for Odysseus. As in *Od.* 1, 1–4 that hero μάλα πολλὰ / πλάγχθη . . . / . . . / πολλὰ δ' ὁ γ' ἐν πόντῳ πάθεν ἄλγεα δὲ κατά θυμόν, so Aeneas in 1, 3: *multum ille et terris iactatus et alto* (cf. 6, 693), and the emphasis on these buffetings is continued in many of the 32 occurrences of the word in the *Aeneid*. As Conington (*ad loc.*) notes, *iacto* more properly applies to experiences on the sea, but is also used of being buffeted in divers lands. Dido here probably makes no distinction between the two sorts.

14. *fatis*: Virgil often alludes to fate or the fates (cf. 4, 110, n. (*fatis*)), from 1, 2 (*fato profugus*) onward, and in Aeneas's own narration to Dido he frequently uses the terms in connection with his own experiences (e.g., in Book 3, lines 7, 9, 17, 182, 337, 375, 395, and 494), so that Dido may merely, in her use of the word, be quoting him. It is noticeable that while Aeneas constantly uses 'fate(s),' in the fashion of the Stoic sage to whom he has been likened, Dido, on the other hand, prefers to speak of *casus* (e.g., 1, 615–616: *quis te, nate dea, per tanta pericula casus / insequitur*; 1, 623; 1, 754), or, again, of *fortuna* (4, 434; 4, 603; 4, 653, where see the n. on *fortuna*), and where she might well have mentioned fate she sometimes uses other expressions; e.g., 4, 550: *non licuit*; 4, 613: *necesse est*. The only other lines in which she employs the term 'fate' are unusual: 4, 614: *fata Iovis*; 4, 651: *fata deusque*. In each of these there may be detected a sneering reference to the religiosity of Aeneas, as expressed in 4, 340–341 and 4, 356, just as she has already sneered at it in 4, 376–380, and we are consequently not justified in inferring from



## 15. si mihi non animo fixum immotumque sederet

(s)i P, (si) G. amo (ni add. sup.) c. inmotum (corr. in immotum) b, inmotum c. q(ue sederet) G. sideret R, sederes P (sederet P<sup>1</sup>).

15-19. si . . . culpa: Prisc. Inst. 18, 91-93 (G. L. K. 3, 248) — nec uime uinculo sociare (uellem om.) P; cum (pro cui) L; uinculo N; mortem PM; pertesum PMDLr et ex per te sum corr. N, partesum R, par taesu V; taedeque RMD, tediaeque N, thedaeque P; uni om. P; forsan om. N add. n; subcumbere PD; culpe MD — 15. si . . . fixum: Diomed. Art. gram. 1 (G. L. K. 1, 377).

the use of the word any sincere belief on her part in fate. This is all an indication — though the point should not be pressed too far — of the contrast between Dido's essential Epicureanism and the typical Stoicism of Aeneas; cf. Pease in *Cl. Journ.* 22 (1927), 243-252. At 3, 717 Aeneas is described as having narrated the *fata . . . deum*, but this is in the words of Virgil himself, which Dido naturally cannot be echoing. I incline, then, to think that *fatis* here has no theological implications but is equivalent to *malis*, as the Scholia Danielis suggest on 1, 32.

14. *exhausta*: cf. ἀντλῆν of draining (toil or suffering) to the dregs; e.g., Aesch. *Prom. V.* 377: τὴν παρούσαν ἀντλήσω τύχην; Choeph. 748: τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλα τλημόνως ἤντλουν κακά; Eur. *Hipp.* 898; Med. 79. In Virgil cf. *Aen.* 9, 356: *poenarum exhaustum satis est* (cf. G. 2, 398); 10, 57: *tot maris terraeque exhausta pericula terrae*; 11, 256: *ea quae muris bellando exhausta sub altis*; Liv. 21, 21, 8: *labores aut iam exhaustos aut mox exhauriendos*; 25, 31, 7: *laborum periculorumque . . . tam diu exhaustorum*; 26, 31, 7; 33, 11, 6: *dura atque aspera belli Aetoli exhauserint*; Ov. *M.* 12, 161: *exhausta pericula*; Stat. *Theb.* 6, 236-237: *posito donec cum sole labores / exhausti*; 10, 36: *exhaustos iterare labores*; Silv. 1, 1, 18: *exhaustis . . . armis*; Sil. 6, 655-656: *belli patribus monumenta prioris / exhausti*; 17, 350; Plin. *Ep.* 3, 9, 1: *quantum . . . laboris exhauserim*; Tac. *H.* 4, 32: *periculisque quae . . . exhausisset*; Nazarius, *Panegy. Constantin.* 37: *narravit . . . exhausta bella*; Kirk in *Am. Journ. of Philol.* 45 (1924), 174-181.

14. *canebat*: in the *Aeneid* sometimes literally of singers or birds, sometimes of musical instruments; in more than half its

occurrences of the predictions of prophets; in 1, 1 and 9, 525 of the tale of the poet himself. Dido is here probably using it (without the implication of 'measured utterance' which Conington (*ad. loc.*), comparing 3, 438, would find in it) of a recital or narration, as in the case of *Fama* (4, 190). The Scholia Danielis remark: *est hystero-logia; nam prius est ut bella exhauserit, post satis iactatus sit*.

15. *si mihi non*, etc.: Hewitt (in *Cl. Weekly*, 22 (1929), 179) considers it ironical first to tell us how Dido loves Aeneas (4, 1-14) and then how she might have fallen in love with him. The first account, however, is from the point of view of the author, the second from that of Dido herself, who is unwilling as yet to recognize the extent of her love. For the anaphora (*si . . . non, si non* (4, 18), cf. Otto, *De Anaphora* (1907), 50, who lists the cases in this book.

15. *animo . . . sederet*: cf. 2, 660: *sedet hoc animo*; 5, 418: *idque pio sedet Aeneae*; 7, 368; Petrarch (*Canz.* 17, 55-57): *un pensier . . . / sedendosi entro l'alma*; Vida, *Christias*, 3, 306: *immotum fixumve manebat*; 3, 352-354: *nam mens mihi denique fixa / atque immota manet numquam violare pudorem / virgineum*; Parini, *La Gratitude*, 51-52: *qual nel mio petto ancor siede costante / di quel di rimembranza*; Leopardi, *Al Conte C. Pepoli*, 70-72: *nell'imo petto grave, salda, immota / . . . siede / noia immortale*; Nelle *Nozze della Sorella Paolina*, 22-23: *nel petto siede / questa . . . cura*.

15. *fixum immotumque*: cf. 7, 249-250; Lucil. 431 Marx: *firmiter hoc pariterque tuo sit pectore fixum*; Liv. 21, 44, 9; Sen. *N. Q.* 7, 24, 3: *fixum et immobilem*; Dial. 6, 6, 2: *sors inmotae et in aeternum fixa*; Stat. *Theb.* 6, 160: *fixum matri inmotumque manebat*; Sil.

16. ne cui me vinclo vellem sociare iugali,  
postquam primus amor deceptam morte fefellit;

(ne) P, (n)e G, nec Bentley (cf. Hedicke, *Varia* (1879), 3). te p, me cell. uelle F (uellem F<sup>1</sup>). iug(ali) G.

(p)ostquam P. decepta Rr, deceptra F (decepta F<sup>1</sup>). mo(rte fefellit) G.

[15\*] 16. vinclo iugali: Gl. Ansil. 588, 198.

[15\*] 17. primus amor: Gl. Ansil. 461, 1283. 17. morte fefellit: Gl. Ansil. 377, 461.

4, 797: *si . . . fixumque sedetque*; Tac. Ann. 1, 47: *inmolatum . . . fixumque Tiberio fuit*; Plin. Ep. 7, 33, 6; Aug. *De catechiz. Rud.* 11 (also Christopher *ad loc.* and Vasold, *Aug. quae hauserit ex Vergilio*, 2 (1908), 8, for other parallels in Augustine); Walafridus Strabo, *Vita S. Galli*, 210 (Poet. Aevi Carol. 2, 434): *est animo fixum semotam ducere vilam*. Bell (*The Latin Dual* (1923), 207) thinks that *inmolatum* = *inmolatum et immobile*, and it is likely that the second, at least, of these notions is present in it; cf. the use of similar negatives of participles in the sense of adjectives in *-bilis*, as in the cases of *inaccessus*, *incitus*, *indiscretus*, *indomitus*, *infinitus*, *invictus*, *inviolatus*, etc. On such pairs of adjectives cf. Haffter, *Untersuch. z. alllat. Dichtersprache* (*Problemata*, 10 (1934)), 78-79.

16. vinclo . . . iugali: cf. 4, 59: *vincla iugalia*; Ov. M. 9, 549-550; Carm. Lat. epigr. no. 736, 4 Bücheler: *vincli pertesa iugalis*; 1771, 3: *(so)ciata iugali*; Flodoardus Remensis, *De Triumphis Christi* (Palaest.), 2, 8, 14: *pacto vinclisque exempta iugalis*. The syncopated form *vinculum* is used by Virgil for metrical reasons in about half the occurrences of this word, including all cases of *vinclo*, *vinclorum*, and *vinclis*; cf. Wotke in *Wiener Stud.* 8 (1886), 138. For the metaphor cf. Preston, *Stud. in the Diction of the Sermo amatorius in Rom. Comedy* (1916), 50-51.

16. sociare: used of association by marriage also in Ov. M. 10, 635; H. 3, 109; Am. 2, 8, 5; Sil. 1, 74-76; etc.

16. iugali: also in 4, 496 (*lectum*); 7, 320 (*ignis*); and 10, 497 (*nocte*), in the sense of *coniugali*; cf. Serv.: *'iugali' autem propter iugum quod inponebatur matrimonio coniungendis; unde et Iuno iugalis dicitur*; Schol. Dan.: *quidam 'iugali' accipiunt pro 'coniu-*

*gali'* (cf. Norden on 6, 623 for the metrical difficulties of using in dactylic hexameters certain terms for marriage), *per aphaeresin dictum, quae fit cum de prima parte verbi syllaba detrahitur*; cf. Vasold, *Augustinus quae hauserit ex Vergilio*, 2 (1908), 31, for references in Augustine to the *vinculum coniugale*. The word *iugale* regularly applies to legitimate wedlock; cf. Pichon, *De Sermone amatorio* (1902), 177. See also Steiner, *Das Bedeutungslehnewort in Vergils Äneis* (1921), 44-45.

17. primus amor: Sychaeus; cf. 4, 28-29: *ille meos, primus qui me sibi iunxit, amores / abstulit*; Ov. M. 1, 452: *primus amor Phoebe Daphne*; 14, 682-683: *tu primus et ultimus illi / ardor eris*; Prop. 1, 10, 1. Bell (*The Latin Dual* (1923), 158) observes that *amor* is objective = *is quem primum amavit*. Ambros. *Hexaem.* 5, 62 makes a curious use of this passage: *fertur etenim turtur ubi iugalis proprii fuerit amissione viduata pertaesum thalamos et nomen habere coniugii; eo quod primus amor fefellerit eam dilecti morte deceptam . . . itaque iterare coniunctionem recusat, nec pudoris iura aut complaciti viri resolvit foedera . . . discite, mulieres, quanta sit viduitatis gratia, quae etiam in avibus praedicatur*.

17. amor fefellit: cf. William of Chester, *Carm. in Laud. S. Anselmi*, ap. Baluz. *Miscell.* 4, ed. Mansi, p. 15 (cited by Zappert, *Virgil's Fortleben im Mittelalter* (1851), 26): *quosque fefellit amor*.

17. deceptam: 'cheated' thus by the death of Sychaeus, in 4, 330 she anticipates a further betrayal by the departure of Aeneas. For this use of *deceptus* (especially frequent on tombstones) cf. *Thes. Ling. Lat.* 5 (1910), 178, 66-78. The view of Henry (*Aeneidea*, 2 (1878), 567-568) that Dido and Sychaeus

18. si non pertaesum thalami taedaeque fuisset,  
huic uni forsitan potui succumbere culpae.

( >taesum *G*, pertesum *Rp*, perthesum *c*. alathalmi *G*, thalami (*h add. sup.*) *c*, ptalami *corr.* in thalami *γ*, talami *b*. taeda(eque fuisset) *G*, taedaequea *P*. fuissent *F<sup>1</sup>MPc<sup>1</sup>γ<sup>1</sup>*, fuisset *FP<sup>2</sup>*. Versus 19 abscissus in *G*. forsam *PRα*, forsitan *F*, forsā *F<sup>1</sup>Mbcγ*. potuissumcumbere (*u prima in spatio 2 litt., s prior erasa, super u vel ui superscr. aliquid, quod iam legi nequit; an m. prima possum?*) *F*, potui succumbere *F<sup>1</sup>cγγ*. culpam *c<sup>1</sup>*.

[15\*] 18. si . . . fuisset: *Schol. Dan. Aen. 4, 55* — perthesum thalami tidaeque fuissent *F* —; *Serv. Aen. 5, 714*; *Arus. Ex. Eloc. (G. L. K. 7, 500)*. 18. si . . . thalami: *Diomed. Art. gram. 1 (G. L. K. 1, 311; 1, 398)*.

[15\*] 19. huic . . . culpae: *Aug. Reg. (G. L. K. 5, 509)* — huic uni forsitan (*corr.* forsā) *F*, forsitan huic uni *ed. princ. (1506)* —; *Lact. Plac. in Stat. Theb. 5, 453* — *om. cod. Pa.* —. 19. huic uni culpae: *Gl. Ansil. 279, 75* — *h. uni* —. 19. potui . . . culpae: *Serv. Aen. 4, 551* — succumbere *NH* —; *Schol. Dan. Aen. 4, 550* — succumbere *F* —. 19. succumbere culpae: *Serv. Aen. 4, 172*.

were affianced but not yet wedded appears fanciful, in view of such phrases as *coniunx* (1, 354; 4, 21; 4, 458; 6, 473) and *iunxil* (4, 28).

18. *pertaesum*: cf. 5, 714; Gell. 15, 20, 6: *matrimonii pertaedeat*. Why is Dido so thoroughly (*per-*) disgusted with marriage, when we learn how much she loved Sychaeus (1, 344), and how devoted she is to his memory (4, 20; 4, 28–29; 4, 502; 4, 552), and later, in the underworld, find her in his companionship (6, 474)? Probably because of the annoying attentions of suitors at Tyre and yet more those of Iarbas and other neighboring princes; cf. 4, 35–38; 4, 535–536.

18. *thalami taedaeque*: on the double expression (paralleled in 7, 388) cf. Nissen, *Die exegetische Copula . . . bei Vergil*, etc. (1915), 14. This might be considered as a case of *hysteron proteron*, since the marriage torch precedes the marriage chamber; both words, however, are figuratively used for marriage itself, and the phrase is explained by Buscaroli (*ad loc.*) as a case of hendiadys (= 'nuptial torch'). For *taedae* in particular cf. 4, 339, n. (*praebendi*), below, and the many instances cited by Roszbach, *Römische Ehe* (1853), 337, n. 1138; Braumüller, *Ueber Tropen u. Figuren in Vergil's Aeneis*, 1, (1877), 7; also many parallels in other literatures, of which Milton, *P. L.* 11, 590 may serve as typical. With this figurative use of *thalami* cf. 4, 550.

18. *fuisset*: rather than *esset* (cf. Lejay *ad loc.*) because Dido unconsciously represents her aversion to a second marriage as a feeling of the past which has yielded before a new situation, her heart being already won.

19. *huic uni*: I believe (with Martinelli in *Athenaeum*, N. S., 6 (1928), 48–54) that this is to be joined with *culpa* rather than taken as masculine and referring to Aeneas, as Masera (*ad loc.*), Pistelli, and Arnaldi (in *Atene e Roma*, 8 (1927), 80; cf. Buscaroli *ad loc.*) explain it. Ellis (in *Cl. Rev.* 5 (1891), 457) compares for the thought Herodas, 1, 61–62: ἀλλ' ὦ τέκνον μοι . . . μὴν ταύτην / ἀμαρτήν ὁδὸς τῇ θεῷ.

19. *forsan*: cf. *Serv. Aen. 1, 203*: *forsan fortassis forsitan forte fors . . . unum significat, sed varie pro metri ratione ponuntur*; *Prisc. Gramm.* 3, 79, 6. In classical Latin the word is chiefly poetic (*Thes. Ling. Lat.* 6 (1921), 1136, 75), from Lucretius, 6, 729 on; in Virgil appearing also in *Aen. 1, 203*; 12, 153. *Serv. (ad loc.)* remarks: *singula pronuntianda sunt: ingenti enim dicta sunt libra, quibus confessioni desiderii sui quandam inicit refrenationem*.

19. *potui*: for the word cf. Kühner-Stegmann, *Ausf. Gram. d. lat. Sprache*, 2, 2, 2 ed. (1914), 402. *Aen. 4, 603* and *G. 2, 133*, which Conington cites, are hardly exact parallels. For the lilt of the end of the line cf. *Cir.* 296.

19. *succumbere culpa*: note the allitera-

## 20. Anna, fatebor enim, miseri post fata Sychaei

(*anna fateb*) or G. enim m. rec. sup. c. pos M. sychaei (*y in ras.*; *fuertatne u?*) P, sycaei R, sichaei b, sichai cp.

20. Anna . . . Sychaei: *Donat. in Ter. Hec.* 382 — enim m. p. f. s. (f. om. C) —. 20. fatebor enim: *Anth. Lat. no. 719a*, 22 (2, p. 190 *Riese*). 20. fata Sychaei: *De dub. Nomin.* (G. L. K. 5, 579).

tion. With the phrase cf. Tib. 1, 8, 7-8: *deus crudelius urit / quos videt invitos succubuisse sibi*; Ov. H. 4, 151: *et pugnare diu nec me submittere culpa*; 8, 38: *succubuit telis praepetis ipse dei*; M. 7, 748-750: *peccasse fatebor / et potuisse datis simili succumbere culpa / me quoque muneribus*.

19. *culpa*: Schol. Dan.: *bene 'culpa' potius quam amori*; Lact. Plac. in Stat. Theb. 5, 453: *minuit ergo amoris invidiam cum dicit 'culpa'*. Similar is Aen. 4, 172: *coniugium vocat; hoc praetexit nomine culpam*. The word may be used, in a minimizing way, of an immoral act (e.g., Hor. C. 3, 27, 37-38: *levis una mors est / virginum culpa*) or of immorality in general (*id.*, C. 3, 6, 17), yet the meaning here is less severe, and refers not so much to an act deserving blame as to a mistaken state of mind, a weakness, or, as the jurists (cf. Leonhard in *P.-W.* 4 (1901), 1748-1752) and other writers (e.g., Hor. S. 2, 6, 7) employ it, to remissness and neglect of manifest duty. Virgil's meaning is suggested by the following lines, for Dido's offence lies far less in falling in love with an attractive foreign prince like Aeneas than in her neglect of the memory of Sychaeus, to whom she has hitherto, despite varied temptations, remained true (4, 20-23; 4, 35-38). Terzaghi (*Virgilio ed Enea* (1928), 34), feels that, in addition to this meaning, *culpa* is used because her love "is not ennobled and elevated by that spirituality which alone, together with the attraction of the senses, constitutes the basis and the substance of true and blameless love." On *culpa* as a term of erotic writers cf. Pichon, *De Sermone amatorio* (1902), 118.

20. *fatebor enim*: cf. *Ecl.* 1, 31; *Catal.* 9, 11; Ermoldus, *In Hon. Hludowici*, 1, 335 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 2, 15); Aonius Palearius, *De Anim. Immort.* 2, 71.

20. *miseri*: sometimes used, like the

English term 'poor' (*New Engl. Dict.* 7 (1909), 1115), of the dead; cf. Serv. *ad loc.*: *aut muliebriter dixit 'miseri'; aut mortui, secundum Ciceronem, qui in Tusculanis* (1, 9-14; cf. *Isid. Etym.* 10, 173) *'miseros' mortuos vocat; aut certe ob hoc 'miseri,' cuius iam obliviscitur; aut 'miseri' sic occisi*; Virg. G. 4, 526; Aen. 2, 738; 4, 697; 6, 721; 6, 736; *Cul.* 268. Again, the word may be employed, to arouse sympathy, of those whose death is foreseen as imminent; e.g., Cic. *l.c.*; G. 4, 494; Aen. 10, 121; 10, 849; 12, 636; 12, 813; 12, 881; possibly 4, 315; 4, 420; and 4, 429 should be classed here, so far as Dido's own thought is, by a sort of tragic irony, clear to her but hidden from Anna.

On the word order cf. v. Boltensstern, *Bemerk. ü. d. Wortstellung . . . in Vergils Aeneis* (1880), 11.

20. *fata*: Fowler (*The Death of Turnus* (1927), 58), opposing the view of Matthaei in *C. Q.* 11 (1917), 15) well observes that "*fata* is often used by Virgil, not in a cosmic or metaphysical sense, but just as we use the word *lot*: so, e.g., in 11, 160, where Evander's '*vivendo vici mea fata*' means little more than that he has reached beyond the ordinary span of human life." Cf. also 1, 221-222: *crudelia . . . / fata Lyci*; 4, 678; Ov. *Ep.* 18, 118: *si mea fata petis*; Prop. 1, 17, 11: *poteris siccis mea fata opponere ocellis*; Quintil. 12, 11, 7: *sentiet vivus eam quae post fata praestari magis solet venerationem*.

20. *Sychaei*: for the events cf. 1, 343-359; also Schur in *P.-W.* 2 Ser. 4 (1931), 1013-1015. This is not the original form of the name; cf. Serv. Aen. 1, 343: *quotiens poeta aspera invenit nomina vel in metro non stantia aut multat ea aut de his aliquid mutilat. nam Sychaeus Sicharbas dictus est* (cod. C adds: *in historia Poenorum et in Libio* (i.e., Livio)). Another tradition appears in Justin, 18, 4, 5:

## 21. coniugis et sparsos fraterna caede penates

(coniugis et) G. caedes GP, cedes c<sup>1</sup>. paenates FG, penatis p.

21. et . . . penates: *Anth. Lat. no. 17, 9 (1, p. 62 Riese)*. 21. fraterna caede: *Gl. Ansil. 253, 61*.

*Elissa quoque Acherbae, avunculo suo . . . nubit*; cf. v. Gutschmid, *Kl. Schr.* 2 (1890), 64; also Meltzer, *Gesch. d. Karthager*, 1 (1879), 121, who on p. 463 asserts that the name Sychaeus cannot be connected, as Movers attempted, with a Phoenician name, but is an invention of Virgil. Kowalski, however, believes (*De Didone Graeca et Latina* (1929), 22-23) that Sychaeus was substituted for Sicharbas (for which cf. Smith, *Relig. of the Semites*, 1 ed. (1889), 354, n. 3) in the same source where certain other changes were made, of which Serv. *Aen.* 1, 343 speaks, the later name being perhaps suggested by the Σουχχαίου, of whom Steph. Byz., s.v., says: ἕνός Μαυροβίων, ὡς Δέξιππος (S. III after Christ) χρονικῶν δεκάτῳ. Perhaps for some writer Sychaeus was the eponymous ancestor of the Moorish tribe. The attempt of Leopold (in *Philol. Woch.* 42 (1922), 887) to connect this name with that of a town (Συχάρ or Συχημ) seems rather fanciful. Virgil has been followed in his use of the name by Ov. *H.* 7, 97; cf. also Sil. 3, 245-246: Sychaeus / Hasdrubalis proles. The prosody of the name varies, for in 1, 343 it has a long antepenult; cf. Gebhardi, *Krit.-exeg. Studien z. zweiten Teil v. Vergils Aeneis* (1879), 18.

21. et: epexegetic, the fate of Sychaeus consisting in the fact that Dido's husband was killed by the brother; cf. Nissen, *Die epexeg. Copula . . . bei Vergil u. einigen anderen Auloren* (1915), 29-30.

21. sparsos: with the phrase cf. Catull. 64, 181: *respersum iuvenem fraterna caede*; 64, 230: *ut lauri respergas sanguine dextram*; 64, 399; Hor. *C.* 2, 13, 6-8: *penetratilia / sparsisse nocturno cruore / hospitibus*; Prop. 2, 30, 21: *spargere et allerna communes caede penates*; and with the episode cf. Ov. *H.* 7, 113-114: *occidit internas coniunx mactatus ad aras, / et sceleris tanti praemia frater habet*; Serv. *ad loc.*, who hesitates between two explanations: *si Didonis, dispersos per figuram*

*intellegimus; si fratris, pollutos cruore*; in view of the parallels here cited the latter meaning of *sparsos* must be accepted.

21. fraterna caede: Schol. Dan.: *quam frater admiserit*. Dido may mean "that committed by my brother," but the effect is much more striking if Sychaeus is regarded as the frater of Pygmalion (perhaps instead of the more accurate *levir*, as in Liv. 28, 35, 8). Cf. Sil. 1, 21-23: *Pygmalionis quondam per caerula terris / pollutum fugiens fraterno crimine regnum / . . . Dido*; Hrabanus Maurus, *Carm.* 37, 48 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 2, 195): *fraterna caede*. Henry (*Aeneidea*, 2 (1878), 570) also cites the loose use of *fraternus* in Val. Fl. 1, 163; 1, 177, for the relationship of cousins. The murder of a near kinsman, especially a brother, is far more tragic than the slaying of Dido's husband, sad as that event might be to her, falling in the Roman criminal category of *parricidium*, and suggesting such cases as those of Abel and Remus (it may be noted that Ovid, *H.* 7, 113, emphasizes the murder of the husband). In 1, 349 the murderer is well described as *impius*.

21. caede: used for 'blood'; cf. Braumüller, *Ueber Tropen u. Figuren in Vergil's Aeneis*, 1 (1877), 2.

21. penates: cf. 4, 598, n. (*penates*). Here it is used figuratively for 'hearth' or 'home'; cf. 1, 527; 1, 704; 8, 123; 8, 543; 11, 264; Braumüller, *l.c.* The actual place of the murder is described (1, 349) as *ante aras* (making the act, therefore, sacrilegious as well as cruel; cf. Ov. *H.* 7, 113: *occidit internas coniunx mactatus ad aras*), and Dido's own pyre was later erected near *arae* (4, 509). In each case the horror of the event is associated with the privacy of the interior of the house. Whatever may have been his age, Sychaeus, like Dido, is one of the untimely dead (ἄωποι), and as such dwells with Dido in the underworld (6, 473-474). We need not accept Henry's view (cf. 4, 17, n.

22. solus hic inflexit sensus animumque labantem  
impulit. agnosco veteris vestigia flammae.

(*solus hic in*)flectit *G.* inflexit *P*, corr. *P*<sup>2</sup>. labantem *RP*γ<sup>1</sup> (cf. *Serv.*: cavendum sane ne 'labantem' contra metrum legamus).

(*impulit*) *G.* agnosco *Rbc*γ, ( )nosco *G.* tueteris *P*, ueteris *P*<sup>2</sup>. tigia *G*, uestigia *G*<sup>1</sup>.

22-23. animum . . . impulit: *Serv. Aen. 1, 9* — labantem *C*<sup>1</sup>*H*; impulit —; 1, 659 — labantem *BL*; impulit —; 5, 816 — lavantem *C*, labantem *NH*; impulit —. 22-23. labantem impulit: *Gl. Ansil.* 326, 33 — labantem —. 22. solus . . . sensus: *Mart. Cap.* 3, 278; *Anth. Lat. no. 11, 72* (1, p. 44 *Riese*); *Serv. Comm. in Donat.* (*G. L. K.* 4, 424); *Serg. [in Donat.]* (*G. L. K.* 4, 479); *Cledon. Ars* (*G. L. K.* 5, 30); *Pomp. Comm.* (*G. L. K.* 5, 119; 5, 208) — huic corr. in hic cod. *A* —; *Consent. Ars* (*G. L. K.* 5, 399); [*Max. Vict.*] (*G. L. K.* 6, 230; 6, 242) — imflectit cod. *A* —; *Terent. Maur.* 1657 (*G. L. K.* 6, 374). 22. solus hic: *Mall. Theod. De Metris* (*G. L. K.* 6, 587); *Clem. Ars gram.* 36, 8 (*Philologus, Supplbd.* 20, 3 (1928), 21). 22. inflexit sensus: *Gl. Ansil.* 301, 776.

[22\*] 23. veteris flammae: *Gl. Ansil.* 586, 567.

(*deceptam*), above) that Sychaeus and Dido were affianced but not yet wedded to recognize that, since no children had been born of their union to carry on their race, they might well both be thought of as dying untimely, with incomplete enjoyment of that experience of love which it was their right to expect; hence their classification in the Sixth Book.

22. hic: for the short vowel (the original quantity) cf. 6, 791: *hic vir hic est*; *Lucr.* 2, 387; 2, 1066; 4, 921; 6, 9; *Tib.* 1, 10, 39; *Müller, De Re metrica Poet. Lat.*, 2 ed. (1894), 425; *Kühner-Holzweissig, Ausf. Gram. d. lat. Spr.* 1, 2 ed. (1912), 599; also the grammarians listed in the testimonia.

22. inflexit: cf. 4, 35: *flexere*; 2, 689; 7, 312; 12, 800; *G.* 4, 516: *non ulli animum flexere hymenaei*; *Liv.* 2, 32, 12: *flexisse mentes hominum*; *Prop.* 1, 19, 24: *flectitur . . . puella minis*; *Ov. H.* 4, 165: *flecte, ferox, animos*; *Sen. Phaedr.* 229: *quis huius animum flectet intractabilem*; *Val. Fl.* 7, 172: *adgressa es flectere sensus*; *Pichon, De Ser-mone amatorio* (1902), 150.

22. labantem impulit: *inpulit et labare fecit* (*Serv.*) or *impulit ut labaret* (various editors); cf. 10, 362-363; 12, 379-380: *praecipitem . . . / impulit*; and, for other such proleptic uses, *Rantz, Der Accusativus bei Vergil*, 1 (1871), 20-21 (*Henry (ad loc.)* takes it as = *iam labantem*). The verb *labo* is frequently used, in a figurative sense, with such nouns as *animus*, *mens*, and *cor* (cf. 12, 223).

23. impulit: *Bassett* (in *Trans. Am. Philol. Assoc.* 57 (1926), 116-148) discusses the significance of 'runover' words in Homer, and concludes that "flexibility within the confines of an inflexible form sufficiently accounts for the runover word," without resorting to requirements of emphasis, as *Goodell (Trans. Am. Philol. Assoc.* 21 (1890), 5-47), followed by certain other scholars (cf. *Bassett, op. cit.*, 116, n. 2), maintained. For *Virgil Norden* (2 ed. of *Book VI* (1916), 399-400) finds that substantives are more likely to be carried over than adjectives, while *Prescott (Cl. Philol.* 7 (1912), 48-50) properly widens the inquiry to other parts of speech. A runover verb (usually finite) is frequent, appearing in this book as an initial dactyl (as here) in lines 29, 83, 85, 161, 253, 261, 358, 391, 531, 601, 629, and 689; or in other forms in lines 57, 100, 125, 141, 166, 185, 243, 276, 321, 380, 535, 619, 649; while cases of nouns (especially an initial dactyl: 246, 520, 524, 570, 618, 624, 666) and adjectives also appear less frequently than verbs. At times there seems a clear emphasis or other deliberate purpose, as in 4, 72; 4, 496 (where cf. the note on *impius*); and 4, 570; elsewhere the motive is the desire for metrical variety or to secure additional space for a sentence. The fact that in over half the instances in this book a verb is carried over as the final word of a sentence or clause makes against the idea that such runovers are pri-

## 24. sed mihi vel tellus optem prius ima dehiscat

(sed mihi uel te)llus G. set M. tellus uel (m. rec. corr. in uel tellus) c. prius ima dehiscat ex dimittere corr. F<sup>1</sup> (cf. 5, 29; Havet, *Man. de crit. verbale* (1911), §1087; Sparrow, *Half-lines and Repetitions in Virgil* (1931), 112-113; 120; id. in *Journ. of Rom. Stud.* 21 (1931), 167). inma c. deiscat corr. in dehiscat cγ.

24-27. sed . . . resolvo: Donat. *Aen.* 4, 705 — Erebi —. 24. sed . . . dehiscat: Prisc. *Inst.* 18, 92 (G. L. K. 3, 248) — set —.

marily for emphasis, since verbal emphasis is commonly obtained by a change from the normal final position. On the whole subject cf. Henry, *Aeneidea*, 2 (1878), 133-136; also 4, 185, n. (*stridens*), below.

23. *adgnosco*: in a sense all love is one, whether manifested in the case of Sychaeus or in that of Aeneas. Dido recognizes the recurrence of the symptoms appearing when she first fell in love with Sychaeus, just as later (4, 502) Anna, an outside observer, tries to compare her separation from Aeneas at his departure with her separation from Sychaeus by the latter's murder. The verb *adgnosco* is used of recognizing something already known; cf. *Thes. Ling. Lat.* 1 (1900), 1354, 19-28. Virgil has at 1, 720-722 prepared the reader for Dido's revelation. With the phrase cf. *Ov. Am.* 2, 1, 8: *agnoscat flammae conscia signa suae*; *M.* 1, 237: *veteris servat vestigia formae*; Claud. *De IV Cons. Hon.* 373-374; Paul. Nol. *Carm.* 26, 399: *extinctae recalent vestigia flammae*; 28, 141: *spectare oculis vestigia flammae*; Maximian., 3, 58 (*P. L. M.* 5, 335): *agnovit taciti conscia signa mali* (i.e., love); Theodulfus, *Carm.* 26, 13 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 1, 490): *agnovi veteris vestigia luctus*; Joseph of Exeter (*Iscanus*), *Bell. Troian.* 4, 331: *agnoscens veteris vestigia cursus*; Dante, *Purg.* 30, 48: *conosco i segni dell' antica fiamma* (cf. Sainte-Beuve, *Étude sur Virgile* (1857), 114 for Dante's use of these words at the appearance of Beatrice); Racine, *Androm.* 1, 1, 86: *de mes feux mal éteints je reconnus la trace*.

23. *veteris*: Henry (*op. cit.*, 1 (1873), 212) explains as 'of long duration' rather than 'long bygone.' Neither meaning seems very appropriate, for we have no indication that Dido and Sychaeus had been long married

before his murder, nor does 1, 340-368 (and the fact that Carthage is just being founded) suggest a very long period between the murder and the coming of Aeneas. This latter period, however, has been crowded with events, such as marriage proposals at Tyre (4, 36), the flight, further attentions of suitors in Africa (4, 36; 4, 213-214), and the founding of the city, so that, viewed subjectively rather than objectively, we might easily understand that the time since the murder seemed long to Dido. With the thought cf. 8, 388-390.

Note the alliteration: *veteris vestigia*.

23. *vestigia flammae*: Milton, *Sylvae, Ad Patrem*, 20. For the figure cf. 4, 2, n. (*igni*), above: Braumüller, *Ueber Tropen u. Figuren in Vergil's Aeneis*, 1 (1877), 28; Pichon, *De Sermone amatorio* (1902), 150. Quintil. 11, 1, 59 speaks of *amoris vestigia*, which is, however, a less mixed and violent metaphor than if we here insist on the literal force of both *vestigia* and *flammae*.

24. *sed, etc.*: the easy oaths of lovers are proverbial; cf. v. Leutsch on Greg. Cypr. 1, 1 (*Paroem. Gr.* 2, 53) and Apostol. 6, 56 (*Paroem. Gr.* 2, 379); Otto, *Die Sprichwörter . . . der Römer* (1890), 17-18; Smith on Tib. 1, 4, 21; Preston, *Stud. in the Diction of the Sermo amatorius in Rom. Comedy* (1916), 59; to which add Arsen. *Violet.* p. 87 Walz; yet contrast Yeames in *Cl. Journ.* 8 (1913), 148-149, who thinks we too easily overlook the seriousness of this imprecation. Dido's protestations are sincere, but she does not realize the extent to which her infatuation for Aeneas has already made them impossible; cf. Keith in *South Atlantic Quarterly*, 21 (1922), 74. Donatus (on 4, 705) well remarks: *inpleta est poena periurii* (citing the present line). Did Virgil perhaps feel that an oath deliber-

ately taken to the memory of a faithful and beloved husband rested upon a different plane from the impulsive declarations of young lovers in the first flush of passion? With the general situation cf. Apoll. Rh. 3, 798-801: ἦ τ' ἂν πολὺ κέρδιον εἴη / τῇδ' αὐτῇ ἐν νυκτὶ λιπεῖν βίον ἐν θαλάμοισιν / πότμῳ ἀνοίστω, κάκ' ἐλέγχεα πάντα φυγοῦσαν, / πρὶν τὰδε λωβήεντα καὶ οὐκ ὀνομαστὰ τελέσσαι; and with the form of expression *Aen.* 10, 675-676: *quae iam satis ima dehiscat / terra mihi*; 12, 883-884: *o quae satis ima dehiscat / terra mihi manisque deam demittat ad imos*; 12, 893. Stories of the yawning of the earth, doubtless in part suggested by cases of geological faulting (cf. Sen. *N. Q.* 6, 1, 5-9), are frequent in mythology and legend (cf. also *G.* 1, 479; *Aen.* 6, 52-53; 8, 243), being associated with Hades (Paus. 6, 21, 1; etc.), Caeneus (*P.-W.* 10 (1917), 1504), Daphne (Schol. Dan. *Aen.* 3, 91: *terrae imploravit auxilium. quam terra hiatus facto recepit*), Oedipus (Soph. *O. C.* 1661-1662), Amphiarus (Apollod. *Bibl.* 3, 6, 8, and Frazer's n.; *P.-W.* 1 (1894), 1891; Rohde, *Psyche*, 4 ed., 1 (1907), 114, n. 1), Althaeamenes (Apollod. *Bibl.* 3, 2, 2), Laodice (Apollod. *Epit.* 5, 23, and Frazer's n.; Rohde, *op. cit.*, 1, 116, n. 3), Bianna (Steph. Byz. s.v. *Biervos*), Valerius Conatus (Plut. *Parallela*, 6); also, though somewhat different in motif, Curtius (*P.-W.* 4 (1901), 1864-1865).

As a form of oath or appeal, in addition to the Virgilian passages cited, cf. *Il.* 4, 182 (= 8, 150): τότε μοι χάροι εὐρέα χθών; 6, 281-282; 6, 464-465: ἀλλὰ με θεογῶτα χυτὴ κατὰ γαῖα καλύπτοι / πρὶν, κτλ.; 17, 416-417: ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ γαῖα μέλαινα / πᾶσι χάροι; Aesch. *Agam.* 1538-1539: ἰὼ γὰρ, γὰ, εἴθ' ἐμ' ἐδέξω, / πρὶν τόνδ' ἐπιδεῖν, κτλ.; *Prom.* 152-157; 1050-1052: ἔς τε κελευνὸν / Τάρταρον ἄρδην ῥίψει δέμας / τοῦμόν, κτλ.; Soph. *Trach.* 1086; Eur. *Suppl.* 829: κατὰ με πέδον γὰς ἔλοι; Xen. *Anab.* 7, 1, 30: ἐγὼ μὲν τοῖνον εὐχομαι πρὶν ταῦτα ἐπιδεῖν ὑφ' ὧν γενόμενα μυρίας ἐμέ γε κατὰ τῆς γῆς ὀργυῖας γενέσθαι; Plaut. *Bacch.* 148: *o barathrum, ubi nunc es? ut ego te usurpem lubens*; Dion. Hal. 10, 29: οὐκ αἰσχύνεσθε . . . οὐδὲ κατὰ γῆς δύεσθε; Ov. *M.* 1, 545: 'tellus,' ait, 'hisc'e'; *H.* 3, 63: *decover ante, precor, subito telluris hiatus*; 6, 144: *hiscere nempe tibi terra roganda fuit*; *F.* 3, 609: *quos terrae quaerat hiatus*; Petron. 81, 2:

*ergo me non ruina terra potuit haurire*; Sen. *Phaedr.* 1238: *dehisce, tellus, recipe me dirum chaos*; *Oed.* 868-869: *dehisce, tellus, tuque tenebrarum potens, / in Tartara ima, rector umbrarum, rape*; *Troad.* 519-521: *dehisce, tellus, tuque, coniunx, ultimo / specu revulsam scinde tellurem et Stygis / sinu profundo conde depositum meum*; *H. F.* 1225-1226: *hoc me abde, tellus*; *Tartari ad finem ultimum / mansurus ibo*; *Thy.* 1007-1020; *Oct.* 135-136: *aut Stygios sinus / tellure rupta pande, quo praeceps ferar*; Anon. ap. Quintil. 9, 2, 26 (*F. P. R.* 358, no. 21): *magnae nunc hiscite terrae*; *Sil.* 4, 330: *terraeque oplantur hiatus*; 6, 488-489; *Luc. Conviv.* 28: τοῦτο δὴ τὸ τοῦ λόγου, χαλεπὸν μοι τὴν γῆν πύχθυμην; *Pisc.* 38: κατὰ τῆς γῆς δύναι πύχθυμην; *Adv. Indoct.* 18: οὐκ εἴη τότε χαλεπὸν σοι τὴν γῆν; *Luke*, 23, 30; Theodoret, *Hist. Eccl.* 1, 30; *Otto, op. cit.*, 345; also Dante, *Inf.* 33, 66: *ahi, dura terra, perchè non l'apristi*; Ariosto, *Orl. fur.* 43, 140, 7-8: *O terra, accidì ti sì gellasi dentro, / perchè allor non l'apristi insino al centro*; Vida, *Christias*, 5, 49: *o mihi vos magnae nunc hiscite terrae*; Molsa, *Eleg. ad Henricum Regem*, 135: *o mihi terra satis quatenam nunc ima dehiscat*; Manzoni, *Adelchi*, 1124-1126: *una terra infedel che sotto i piedi / de'successori suoi dovea aprirsi / ed ingoiarli*; Tennyson, *Merlin and Vivien*, 347-349: "May this hard earth cleave to the Nadir hell / Down, down, and close again; and nip me flat, / If I be such a traitress"; Latte in *P.-W.* 15 (1931), 347. Cartault (*L'Art de Virgile dans l'Énéide*, 1 (1926), 341) remarks that in Homer the idea is a mere formula which has lost its original force, but that this is recovered in the mouth of Dido. Kroll (in *Neue Jahrb.* 21 (1908), 525, n. 2) observes that the later rhetoric of the schools reckoned among figures the *δρκος*, the frequent employment of which by Virgil (here and in 4, 314; 6, 351; 6, 458; 10, 369; 10, 460; 12, 56; 12, 176; etc.) is perhaps derived from tragedy, though the theory of the *δορυκὸν σχῆμα* ([Longin.] *De Sublim.* 16, 2) may have been developed by his time.

24. *ima*: Fairclough (in *Cl. Philol.* 25 (1930), 44) emphasizes Virgil's imitation of *Il.* 4, 182 in his use of a predicate adjective with an intransitive verb (χάροι εὐρέα χθών).



## 25. vel pater omnipotens adigat me fulmine ad umbras,

(uel pater om)nipotens G. adigat GMPRbcπ Donatus, abigat F dell., adigat (d e corr.) aliter adigat γ; cf. 6, 594. me om. c. umbr(as) GP.

[24] 25. vel . . . umbras: Serv. Aen. 1, 230 — adigat —; Mythogr. Vat. III, 10, 5 — adigat —. 25. adigat . . . umbras: Schol. Dan. Aen. 4, 26 — adigat; flumine cod. F (cf. Donat. Aen. 4, 26, codd. LR). 25. adigat: Gl. Ansil. 27, 283; Gl. Aa, 165, 371. 25. ad umbras: Gl. Ansil. 34, 951.

25. vel pater omnipotens: lines beginning with a monosyllable followed by *pater omnipotens* are almost a mannerism in Latin verse; e.g., Lucr. 5, 399; Virg. G. 2, 325; Aen. 1, 60; 6, 592; 7, 141; 7, 770; 8, 398; 10, 100; 12, 178; Ov. M. 1, 154; 2, 304; 2, 401; 3, 336; 9, 271; F. 2, 481; Val. Fl. 2, 117; 3, 249; Sil. 3, 163; Il. Lat. 113; Stat. Theb. 1, 248; 10, 634; 11, 134; Nemes. Ecl. 3, 23; Cyneg. 19; Dracont. De Laud. Dei, 3, 116; Avien. 2, 105; Ennod. Carm. 2, 15, 1; Anth. Lat. no. 789, 1 (2 p. 268 Riese); Vida, Christias, 2, 852 and 12 other cases; Milton, Sylvae: Nat. non pati Senium, 33; Ihm on Damasus, 57, 1; Carter, Epitheta Deorum (1902), 54; Wreschniok, De Cicerone Lucetioque Ennii Imitatoribus (1907), 24 (who detects the influence of Ennius, though the existing Ennian fragments do not show such a phrase); Sparrow, Half-lines and Repetitions in Virgil (1931), 71. Similar expressions occur, especially in Christian writers, with a monosyllable followed by *deus omnipotens*; e.g., Dracont. Carm. prof. 7, 132; De Laud. Dei, 1, 531; 2, 198; 2, 693; 3, 125; Satisfactio, 55; Paulin. Pell. Eucharist. 4 (C. S. E. L. 16, 291); Prudent. Apoth. 726; Contra Symm. 2, 36. Cf. also 4, 206, n. (*Iuppiter omnipotens*), infra. Buscaroli (ad loc.) cites passages from Latin poets expressive of the fatherhood of Jupiter.

Jupiter, the god who seems most real to Dido, is mentioned by her in 1, 731; 4, 372; 4, 377; 4, 590; 4, 614. Other divinities to whom she alludes or sacrifices are Juno (1, 734; 4, 59; 4, 371; 4, 608), Venus (1, 618), Apollo (4, 58; 4, 376; and perhaps as Sol, 4, 607), Bacchus (1, 734; 4, 58), Ceres (4, 58), Hecate (4, 609), Pluto (4, 638), and the Dirae (4, 614), and in these cases we are doubtless to think of Virgil as transferring to Carthage

the beliefs of his own land. The gods to whom he applies the adjective *omnipotens* are noted by Dietsch, *Theologumenon Verg. Particula* (1853), 13, n. 84; Moseley, *Characters and Epithets* (1926), xliii (Jupiter 16 times, Juno twice, Apollo, Mars, and Fortuna once each).

25. adigat: cf. 6, 594: *praecipitemque immani turbine adegit*; Sil. 17, 465-466: *manes inimicos sede repellat / aeterna socioque abigat me frater Averno*; with the thought cf. Aen. 5, 691-692: *vel tu quod superest infesto fulmine morti, / si mereor, dimitte tuaque hic obrue dextra*; 9, 495-496: *aut tu, magne pater divum, miserere, tuoque / invisum hoc delrude caput sub Tartara telo*. Paul. Nol. Carm. 23, 220 uses the phrase *mihi sentio fulmen adactum*. Between the readings *adigat* and *abigat* it is difficult to decide (as the difference among editors indicates), for against the early testimony of F, supported by Servius (and perhaps by the Silius passage just quoted) must be set the evidence of many other MSS, the Scholia Danielis, and Donatus.

25. fulmine: as Prometheus was hurled to the nether regions; cf. Aesch. *Prom.* 1016-1019; and the fate of the other Titans; also Eur. *Androm.* 1193: ἀλλὰ κερανῶ πρόσθεν ὀλέσθαι. This method is explanatory of rather than distinct from that in the preceding line, as the conjunction *vel* indicates.

25. ad umbras: cf. 6, 404; a common expression for the underworld; e.g., 4, 660; 6, 461 (= 12, 881); 11, 831 (= 12, 952); Braumüller, *Über Tropen u. Figuren in Vergils Aeneis*, 2 (1882), 17. The darkness of the next life is proverbial, and is frequently mentioned in the Sixth Book (e.g., 6, 462; 6, 535); cf. also 8, 243-246. The idea appears as early as Homer (e.g., *Il.* 15, 191: 'Αἰδης δ'

## 26. pallentis umbras Erebo noctemque profundam,

(*pallentis u*)mbras G. pallentes Mb<sup>1</sup>. eribo R, erebo FGp, erebo corr. in erebi P<sup>2</sup>, erebi M<sup>1</sup> Donat., haerebi (corr. in herebi) b, herebo γ<sup>1</sup> (corr. in erebi γ<sup>2</sup>), herebi (corr. in herebi) π; cf. Serv.: in herebo. alii 'herebi' legunt; Schol. Dan.: aut 'herebo' ad herebum. profundam (l m. eadem corr. in n) F.

[24] 26. pallentis umbras: Gl. Ansil. 420, 144 — pallentes —.

ἐλαχε ζόφον ἡρόεντα (cf. 21, 56; Od. 11, 57; 11, 155; Hymn. Cer. 402; 446; 482); Od. 20, 356: ἐρεβόδε ἐπὶ ζόφον; Aesch. Sept. 859-860; Prom. 433; Eur. Alc. 436-437: εἰν Ἀΐδαο δόμοις / τὸν ἀνάλιον οἶκον; Herc. 607-608: ἐξ ἀνγλίων μυχῶν / Ἀΐδου, and is found also in Hebrew thought (e.g., Job, 10, 21-22; Matt. 8, 12), perhaps being derived from the comparison of death to sleep (cf. Pease on Cic. De Div. 1, 63), as well as from the localization of the dead in the underworld; cf. Tolman, *A Study of the sepulchral Inscriptions in Buecheler's Carmina epigraphica Latina* (1910) 112, n. 3.

26. pallentis: for the repetition Page (*ad loc.*) compares 4, 173-174 (*Fama*); 4, 247-248 (*Atlantis*); 6, 162-164 (*Misenum*); 6, 495-496 (*ora*); cf. also 10, 821-822 (*ora*); Hor. C. 3, 3, 60-61 (*Troiae*). The runover adjective (cf. 4, 23, n. (*impulit*), above) gives an added detail as in 4, 240: *aurea*.

*Pallor*, *pallidus*, and *pallens* are applied to persons apprehensive of imminent death (e.g., 4, 499: *pallor simul occupat ora*; 4, 644: *pallida morte futura*; 8, 709: *pallentem morte futura*; 12, 221), where they well describe a psychological phenomenon. Thence they are transferred to those already dead, the spirits of the underworld (G. 1, 477: *simulacra modis pallentia miris* (a phrase borrowed from Lucr. 1, 123; cf. Aen. 10, 822); Aen. 1, 354: (*imago*) *ora modis attollens pallida miris*; 4, 243-244: *animas ille evocat Orco / pallentis*; 6, 480: *Adrasti pallentis imago*; Tib. 1, 10, 38: *pallida turba*; Stat. Theb. 8, 1: *pallentibus . . . umbris*; Claud. In Rufin. 1, 127-128: *simulacra . . . / pallida*; Dracont. De Laud. Dei. 3, 414: *pallida gens Erebi*), to the powers of the underworld (G. 1, 277: *pallidus Orcus*; 3, 552 (= Aen. 10, 761): *pallida Tisiphone*; Aen. 6, 275: *pallentes . . . Morbi*;

Hor. C. 1, 4, 13: *pallida Mors*; Sen. Oed. 584: *pallentes deos*), or to the underworld itself and its topographic features (Enn. Sc. 109-110: *pallida leti nubila tenebris / loca*; Aen. 8, 244-245: *regna . . . / pallida*; Aetna, 78: *pallentia regna*; Tib. 3, 5, 21: *pallentes undas*; Luc. 1, 455-456: *Ditis . . . profundi / pallida regna*; Sil. 13, 408: *regna . . . pallentia*; Claud. De Rapt. 1, 41: *castra . . . pallentia*; 2, 326: *pallida . . . regio*). The present adjective is also used with *umbræ*, in a different sense, in G. 3, 357; Anth. Lat. no. 83, 48 (1, p. 115 Riese).

26. Erebo: the MSS favor the ablative rather than the genitive, though Virgilian parallels are found to each; to the ablative 6, 247: *caeloque Ereboque potentem*; 7, 140: *caeloque Ereboque parentis*; to the genitive 6, 404: *imas Erebi descendit ad umbras*; cf. Dracont. l.c. A less likely explanation given by the Scholia Danielis is *ad Herebum*, comparison being made with 5, 451: *it clamor caelo*. It is more likely that the ablative, a somewhat unusual usage, was corrupted to the genitive than that the reverse happened; cf. Unterharnscheidt, *De Veterum in Aeneide Coniecturis* (1911), 52. The suggestion of Wagner (*ad loc.*) that *Erebo* may be a dative construed with *adigit* seems improbable.

Erebus, originally the darkness of the underworld, is often applied to the nether world itself, and then personified, by Hesiod (*Theog.* 123) and others, as a child of Chaos; cf. 4, 510; v. Sybel in Roscher, *Ausf. Lex.* 1 (1884), 1296; Waser in *P.-W.* 6 (1909), 403-404, who cites various etymologies connecting it with words for evening or darkness. In the underworld, according to Servius (Aen. 6, 404), it is the part inhabited by the righteous before they have been purified for Elysium. Whether Dido so employs it, or,

27. ante, pudor, quam te violo aut tua iura resolvo.  
ille meos, primus qui me sibi iunxit, amores

(ante pudor) G. uiolem  $\mu\pi$  (uiolem . . . resoluam Bentley; cf. Hedicke, *Varia* (1879), 3). resoluam  $\pi$ .

(ille meos) G. (pri)mus G, primum FP (primus P<sup>2</sup>). sibi (bi m. 2)  $\gamma$ , siui G.

[24\*] 27. ante . . . resolvo: *Consent. Ars* (G. L. K. 5, 403). 27. ante . . . violo: *Serv. Aen.* 4, 322; *Charis. Inst.* (G. L. K. 1, 228); *Diomed. Art. gram.* 1 (G. L. K. 1, 395); *Prisc. Inst.* 18, 92 (G. L. K. 3, 248) — uiolem Nr —; *Gl. Ansil.* 55, 389. quam te violo: *Gl. Ansil.* 476, 109. 27. tua iura: *Gl. Ansil.* 573, 3.

28–29. ille . . . sepulcro: *Hier. Ep.* 79, 7, 8 — primus; me om. D —. 28. qui . . . iunxit: *Gl. Ansil.* 480, 139.

in the common Roman poetical sense, for the underworld in general (Waser, *op. cit.*, 403), as in 6, 247 and 6, 671, is not clear.

26. noctemque profundam: cf. *Luc. Asin.* 34:  $\eta\pi\rho\upsilon\delta\epsilon\beta\alpha\theta\epsilon\iota\alpha$ . In Virgil the phrase recurs at 6, 462 (as in *Sil.* 12, 132), and may suggest the darkness in the depths of the earth (cf. G. 1, 243: *manesque profundī*), or, more probably, intense and utter darkness. Cf. *Tib.* 1, 3, 67: *in nocte profunda*; Ronsard, *Franc.* 215, 13: *la profonde nuit*; *New Engl. Dict.* 3 (1897), 119 (for English parallels). Kvíčala, *Neue Beitr. z. Erkl. d. Aeneis* (1881), 78, compares *Aesch. Prom. V.* 1029:  $\kappa\upsilon\epsilon\phi\alpha\iota\acute{\alpha}\tau' \delta\mu\phi\iota$   $\tau\alpha\pi\rho\acute{\alpha}\rho\omicron\nu\beta\acute{\alpha}\theta\eta$ ; see also Gruppe and Pfister in Roscher, *Ausf. Lex.* 6 (1924), 63–64.

27. ante: strictly speaking this is redundant after *prius* in line 24 (and this, in part, at least, led to Markland's emendation to *sancte*), but with the lines intervening it is not unnatural, and quite in the conversational manner; cf. *Plaut. Trin.* 1141: *neque eum ante usquam conspexi prius*; *Prop.* 2, 25, 25–26: *aut prius infecto deposcit praemia cursu, / septima quam metam triverit ante rota*. The use of a repeated  $\pi\rho\iota\nu$  in Homer (cited by Conington) is hardly an exact parallel.

27. pudor: cf. 4, 55: *solvit . . . pudorem*; 4, 322: *extinctus pudor*. The word *pudor* (cf. Pichon, *De Sermone amatorio* (1902), 242–244) means, not merely a sense of shyness, like the maidenly shame ( $\alpha\iota\delta\omega\varsigma$   $\pi\alpha\rho\theta\epsilon\upsilon\eta$ ) which in Apoll. Rh. 3, 681–682 kept Medea from telling her love to her sister, nor yet the kind of shame in the face of the world which would forbid a lawful union with Aeneas, to

which there might seem no external hindrances (cf. DeWitt, *The Dido Episode in the Aeneid of Virgil* (1907), 20; 58–59), nor is it fully explained by Roman feeling against second marriages (cf. 4, 29, n. (*habeat*), below; Wissowa, *Relig. u. Kultus d. Römer*, 2 ed. (1912), 333, who points out that at Rome Pudicitia was worshipped only by *matronae univiriae*; Heinze, *Virgils epische Technik*, 3 ed. (1915), 126, who considers *pudicitia* the feminine equivalent for a man's *virtus*), but it is, in the words of Glover (*Virgil* (1912), 190), “a peculiar and unexplained sensitiveness, which Anna . . . could not understand — loyalty to an ideal . . . with which reason has less to do than instinct . . . Dido's conscience is still on the side of this instinct of hers; and though she decides to follow inclination, slightly cloaked by reason, her heart condemns her all the time. . . . To resolve to win the love of Aeneas is no wrong thought or action, but to attempt it against her conscience is the first step toward shame.” Here is found the tragic flaw in Dido's character. With the meaning of *pudor* cf. some of the meanings of  $\alpha\iota\delta\omega\varsigma$  and see Schultz, *AIAΩΣ* (1910).

With the expression cf. *Ov. H.* 7, 97–98: *exige, laese pudor, poenast violata Sychaei . . . / ad quas, me miseram, plena pudoris eo*. For the figure of apostrophe cf. Loewe, *Symbolae*, 2 (1873), 9. The adjuration of the player queen in Shakesp. *Hamlet*, Act 3, Sc. 2, suggests the present sentence of Dido.

27. iura resolvo: cf. 2, 157: *sacrata resolvere iura*; Milo, *De Sobriet.* 1, 759 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 3, 638): *iurataque iura resolvant*.

29. abstulit; ille habeat secum servetque sepulcro.'

(*abstulit ille*) G. sepulchro *FMR*ϣ, sepulcro *F<sup>1</sup>GP*.

[28] 29. habeat . . . sepulcro: *Non. p. 317 M. (p. 496 L.)* — sepulchro —.

Serv. remarks: *propter illud 'vincolo . . . iugali'* (4, 16). With the verse ending cf. Paul. Pell. *Euchar.* 109: *ad tua iura refugi*.

28. *primus*: cf. 4, 17: *primus amor*; Vulfinus, *Carm. de Marcello*, 291-292 (Poet. *Aevi Carol.* 4, 973): *ille meos corde crebroolvebat amores; / qui rapuit primus servet amator eos*.

28. *iunxit*: cf. 4, 16: *vincolo . . . iugali*; doubtless the word *coniunx* is also suggested.

28. *amores*: Schol. Dan.: *quibus amare possim*, i.e., capacity for love. On the plural of this word cf. Smith on Tib. 2, 2, 11, who points out that "this idiomatic emotional plural," found in prose as well as poetry, may sometimes be due to the idea of reciprocity, or at times may involve a number of different incidents or manifestations. In Virgil cf. *Ecl.* 3, 109; 9, 56; 10, 6; 10, 34; 10, 53-54; G. 3, 227; *Aen.* 1, 350 (= 10, 326); 4, 292; 5, 334; as well as two cases (*Ecl.* 8, 23; G. 4, 347) in which it clearly refers to the loves of different sets of persons; Spitta, *Quaestiones Vergil.* (1867), 41; Braumüller, *Ueber Tropen u. Figuren in Vergil's Aeneis*, 1 (1877), 15; *Thes. Ling. Lat.* 1 (1900), 1967, 72-81.

29. *abstulit*: cf. 4, 23, n. (*impulit*). Reid (on Cic. *De Fin.* 2, 106) cites parallels for this view of the dead as carrying off with them the things of life; cf. also Soph. *O. T.* 971-972. The verb is further used, as here, for the bearing away of the affections of one lover by another; cf. Ov. *H.* 12, 36: *abstulerant oculi lumina nostra tui*; *Ars am.* 1, 509-510: *Minoida Theseus / abstulit*; *Rem. Am.* 343; *M.* 12, 404-405: *illum . . . una / abstulit Hylonome*; Luc. 1, 112-114: *taedas / abstulit ad manes Parcarum Iulia saeva / intercepta manu*. Interpreted by the preceding and following context both ideas seem here present.

29. *habeat*: cf. 4, 27, n. (*pudor*). The feeling against the remarriage of a widow is found among many peoples (cf. Frazer on Paus. 2, 21, 7; *id.* on Ov. *F.* 6, 475; and

works cited by him; also DeWitt, *The Dido Episode in the Aeneid of Virgil* (1907), 56-57; 59; Eur. *Tro.* 667-668: ἀπέπνυσ' αὐτήν, ἥτις ἀνδρα τὸν πάρος / καυοῖσι λέκτροις ἀποβαλοῦσ' ἄλλον φίλει), and may well be connected with the belief that the soul of the wife accompanies in the next world that of her husband (as Dido rejoins Sychaeus in 6, 473-474 (cf. 4, 29, n. (*servetque sepulcro*), below); it is noteworthy that Aeneas neither sees nor inquires for the soul of Creusa during his underworld travels; and, of course, she may have been thought to be still alive; cf. Gastinel, *Carthage et l'Énéide* (1926), 83, a belief which doubtless underlies the burning of widows on the pyres of their husbands in India (the *suttee*; cf. Bardesanes ap. Eus. *Pr. Ev.* 6, 10; Sumner, *Folkways* (1907), 387-393; etc.), among the Slavs, and perhaps in ancient Greece (Frazer on Paus. *l.c.*). Pausanias relates that Gorgophone was, according to Argive tradition, the first widow to remarry. In 10, 38, 12 he tells of a grotto at Naupactus frequented by widows praying to Aphrodite for husbands.

At Rome *Fortuna muliebris* in her shrine on the Via Latina was worshipped only by *univirae* (Dion. Hal. 8, 56, 4; Fest. p. 242 M.; Tert. *De Monog.* 17; Serv. *Aen.* 4, 19), and only such might sacrifice at the altar of *Pudicitia patricia* and *Pudicitia plebeia* (Liv. 10, 23, 5-9); cf. also Val. Max. 2, 1, 3: *quae uno contentae matrimonio fuerant corona pudicitiae honorabantur; existimabant enim eum praecipue matronae sincera fide incorruptum esse animum, qui depositae virginitatis cubile [in publicum] egredi nesciret, multorum matrimoniorum experientiam quasi legitimae cuiusdam intemperantiae signum esse credentes*; Prop. 4, 11, 36: *in lapide hoc uni nupta fuisse legar*; 4, 11, 68; Mart. 9, 15, 1-2; Tac. *Germ.* 19: *melius quidem adhuc eae civitates in quibus tantum virgines nubunt et cum spe votoque uxoris semel transigitur. sic unum accipiunt maritum quomodo unum corpus*

## 30. sic effata sinum lacrimis implevit obortis.

(sic effata si)num G. inpleuit FGP. abortis π.

30-31. sinum . . . refert: *Serv. Aen.* 4, 548 — inplevit —. 30. sic . . . obortis: *Donat. in Ter. Hec.* 405 — sinum l. i. o: —.

unamque vitam, ne ulla cogitatio ultra, ne longior cupiditas, ne tamquam maritum, sed tamquam matrimonium ament; *Plut. Quaest. Rom.* 105: ἡλιωτὸς γὰρ ὁ πρῶτος γάμος, ὁ δὲ δεύτερος ἀπενεκταῖος: ἀσχύνονται γὰρ, ἂν ζώντων τῶν προτέρων ἑτέρους λαμβάνωσιν, ὁδύρονται δέ, ἂν ἀποθανόντων; Gerlach, *De Romanorum Connubio* (1851), 66-67; Corbett, *Roman Law of Marriage* (1930), 249-251. In the inscriptions we find praise of the constant widow, the *coniugi univiriae*, i.e., *univirae* (*C. I. L.* XIV, 418 = Dessau 6167), *univira unicuba* (*C. I. L.* VIII, 11294 = Dessau 8444); cf. *Not. degli Scavi*, 1905, 104 (= *Carm. Lat. epigr.* ed. Engström, n. 358, 7-8): *turtur vera fuisti, / cui coniux moriens non fuit alter amor.*

Christian opposition to remarriage, doubtless in part inherited from pagan objections and in part suggested by such Pauline counsels as *1 Cor.* 7, 8-9, and *1 Tim.* 5, 11-12, appears in many places, e.g., Tertullian (for whom, as for African writers in general, Dido is a symbol of loyalty to the memory of the dead husband, with no allusion to her relations with Aeneas; cf. Pascal's ed. of Book IV (n. d.), ix), *Ad Uxorem* 1, 1; *De Exhort. Cast.* 13; *De Monog.* 17; *Ad Martyres*, 4; *Apol.* 50; Ambros. *Hexaem.* 5, 62 (cf. 4, 17, n. (*primus amor*), supra); *De Off.* 2, 27; *De Viduis*, 10; 68; 86; Hier. *Ep.* 54 (to Furia, *De Viduitate servanda*); 123, 7, 2 (the example of Dido); *In Gal.* 3, p. 528 Vall.; *Adv. Iovin.* 1, 10; 1, 15-16; 1, 30; 1, 43-44 (Dido); 1, 49: *nullum sacerdotem* (pagan) *digamum, nullum flaminem bimaritum*; 2, 35 (*univirae*); Socr. *Hist. eccl.* 5, 22.

Sometimes there appears a protest against the remarriage of a man; Aristophon ap. Athen. 13, 8 (on the same ground as the well-known description of a second marriage as "the triumph of hope over experience"); Stat. *Silv.* 5, 3, 240-241; Orig. *Contra Cels.* 4, 48 (in the case of bishops); *Canon. apost.* 17

(for clergy). We find no such protest on the part of Virgil, though the speeches of Mercury (4, 265-276; 4, 560-570) might easily have given the opportunity; as polygamy is more frequent than polyandry so, perhaps, remarriage of the man was considered more venial than that of the woman. Aeneas's marriage with Creusa was perhaps that of a youthful love; his relations to Dido (whatever they may have been) were due to the fascinations of a charming widow; his marriage to Lavinia is largely an affair of state; no one of the three seems in any way to be thought of as sentimentally excluding the others.

29. *secum*, etc.: note the triple alliteration in the second half of the hexameter, for which Wölfflin (in *Archiv f. lat. Lex.* 14 (1906), 515-523) cites 13 other cases in the *Aeneid*: 2, 28; 2, 303; 3, 58; 3, 183; 7, 189; 7, 482; 7, 486; 8, 603; 9, 563; 9, 635; 10, 95; 10, 194; 11, 348; cf. Smith on Tib. 1, 10, 66.

29. *servetque sepulcro*: the reunion of Dido and Sychaeus in the underworld (6, 450-474) involves placing him in the group of those *quos durus amor crudeli tabe peredit* (6, 442), a category in which he does not strictly belong, although he does fall in the genus of which it is a part, that of the *ἀωροί*, or untimely dead (6, 426-547); cf. Norden, 2 ed. of Book VI (1916), 11-13. With the thought cf. Catull. 68, 22 (to his brother): *tecum una tota est nostra sepulta domus*; Shakesp. *II Hen.* IV, Act 5, Sc. 2: "For in his tomb lie my affections"; Racine, *Andromaque*, Act 3, Sc. 4: *ma flamme par Hector fut jadis allumée; / avec lui dans la tombe elle s'est enfermée*; Moore, *She is far from the Land*, 4: "For her heart in his grave is lying." Dido's words are, to the mind of the reader, an ironic presage of her fate: cf. Duckworth, *Foreshadowing and Suspense in the Epics of Homer, Apollonius, and Vergil* (1933), 64.

30. *sic effata*: languages lacking marks of punctuation to indicate the beginnings and ends of quotations have to lay stress upon vocatives (cf. 4, 8, n. (*Anna, etc.*)) and other introductory and concluding phrases; cf. Wilms, *Qua Ratione Vergilius in Aeneide aut locuturum aliquem aut locutum esse indicaverit* (1865); also *Il.* 1, 17 (vocative); 1, 21; 1, 25; 1, 33 (*ὦς ἔφατ'*); 1, 35; 1, 43 (*ὦς ἔφατ'*); 1, 58; 1, 68 (*ὦς εἰπὼν*); 1, 73 (*μετέειπεν*); 1, 84 (*τὸν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος*); etc. In the present book the variety of such phrases is noteworthy: 8 (*adloquitur*), 31 (*Anna refert*), 54 (*his dictis*), 92 (*adgreditur . . . dictis*), 107 (*sic contra est ingressa*), 114 (*sic excepit*), 127 (*non adversata*), 205 (*orasse*), 219 (*talibus orantem*), 222 (*italia mandat*), 238 (*dixerat*), 265 (*invadit*), 276 (*tali . . . ore locutus*), 304 (*his . . . compellat vocibus*), 331 (*dixerat*), 333 (*pauca refert*), 362 (*italia dicentem*), 364 (*profatur*), 388 (*his . . . dictis*) 413 (*precando*), 437 (*talibus orabat*), 476 (*dictis adgressa*), 499 (*haec effata silet*), 533 (*ita corde volutat*), 553 (*tantos . . . rumpebat . . . questus*), 557 (*ita visa monere est*), 570 (*sic fatus*), 572 (*socios . . . fatigat*), 579 (*dixit*), 591 (*ait*), 630 (*haec ait*), 632 (*adfata*), 641 (*sic ait*), 650 (*dixit*), 663 (*dixerat*), 674 (*clamat*), 685 (*sic fata*), 702 (*speech not introduced*), 704 (*sic ait*).

With the phrase *sic effata* cf. 7, 456; also *haec effatus (effata)* in 4, 499; 5, 653; 11, 741; *tantum effata* in 6, 262; 12, 885; Shipley, *Virgil's Verse Technique* (in Wash. Univ. Stud. 12, Humanist. Ser. 1 (1924), 138-139).

30. *sinum*: cf. *Il.* 9, 570: *δέοντο δὲ δάκρυσι κόλποι*; Apoll. Rh. 3, 804-805: *δεῦε δὲ κόλπους / ἄλληκτον δακρύοισι, τὰ δ' ἔρπειν ἄσταγές αὐτως*. The curious explanation of Servius (*sinus dicimus orbes oculorum, id est palpebras . . . 'implevit' autem ideo quia lacrimae plerumque se intra oculos tenent*) is opposed to these Greek models and without Latin parallels; the normal meaning of *sinus* is a fold in the front of the *loga* or corresponding feminine garment (cf. 1, 320; 11, 775), but it comes to be more freely used, as here, for 'bosom,' without clear distinction of the person and its covering. That this is Dido's bosom rather than that of Anna (as Peerkamp held) may be inferred (1) because there is no indication that Dido and Anna during

this conversation were in close physical contact (as in 4, 686, or as Medea and Chalciope in Apoll. Rh. 3, 706-707); (2) because without a qualifying genitive like *sororis* the word *sinus* must refer to the bosom of the subject of its clause; cf. 4, 449: *lacrimae* (of Aeneas); 4, 596: *facta* (of Dido); 9, 251: *vultum . . . atque ora* (of Aletes). We are probably to think of the tears as dropping upon the *sinus* (bosom), rather than (with Lejay, Buscaroli, and others) of that part of the garments as gathered up in Dido's hands to dry her tears, like a feminine apron today, or as in Ov. *Am.* 3, 6, 79; *F.* 3, 596. For the sprinkling or flooding of the bosom with tears abundant parallels have been collected, from Latin and other literatures, by Henry, *Aeneidea*, 2 (1878), 575-580. The closest Virgilian verbal parallel is 10, 819, where the sword of Aeneas pierces the shield and tunic of Lausus, *implevit sinum sanguis*, where also it is not clear whether there is any distinction between the person and his garment. In either case the word *implevit* involves a slight hyperbole, as in G. 2, 144; cf. Hunziker, *Die Figur der Hyperbel in den Gedichten Vergils* (1896), 59.

30. *lacrimis . . . obortis*: cf. 3, 492; 6, 867; 11, 41; Ov. *Am.* 1, 4, 61; *M.* 1, 350; 4, 684: *lacrimis implevit obortis*; 7, 689; 10, 419: *lacrimisque implevit obortis*; *F.* 4, 845; Stat. *Theb.* 6, 44; Avien. 2, 326: *lacrimis aiebat obortis*; Curt. 5, 5, 23; 10, 8, 20; Alcuin, *Ep.* 9 (*Mon. Germ. hist.*, Epist. 4, 35); Ermoldus, *Ad Pippinum* 1, 59 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 2, 81): *lacrimis . . . obortis*; Ekkehard, *Waltharius*, 876: *sic ait et gremium lacrimis consparsit obortis*; Vida, *Christias*, 3, 285; 3, 704; Maphaeus Vegius, *Aen.* 13, 185: *lacrimisque genas implevit obortis*; Chateaubriand, *Les Martyrs*, 8, 116 (Naylor in *Johns Hopkins Stud. in Rom. Lit. and Lang.* 18 (1930), 153). The verb seems to imply that the tears came spontaneously, in spite of her intention, as opposed to the *lacrimis . . . coactis* of Sinon (2, 196). Donatus (*ad loc.*) gives us the reason, *vel quod veteris amoris recordatione movebatur vel quod urgebatur efficere quod animo respiente damnaverat*. It is to the present incident that 4,548 refers: *tu lacrimis evicta meis*.

31. Anna refert: 'o luce magis dilecta sorori,  
solane perpetua maerens carpere iuventa,

(*anna refert*) *G.* delecta *FM* (dilecta *M*<sup>1</sup>).

(*solane perp*)etua *G.* perpertum *F* (perpetua *F*<sup>1</sup>). merens *FG*γ. capere *G* (carpere *G*<sup>1</sup>). iuventa *F* (iuuenta *F*<sup>1</sup>).

[30] 31. Anna refert: *Schol. Dan. Aen. 1, 94.* 31. luce magis: *Gl. Ansil. 346, 26.*

32-34. solane . . . sepultos: *Hier. Ep. 123, 13, 1* — dulces; manes —. 32-33. solane . . . noris: *Hier. Ep. 54, 5, 1* — dulces —. 32. solane . . . iuventa: *Lact. Plac. in Stat. Theb. 5, 107.* 32. solane: *Gl. Ansil. 529, 80; q.v.; Gl. Aa, 356, 555.* 32. perpetua iuventa: *Gl. Ansil. 439, 1023.*

31. refert: cf. 4, 30, n. (*sic effata*); 1, 94; 1, 208; 4, 333; 7, 436; 8, 154; 10, 17; 11, 124. As Anna here fans the passion of Dido so the nurse in Eur. *Hippol.* 433-481 urges that of Phaedra (cf. Oenone in Racine, *Phèdre*, Act 1, Sc. 5), with which cf. the relation of Chalciope to Medea in Apoll. Rh. 3, 674-680; 3, 719-722. On the part of the confidante cf. Heinze, *Vergils epische Technik*, 3 ed. (1915), 127-128; Prescott, *The Development of Virgil's Art* (1927), 299. Anna's speech resembles a *suasoria* (Serv.: *suasoria est omni parte plena; nam et purgat obiecta et ostendit utilitatem et a timore persuadet*; and the *Schol. Dan.* analyze the speech in further detail; cf. Billmeyer, *Rhet. Stud. z. d. Reden in Vergils Aeneis* (1932), 14; 20; 43), but, as Heinze (*op. cit.*, 419) points out, it is not so much a real attempt at persuasion, which, both in the Homeric style and in actual practice, would have been much more lengthy, as a device used by the poet to show as completely yet as succinctly as possible the motives for Dido's action.

31. o luce, etc.: cf. Eur. *Ion*, 1439: ὦ τέκνον, ὦ φῶς μητρὶ κρείσσον ἡλίου; *Aen. 5, 724-725*: nate mihi vita . . . / care magis; Fridberg, *Die Schmeichelworte der antiken Literatur* (1912), 71; Theodulfus, *Carm.* 73, 107 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 1, 572): luce mihi magna tu solis carior extas; Anon. *Epitaph. Siconis*, 33 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 2, 650): magis dilectus luce; Sylloga Cod. Sangall. 381, Appendix. 9, 11 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 4, 346): luce magis dilecte mihi; Corneille, *Rodogune*, 5, 4, 1653: o frère, plus aimé que la clarté du jour; Leopardi, *Le Ricordanze*, 44-46: più caro / . . . che la pura / luce del giorno; Inno ai

*Patriarchi*, 8: dell'etereo lume assai più dolci. With *lux* = *vita* cf. 4, 452; 4, 619; 4, 631; etc.

31. dilecta: used of Dido's regard for Sychaeus (1, 344), as here of her esteem for her sister, while *amor* and its cognates are employed, occasionally for Sychaeus (4, 17; 4, 28), and regularly for Aeneas (lines 38, 54, 85, 171, 292, 307, 395, 414, 532); cf. Cic. *Ad Brut.* 1, 1: *Clodius . . . valde me diligit, vel, ut ἐμφατικώτερον dicam, valde me amat*; *Ad Fam.* 13, 47: *eum a me non diligi solum verum etiam amari*; and many other Ciceronian examples; Isid. *Etym.* 8, 2, 7: *omnis autem dilectio carnalis non dilectio sed magis amor dici solet. dilectionis autem nomen tantum in melioribus rebus accipi solet*; Pichon, *De Sermone amatorio* (1902), 130; DeWitt, *The Dido Episode in the Aeneid of Virgil* (1907), 24-25; 76.

31. sorori: cf. Kvřřala, *Vergil-Studien* (1878), 20, for the use of a proper name or other noun in place of the first personal pronoun; cf. 4, 435: *sororis*; 4, 478: *sorori*; 4, 677: *sororem*. The word is here also a form of reply to the address in 4, 9: *Anna soror*.

32. solane, etc.: cf. Aesch. *Prom.* 647-649: ὦ μέγ' εὐδαιμον κόρη, / τί παρθευέει δαρὸν ἐξόν σοι γάμον / τυχεῖν μεγίστου; κτλ.; Eur. *Alc.* 1089: τί δ'; οὐ γαμεῖς γάρ, ἀλλὰ χηρεῖσαι λέχος (al. χηρεῖσαι μόνος); *Helen.* 283: θυγάτηρ ἀνὰδρος πολὺὰ παρθευέεται; Herond. 1, 21-22: ἀλλ', ὦ τέκνον, κόσμον τιν' ἤδη χηραῖνεις / χρένον μὲν τρύχουσα τὴν μίαν κοίτην; 1, 37-38: κατ' οὖν λήσεις / (γηρᾶσα) καὶ σευ τὸ ὠριμον τέφρῃ κάψει; Sen. *Phaedr.* 447-449: *nunc facile pectus, grata nunc iuveni Venus; / exullet animus. cur toro viduo iaces? / tristem iuventam solve*; Shakesp.

### 33. nec dulcis natos Veneris nec praemia noris? id cinerem aut manis credis curare sepultos?

(*nec dulcis natos*)s G. dulces F. nostris G.

(*id cinerem a*)ut G. cinere F (*cinerem F*<sup>1</sup>). amnis F (*corr. in manis m. rec.*), manes (es ex *corr.*) M, manes b.

[32\*] 33. nec . . . noris: Schol. Dan. *Aen.* 4, 327 — dulces —; Anth. Lat. no. 17, 268 (1, p. 71 Riese). 33. Veneris . . . noris: Schol. Lucan. 2, 330. 33. Veneris praemia: Gl. Verg. (C. G. L. 4, 468, 39).

[32\*] 34. id . . . sepultos: Petron. III, 12 — manes; sentire (*sed secundum Vergilium libri pauci curare*) —; Prisc. Inst. 7, 84 (G. L. K. 2, 359) — manes cod. K —; Ioann. Saresb. Policr. 8, 11, p. 754a — manes —. 34. id credis curare: Gl. Ansil. 287, 16.

*Mid. Night's Dr.* Act I, Sc. 1: "But earth-lie-happy is the rose distill'd / Than that which, withering on the virgin thorn, / Grows, lives, and dies in single blessedness."

The loneliness of Dido (cf. 4, 8, n. (*unanimam*), above) is emphasized in 4, 82: *sola*; 4, 330: *deserta*; 4, 467; 4, 543; in 4, 616 she prays a like fate for Aeneas. Life's three strongest natural affections are filial, conjugal, and parental love; of the first of these, in Dido's case, we learn nothing; of the second she had been abruptly robbed, while the third she had never had opportunity to enjoy; it is in this that not a little of the pathos of her history lies; cf. 4, 68, n. (*infelix*); Soph. *Antig.* 918. Donatus (*ad loc.*) says: *verecunda persuasio, ut non libidinis contemplatione videatur sororem hortari ad nuptias, sed naturam causa, qui profecto nisi aetatis novellae suffragio provenire non possunt.*

32. *carpere*: cf. 4, 2, n. (*carpitur*).

32. *iuvēta*: a favorite Virgilian substitute for the metrically impossible oblique cases of *iuvēntus*.

33. *dulcis natos*: a cliché; e.g., Lucr. 3, 895 (cf. 4, 1234; 4, 1253); G. 2, 523; 3, 178; *Aen.* 2, 138; Luc. 9, 231; Val. Fl. 4, 89; Mar. Victor, *Aleth.* 1, 386; *Carm. Lat. epigr.* no. 682, 1; 1169, 4 Bücheler; Paul. Nol. *Carm.* 18, 228; *nati*, rather than *fili*, being used to express tender emotion; cf. Marouzeau in *Rev. de Philol.* 47 (1923), 71; *Rev. des Études lat.* 10 (1932), 371. Servius compares Juv. 6, 38–39: *dulcem . . . heredem*. With the general thought cf. Minnervmus, 1, 1; Soph. *Antig.* 917–918: ἄλεκτρον, ἀνυμέβαιον, οὔτε τοῦ γάμου / μέρος λαχούσαν οὔτε

παιδείου τροφῆς; *Epigrammata Gr.* no. 236, 2–6; no. 717, 2 Kaibel: ἀπείρατο(ς) Κύπριδο(ς) ἡμερ(τ)ῆς; also 4, 327, n. (*saltem*), below.

33. *Veneris . . . praemia*: cf. *Il.* 3, 54 (though, as Heyne-Wagner (*ad loc.*) observe; in a different sense): τὰ τε δῶρ' Ἀφροδίτης; *Hymn. Cer.* 101–102: ἥτε τόκου / εἰργηται δῶρων τε φιλοστεφάνου Ἀφροδίτης; Hes. *Scut.* 47: τερπόμενος δῶροισι πολυχρύσου Ἀφροδίτης; Pind. *Ol.* 1, 120: φίλια δῶρα Κυπρίας; *Nem.* 8, 12: Κυπρίας δῶρων; Tasso, *Aminia*, 1, 1, 1–3: vorrai dunque pur, Silvia, / dai piaceri di Venere lontana / menarne tu questa tua giovinezza; Henry (*Aeneidea*, 2, (1878), 581) compares Parini, *Odi*, 11 (*Per Nozze*), 5: trattar dolci premi e dolci affanni. The Schol. Dan. well remark: *et hysterologia est; nam per Veneris praemia proveniunt nati.*

33. *Veneris nec*: Norden, 2 ed. of Book VI (1916), 404, lists many instances of post-positive *nec* in Latin verse, including 24 Virgilian cases where it is the second word of its clause (in this book also lines 365, 551, and 696), and one where it is third (*Aen.* 2, 159). Cf. the inversion of *et* (4, 124 (= 4, 165); 4, 418; 4, 513; Haackermann, *Explicat. Vergil. Specimen* (1853), 3) and of *quod* (4, 100). The disjunctive has troubled some editors; cf. Güthling, *Adnot. ad Verg. Aeneidem* (1877), 14–15, who admits that Ladewig has compared as cases where the correlation *nec . . . nec* is not disjunctive but represents nuances of the same thought G. 4, 198 and *Aen.* 3, 585, but will not accept these as parallel. The Schol. Dan. state: *et volunt quidam ἐν διὰ δυοῖν esse*. It is simpler, however, to hold that *natos* and *praemia* are distinct ideas;



## 35. esto, aegram nulli quondam flexere mariti,

(*esto aegram*) *G*, aesto *p*. quondaa *F* (quondam *F*<sup>1</sup>). flexere *G* (flexere *G*<sup>1</sup>).

35. esto . . . mariti: [*Acro*] in *Hor. C.* 3, 22, 5 — condam *Aγ*, quondam *b*, *om.* 1 —. 35. aegram . . . mariti: *Serv. Ecl.* 1, 13. 35. nulli mariti: *Gl. Ansil.* 398, 83. 35. nulli . . . flexere: *Anth. Lat. no.* 11, 71 (1, *p.* 43 *Riese*).

Anna inquires whether Dido is to experience neither parental nor (even) conjugal joys.

34. *id.*, etc.: cf. *Eur. Alc.* 1091: μῶν τὴν θανοῦσαν ὠφελεῖν τι προσδοκᾷ; Terzaghi (*Virgilio ed Enea* (1928), 143-145) is troubled by the inconsistency of an author who represents in the Sixth Book the continued existence and interests of the dead, yet here allows Anna, a person whom he considers not only religious but even scrupulous in the performance of religious offices, to speak in so sceptical a tone, and suggests that the machinery of the Sixth Book may have been devised to satisfy the orthodox designs of Augustus while here the poet may himself be speaking through the mouth of Anna. But Anna is not here necessarily doubting the existence of the dead (for sepulchral verses expressing such doubt cf. Tolman, *A Study of the sepulchral Inscriptions in Bücheler's Carm. epigr. Lat.* (1910), 65), or even their sensibility (cf. *Oclavia*, 13: *si quis remanet sensus in umbris*; *Aus. Parent.* 22, 15: *si quid apud manes sentis*; *Anth. Pal.* 7, 23, 6: εἰ δὲ τις φθιμένοιο χρίμπεται ἐφ' ὀστέον), but rather their concern with human affairs, as Ennius (*Sc.* 316-317) differentiates between the existence and the providence of the gods: *ego deum genus esse semper dixi et dicam caelitem, / sed eos non curare opinor quid agat humanum genus*, using the same verb *curare*; cf. Tescari in criticism of Terzaghi (in *Riv. di Filol.* N. S. 8 (1930), 91). Nor does Anna assert her own beliefs, rather raising a question (perhaps rhetorical, perhaps for information), which she quickly answers by the concessive *esto*. Granted that the *manes* do care, has not Dido already amply shown her loyalty to Sychaeus by the rejection of many suitors, and may she not at last be allowed to accept one for whom she really cares? Dido herself seems to anticipate the interest of her own shade, in the future, in the actions of her people; cf. 4, 622-624.

34. *cinerem*: the body of the murdered Sychaeus seems not to have been burned; cf. 1, 353-354: *ipsa sed in somnis inhumati venit imago / coniugis*. But in 4, 552 Dido refers to the *cineri* . . . Sychaeo (as in 4, 623 to her own: *cineri* . . . *nostro*, and as the author in 4, 633 to the *cinis ater* of Dido's nurse), and *cinerem*, as in 10, 828 (*manibus et cineri*), Miss Saunders (in *Am. Journ. of Philol.* 46 (1925), 355) notes, need not imply literal cremation, but may be a conventional expression for the remains of the dead; cf. *Thes. Ling. Lat.* 3 (1912), 1074, 11-45; also *Ov. H.* 7, 115: *exul agor cineresque viri patriamque relinquo*. Anna does not consider *cinerem* and *manis* as at all equivalent, as is shown by the use of *aut* rather than *vel*; yet cf. 4, 427: *cinerem manesve*; for the relation of these contrasted notions cf. Marbach in *P.-W.* 14 (1928), 1056-1057; and for *cinerem* rather than the more frequent plural, Maas in *Archiv f. lat. Lex.* 12 (1902), 516.

34. *manis* . . . *sepultos*: equivalent to *manes sepulcorum*; cf. Bell, *The Latin Dual* (1923), 216. For the expression cf. *Carm. Lat. epigr.* 682, 11 Bücheler: *nec curant carmina manes*; Paul. Nol. *Carm.* 19, 310: *curare sepulti*; Gualterus, *Alexandreis*, 1, 469: *inter cineres manesque sepultos*; Sanazaro, *Eleg. ad L. Crassum*, 21. The word *sepultos* resumes *sepulcro* in line 29. *Manis* probably refers to the shade of Sychaeus rather than to shades in general, for the word has no singular (Rose, *Primitive Culture in Italy* (1926), 27), and on tombstones, in the form *D(is) M(anibus)*, is regularly applied to the shade of an individual, though this formula is unknown before the Augustan Age (Santoro in *Riv. di Filol.* 17 (1889), 15-17) and we have "no known word of pre-Augustan date which definitely and unambiguously signifies the phantom, shade, or ghost of a dead person, or his spirit living in some other state of being" (Rose in *Cl. Quart.* 24 (1930),

## 36. non Libyae, non ante Tyro; despectus Iarbas

(non libyae) G. libya P (libyae P<sup>2</sup>), libiae b; cf. Schol. Dan.: *quidam autem 'Libya', id est mariti Libyes, 'Tyro' mariti Tyrii exponunt.* dispectus b<sup>4</sup>c. iarpas (corr. in hiarbas) b.

36. non Libyae . . . Iarbas: Serv. Aen. 1, 263 — dispexit B, dispectus L; hiarbas —; Serv. Aen. 12, 344 — lybiae (libiae F); iarpas —. 36. non Libyae, non Tyro: Serv. G. 3, 96 — tyrod A, tyron V, cyron H —. 36. non Libyae: Gl. Ansil. 394, 157 — libiae —.

133; Knight in *Cl. Weekly*, 26 (1933), 202, n. 16).

35. esto: concessive, like the Greek *εστω*; cf. Serv.: *adverbium concedentis est Graecum*; Liddell-Scott-Jones, *Gr. Eng. Lex.* 3 (1927), 488 a; in Latin cf. Cic. *Fin.* 2, 75; 2, 92; *Div. in Caecil.* 47; Aen. 7, 313; 10, 67; 12, 821; Hor. *Ep.* 1, 1, 81; 1, 17, 37.

35. aegram: doubtless of her state of mind after the death of Sychaeus; cf. 1, 351; 4, 389, n. (aegra), below.

35. nulli, etc.: cf. 4, 534-536; Ov. *H.* 7, 123-125: *mille procis placui, qui me coiere serventes / nescio quem thalamis praeposuisse suis; / quid dubitas vinctam Gaetulo tradere Iarbae.*

35. flexere: resuming *inflexit* in Dido's speech (4, 22). On the form -ere (excluded in the fifth foot of the hexameter) cf. Steele in *Am. Journ. of Philol.* 32 (1911), 328-332.

35. mariti: probably = *proci* (which Ovid uses); cf. 4, 536; Bell, *The Latin Dual* (1923), 204, for the similar ellipsis of the future participle of *esse* in 2, 344 (where cf. Serv.); cf. 7, 189. Here Servius remarks: *non qui erant sed qui esse cupiebant*, although he also cites another (impossible) view construing the word as a genitive singular dependent on *aegram*.

36. non . . . non: cf. Loewe, *Symbolae ad enarr. Serm. Poet. Lat.* 2 (1873), 7; Kvřcala, *Vergil-Studien* (1878), 188; 200; Otto, *De Anaphora* (1907), 50, for the combination of anaphora and asyndeton.

36. Libyae: this word and Tyro are commonly construed with *mariti*: "suitors (husbands) of Libya and from Tyre." The latter is an ablative of origin somewhat paralleled in 3, 503; 5, 61; 10, 141; 10, 183; Heyne-Wagner compare Caes. *B. C.* 1, 24, 4: *N. Magius Cremona*; cf. Kühner-Stegmann, *Ausf. Gram. d. lat. Spr.* 2, 1, 2 ed. (1912), 476;

and the whole shows a shift of case comparable to that in 1, 462-463, very easy in such an author as Tacitus, though uncommon in Virgil; cf. Unterharnscheidt, *De Veterum in Aeneide Coniecturis* (1911), 25. Though parallels (mostly late) may also be found for the locative of the names of countries (cf. 3, 162; *Cretae*; Kühner-Stegmann, *op. cit.*, 481) as well as for the ablative without a preposition in place of the locative in the names of cities (*id.*, 477; also Wagener in *Philologus*, 42 (1834), 392), it seems likely that the former explanation is the correct one; cf. Kern, *Zum Gebrauch des Abl. bei Vergil* (1881), 9; Lane in *Harv. Stud. in cl. Philol.* 9 (1898), 26; Kühner-Stegmann, *op. cit.*, 477; though Bell (*The Latin Dual* (1923), 398) thinks that "Virgil gives us a curious grammatical surprise, where he constructs the name of a country as though it were a town, and vice versa . . . Libyae on the analogy of Romae, and in return Tyro is used for Tyri just as Plautus uses Epheso for Ephesi." Cf. also Hahn, *Coordination of non-coordinate Elements in Vergil* (1930), 10-11.

36. Tyro: cf. 4, 75, n. (*Sidonius*).

36. despectus Iarbas: for Iarbas cf. 4, 196, n. (*Iarban*); Justin, 18, 6, 1: *Hiarbas . . . Elissae nuptias sub belli denuntiatione petit*; for the phrase Sil. 8, 54: *despectus taedae regnis se imponit Iarbas*; also Juv. 5, 45: *zelotypo iuvenis praelatus Iarbae*. Henselmanns (*Die Widersprüche in Vergils Aeneis* (1914), 17; 119) objects that in this passage and in 4, 534-536 several suitors among the Numidians are mentioned, while in 4, 196-218, and 4, 326 it is Iarbas only who is named. But Iarbas was doubtless either the most eligible or the most insistent (and therefore distasteful) of them all, and so may well, on occasion, typify the others also; cf. Terzaghi, *Virgilio ed Enea* (1928), 22. That this is the

37. ductoresque alii, quos Africa terra triumphis  
dives alit; placitone etiam pugnabis amori?

(ductoresque alii quos) G. alia c<sup>1</sup>. quos add. sup. c. afryca b, affrica γ. triumphos R, (triumphis) G.

Versus 38 abscissus in G. placida (corr. in placido) p.

37-38. quos . . . alit: Serv. Aen. 6, 875 — triumphos RLH —; Arus. Ex. Eloc. (G. L. K. 7, 463). 37-38. triumphis dives: Gl. Ansil. 572, 421 — divisus —.

[37\*] 38-39. placitone . . . arvis: Petron. 112, 2; Ioann. Saresb. Policr. 8, 111, p. 754b. 38. placitone . . . amori: Auson. Cento nupt. 90, p. 214 Peiper — placido G —; Donat. Aen. 2, 290 — placitone LR (corr. L ipse, r), placidone ed. —; [Iul. Rufin.] p. 56 Halm — placidone —. 38. placitone: Gl. Ansil. 446, 61; q.v.

correct explanation is also indicated by the easy transition from the plural *Nomadum tyranni* in 4, 321 to the singular *Gaetulus Iarbas* in 4, 326. It may be held a slight defect thus casually to introduce the name of Iarbas before he has been described in detail at 4, 196-205. There may be also noted in passing the form of the story, appearing in Eustathius's commentary on Dionys. Perieg. 195 (*Geogr. Gr. min.* 2, 250-251), in which Iarbas repels Dido on her arrival and later sells her a site for settlement. For the term *despectus* cf. Pichon, *De Sermone amatorio* (1902), 128.

37. *ductoresque alii*: Serv. Aen. 1, 738: *Iopas vero rex Afrorum, unus de procis Didonis, ut Punica testatur historia.*

37. *Africa terra*: cf. Enn. Sat. 10-11: *testes sunt / lati campi quos gerit Africa terra politos*; Liv. 29, 23, 10: *terra Africa*; perhaps a relic of an original usage in which all names of countries were feminine adjectives modifying *terra*. In oblique cases Virgil, for metrical reasons, uses forms of *Libya*, as in the preceding line; in the nominative that word does not appear, and this is the only case in his poems of the word *Africa* (though *Africus* is found in 1, 86; cf. *Dirae*, 39). Norden on Aen. 6, 842-843 thinks our line an echo of Enn. Ann. 310: *Africa terribili tremuit horrida terra tumultu*. For similar Virgilian personifications of a country cf. Lünzner, *Ueber Personificationen in Vergils Gedichte* (1876), 6.

37. *triumphis*: cf. Coripp. 2, 102-103: *horrida gens et dura viris audaxque triumphis / innumeris*; Schol. Dan.: *et quidam dicunt*

*Afros numquam triumphasse. Plinius autem Secundus historice naturalis et Pompeius Trogus Afros dicunt pompam triumphi primos invenisse* (Plin. N. H. 7, 191 says the inventor was Liber), *quam sibi Romani postea vindicaverunt. Livius autem Andronicus refert eos de Romanis saepius triumphasse suasque porticus Romanis spoliis adornasse; merito ergo 'dives triumphis'*; Sedul. Carm. 2, 30, 79 (Poet. Aevi Carol. 3, 197): *Gallia dives ovat transactis mille triumphis*. The word *triumphis* should not be pressed too literally, being figuratively used for *victoriis*; cf. the examples in Braumüller, *Ueber Tropen u. Figuren in Vergil's Aeneis*, 1 (1877), 7. Bell (*The Latin Dual* (1923), 402) thinks this phrase and *Punica* . . . *gloria* (4, 49) sound strangely in a Roman epic, though natural to Anna, and are an indication of Virgil's sense of justice and fair play to a beaten foe. A closer insistence upon facts, however, would indicate that in the present case it is not Punic glory that is being emphasized, but that of the non-Punic African tribes, whose warlikeness in opposition to the Carthaginians is noted in 4, 40 as in 1, 339: *finis Libyci, genus intractabile bello*. For the Roman reader there was perhaps a further connotation of such victories as that at Zama.

38. *alit*: cf. G. 4, 563-564: *Vergilium me . . . alebat / Parthenope*.

38. *placito*: Schol. Dan.: *et 'placito' alii volunt vel universis hominibus, id est, coniugali amori, vel legibus dictum*. Henry (*Aeneidea*, 2 (1878), 582) compares Theocr. 27, 22: *πολλοί μ' ἐμύοντο, νόον δ' ἐμὸν οὐτὶς ἔαδε*. For the use of the adjective cf. G. 2, 425: *placitam*

39. nec venit in mentem quorum consederis arvis?  
hinc Gaetulae urbes, genus insuperabile bello,

39-92: *FMPR.* im *F.* sideris *F* (consederis *F*<sup>1</sup>), consideris *Rb*<sup>1</sup>*cy*<sup>1</sup>.  
hinc (in *in ras.*) *F*<sup>1</sup>. getulae *F* (gaetulae *F*<sup>1</sup>) *MPbpy*. hurbes *b.* intractabile *R* (cf. 1, 339; Sparrow, *Half-lines and Repetitions in Virgil* (1931), 120). Versus 40 et 41 transposuit Immisch, *Rh. Mus.* 52 (1897), 127; cf. *explicationem* 4, 43 (Barcaei).

[38] 39. nec . . . mentem: *Anth. Lat. no. 17, 251* (1, p. 71 Riese) — uentem *A* —; *no. 17, 400* (1, p. 77 Riese) — mente *A* —; *no. 198, 51* (1, p. 164 Riese); *Gl. Ansil.* 387, 159.

40. genus . . . bello: *Auson. Cento nupt.* 3, p. 209 Peiper; *Donat. Aen.* 6, 690. 40. in-superabile bello: *Gl. Ansil.* 312, 1670 — bellum —.

*Paci . . . olivam*; *Ov. Ep.* 16 (17), 98: *placitis abstinuisse bonis*; etc. Perhaps we may see in the adjective not only the contrast between Dido's dislike for the African chieftains and her attraction to Aeneas but also an indication of the (rather Epicurean) principles by which Anna expects her choice to be guided.

38. *pugnabis amori*: cf. *Ov. Ep.* 16 (17), 189: *coepto pugnemus amori* (*Catull.* 62, 59, cited by Henry, represents a different situation). The use of the verb *pugno* with the dative, rather than with *cum* and the ablative, starts with *Catullus* (62, 64) and imitates Greek usage (*μάχεσθαι τινι*); cf. 11, 600; *Lohmann, De Graecismorum Usu Vergiliano* (1915), 53. The same idiom occurs with other verbs of striving; cf. *Ecl.* 5, 8; 8, 55; *G.* 2, 99; *Aen.* 1, 475; 1, 493; 12, 678. On *amor* used of passion rather than of conjugal affection see *Fowler, Roman Essays and Interpretations* (1920), 189; yet cf. 4, 17; 4, 31, *n. (dilecta)*, above.

39. *venit in mentem*: this phrase may be accompanied by a subject in the nominative (e.g., *Liv.* 8, 5, 10), by a genitive, on the analogy of verbs of remembering (e.g., *Ter. Eun.* 666; *Phorm.* 154; *Cic. Fin.* 5, 2; and often in *Cicero*), an accusative and infinitive (*Plaut. Aul.* 226; 228; *Plin. Ep.* 3, 4, 5; etc.), a simple infinitive (*Cic. Ac.* 1, 3; etc.; for Greek parallels cf. *Headlam on Herondas*, 4, 75), a prepositional phrase (*Plaut. Most.* 271; *Gell.* 20, 6, 12), or a finite clause introduced by *ut* (*Plaut. Merc.* 900; *M. G.* 1358; *Pseud.* 134; etc.), interrogative pronouns, as here (e.g., *Plaut. Truc.* 931; *Cic. Tusc.* 5, 81; etc.),

or other interrogative words (e.g., *Cic. Ad Fam.* 3, 10, 1; *Liv.* 5, 52, 13).

39. *consederis arvis*: cf. 12, 237: *consedimus arvis*. The words express the act of arrival preparatory to settlement; cf. *Carcopino, Virgile et les Origines d'Ostie* (1919), 420, n. 12. Anna passes from the argument of Dido's personal desire to one based on reasons of state and duty to her subjects. The half-line at 4, 44 suggests to *Cartault (L'Art de Virgile dans l'Énéide, 1* (1926), 342) that 4, 39-44 may be a marginal addition not yet fused by Virgil into the text, since *Iunone secunda* (4, 45) and *coniugio tali* (4, 48) follow naturally upon *placito . . . amori* (4, 38). The political aspect is also treated in 4, 47-49. *Cartault* further thinks that 4, 39-44 may have been suggested to Virgil by rereading *Apoll. Rh.* 1, 677-679, where the nurse *Polyxo* urges *Hypsipyle* to receive the Argonauts as possible aids against a Thracian attack, or 3, 351-353, where *Argus* tells *Aeetes* that *Jason* will help him against the *Sauromatae*; in each case immigrants being thought of as allies to a local ruler against neighboring armies. The perils to Dido's kingdom have been noted at 1, 339; 1, 563-564; cf. 4, 320-321.

40. *hinc*: correlative with *hinc* in line 42; cf. *Ecl.* 1, 53-56.

40. *Gaetulae*: cf. *Sall. Iug.* 18, 1-2: *Africam initio habuere Gaetuli et Libyes, asperi incultique, quis cibis erat caro ferina atque humi pabulum uti pecoribus. ei neque moribus neque lege aut imperio cuiusquam regebantur; vagi, palantes, quas nox coegerat sedes habebant*; 18, 7-8: *ei* (sc. *Medes, Per-*

## 41. et Numidae infreni cingunt et inhospita Syrtis,

numida *P* (numidae *P*<sup>2</sup>). inhospita (corr. in inhospita) *P*. syrtis *FM*<sup>γ</sup>, syrtis *R*<sup>p</sup>, syrt( ) *P* (cf. Fairclough in *Trans. Am. philol. Assoc.* 63 (1932), 212).

41. et . . . Syrtis: *Prisc. Inst.* 7, 66 (G. L. K. 2, 343) — inhospita *GK*; sirtis *G*, systis *D* —; *Schol. Lucan.* 1, 367 — syrtis *om.* *U* —; *Comm. Cruq. in Hor. C.* 2, 6, 3; *Iulian. Tolet. f.* 4 (ap. Funaioli, *Esegesi virgiliana antica* (1930), 427); *Carm. Centulensia*, 1, 256 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 3, 288) — numidi —. 41. et . . . cingunt: *Serv. Aen.* 1, 523; 10, 750 — hunc (pro et) *M*, hinc *cell.* —. 41. Numidae . . . cingunt: [*Acro*] in *Hor. C.* 3, 11, 47 — numide *A* —. 41. Numidae infreni: *Isid. Etym.* 10, 136 — humidae *C*<sup>1</sup> —. 41. et . . . Syrtis: *Comm. Cruq. in Hor. C.* 1, 22, 5. 41. inhospita Syrtis: [*Acro*] in *Hor. Epod.* 1, 11–12 — sirtis —. 41. inhospita: *Gl. Ansil.* 306, 1178; *Gl. Abstr.* 49, 159; q.v.

sians, and Armenians of the army of Hercules) paulatim per conubia Gaetulos secum miscuere, et quia saepe templantes agros alia deinde alia loca petiverant, semet ipsi Nomadas appellavere. ceterum adhuc aedificia Numidarum agrestium, quae mapalia illi vocant; oblonga, incurvis lateribus tecta, quasi navium carinae sunt; 19, 5: super Numidiam Gaetulos accepimus partim in tuguriis alios incultius vagos agitare, post eos Aethiops esse, dehinc loca exusta solis ardoribus; *Strab.* 17, p. 826: ἐν βάθει δὲ τῆς χώρας ὑπὸ τοῦ μεγίστου τῶν Λιβυκῶν ἱνῶν, οἱ Γαιτῦλοι λέγονται. Their nearness to the Syrtis is indicated in *Aen.* 5, 51; 5, 192; *Hor. C.* 2, 20, 15; *Flor.* 2, 31, 12, 40; but denied by *Serv. Aen.* 5, 192: Gaetulia mediterranea est, Syrtis vero iuxta Libyam sunt. For their location in the interior south and southwest of Carthage, their different divisions, nomadic life (*Oros.* 6, 21, 18), and military relations to Carthage and Rome cf. Dessau in *P.-W.* 7 (1912), 464–465; to which add: *Sext. Emp.* 3, 213; *Dionys. Orbis Descript.* 215 (*Geogr. Gr. min.* 2, 114); *Isid. Etym.* 9, 2, 118; *Steph. Byz. s. v. Γαιτούλοι*. Their barbarous character is also attested by *Sall. Iug.* 80, 1: Gaetulos, genus hominum ferum incultumque; *Philostr. Vit. Apollon.* 5, 1: Γαιτίλους καὶ Τίγγας, ἄμφω θηριώδη καὶ Λιβυκὰ ἔθνη. In *Aen.* 4, 326 Iarbas is called Gaetulus. Haeblerin (in *Philologus*, 47 (1889), 313) somewhat fancifully detects here a compliment to Augustus, whose power later extended over these races; cf. 6, 792–795.

40. urbes: Servius well remarks: ad terrorem 'urbes' posuit; nam in mapalibus (cf. 4, 259) habitabant.

40. genus insuperabile bello: cf. 1, 339: fines Libyci, genus intractabile bello; and for the apposition of the phrase with the preceding word of nationality Henry (*Aeneidea*, 1 (1873), 630) compares *Gratt. Cyneq.* 159: sunt qui Seras alant, genus intractabilis irae. The ablative is on the border-line between local and instrumental; cf. Kern, *Zum Gebrauch des Abl. bei Vergil* (1881), 23–24, who cites many parallels in the case of bello.

41. Numidae: in a general way Numidia to the southwest and the country bordering the Syrtis to the southeast shut in (cingunt) the immediate territory of Carthage, with the wild tribes of the Gaetuli in the hinterland; cf. *Strab.* 2, p. 131: πολλὰ δ' ἐστὶν ἡ Καρχηδονία: συνάπτουσι δ' οἱ νομάδες αὐτῇ . . . οὐκ ἀπεικὸς δὲ καὶ νομάδας λεχθῆναι τινὰς αὐτῶν, οὐ δυναμένους γεωργεῖν διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν θηρίων τὸ παλαιόν; *Plin. N. H.* 5, 22: Numidae vero Nomades a permutandis pabulis, mapalia sua hoc est domus plaustris circumferentes; *App. Rom. praef.* 1: ἄλλα Λιβύων ἔθνη μέχρι Καρχηδόνας, καὶ τούτων ὑπερθε Νομάδες, οὓς Ῥωμαῖοι καλοῦσι Νουμίδας καὶ τὴν χώραν Νουμιδίαν, ἕτεροι δὲ Λίβνες ὅσοι περιεοκοῦσι τὰς Σύρτες μέχρι Κυρήνης, κτλ. In 4, 320; 4, 535; 8, 724 Virgil calls them Nomades.

41. infreni: the adjectives infrenus and infrenis (10, 750), like inhospita in this same line, are probably coined by Virgil; cf. Ladewig, *De Vergilio Verborum Novatore*, 1 (1870), 4; 6; Wotke in *Wiener Stud.* 8 (1886), 139. Ausonius (*Grat. Act.* 27) refers to this passage: mirabamur poetam qui infrenos dixerat Numidas.

For the custom here described cf. Arr. *Cyneg.* 24, 3: Λιβίων δὲ παῖδες ὀκταετείς . . . ἐπὶ γυμνῶν τῶν ἵππων λαίονουσιν, ῥάβδω χρώμενοι ἐπ' αὐτοῖς, ὅσα Ἑλλήνες χαλινῶ; Strab. 17, p. 828 (of the Maurusii and the Masae-sylli): μικροῖς ἵπποις χρώμενοι, ὧς δὲ καὶ εὐπειθέσιν ὥστ' ἀπὸ ῥαβδίου οἰακίζεσθαι; Liv. 21, 9, 3: *inter tot iam effrenatarum gentium arma*; 21, 44, 1 (see below); 35, 11, 7 (of the Numidians): *equi sine frenis*; Luc. 4, 682-683: *et gens quae nudo residens Massylia dorso / ora levi flectit frenorum nescia virga*; Sil. 1, 215: *Numidae, gens inscia freni*; 2, 64: *nullaque levnis Gaetulus habena*; 4, 314: *infrenatique manipuli*; Opp. *Cyneg.* 4, 47-50: ἵπποισιν κείνοισιν, ὅσοι περὶ Μαυρίδα γαίαν / φέρβοντ', ἢ Λιβύεσσιν· ὅσοι μὴ κάρτεϊ χειρῶν / ἄγχονται ψαλίοις βιαζομένοιο χαλινῶ, / πείθονται δὲ λύγοισιν, ὅπη βροτὸς ἡγεμονέει (and Mair's note, to which I am much indebted); Nemes. *Cyneg.* 263-268: *nec pigeat quod . . . / . . . infrenes . . . / . . . nam flecti facilis lascivaque colla seculus / paret in obsequium lentae moderamine virgae; / verbera sunt praecepta fugae, sunt verbera freni*; Herodian, 7, 9, 6: οἱ δὲ Νομάδες . . . ἱππεῖς ἀριστοί, ὧς καὶ χαλινῶν ἄνευ ῥάβδω μόνη τὸν δρόμον τῶν ἵππων κυβερνᾷ; Claud. *Carm. min.* 28, 20: *infrenis Garamas*; De Bell. *Gild.* 1, 439-440: *sonipes ignarus habenae / virga regit* (cf. Mart. 9, 22, 14).

On the transference of meaning in the adjective cf. Julian. Tolet. f. 4 (ap. Funaioli, *Esegesi Virgiliana antica* (1930), 427): *frena enim non ad homines sed quadrupedibus pertinent*; Bell, *The Latin Dual* (1923), 200, who compares Liv. 21, 44, 1: *equites frenatos infrenatosque* (cf. also Polyb. 3, 65, 6). Further there is doubtless an implication of the lawlessness of the Numidian race; cf. Serv. *ad loc.*: *saevi et feroces*; Donat. *ad loc.*: *cum dicit infrenis ostendit indomitos et eos qui nullo iure tenerentur ac suis legibus viverent nec vellent alicuius imperio subiugari*; the note on *inhospita Syrtis* below; also *Aen.* 1, 523.

41. *inhospita Syrtis*: cf. Ov. *M.* 8, 120; Luc. 1, 367; Cayado, *Ecl.* 6, 53; the word *Syrtis* (perhaps from σύρω, but other etymological possibilities are discussed by Treidler in *P.-W.* 4 A (1932), 1797-1800) was applied to some large sandbanks (Jul. Hon. *Cosmog.*

41 (*Geogr. Lat. min.* 46 Riese; cf. *id.*, 88, 41) rates them as *insulae*; cf. Treidler, *op. cit.*, 1807-1808), off the north coast of Africa, the *Syrtis maior* lying west of Cyrenaica and the *Syrtis minor* (doubtless here meant) east of Byzacena, or to the gulfs in which these lay. For descriptions cf. Scyl. *Periopl.* 109 (*Geogr. Gr. min.* 1, 84); Sall. *Iug.* 78, 1-5; Mela, 1, 35; Strab. 17, p. 834; Luc. 9, 303-318; Plin. *N. H.* 5, 26-28; Solin. 27, 38-40; Serv. *Aen.* 1, 111; 10, 678; Mart. Cap. 6, 671. Their dangerous and stormy character is noted in 1, 111; 5, 51; 5, 192; 7, 302; 10, 678 (Virgil also mentions them in 1, 146; 6, 60; cf. *Dirae*, 53); Hor. *C.* 2, 6, 3-4; Sil. 2, 63: *infidae litora Syrtis*; Avien. 3, 158-159: *donec arenosas attollant aequora Syrtis, / infidumque rati tenuent mare*; for a possible representation in a relief (Reinach, *Rep. de Reliefs grecs et rom.* 2 (1912), 260) found at Carthage and now at Paris cf. Grenier, *The Roman Spirit* (1926), 354. Knapp (in *Cl. Rev.* 17 (1903), 46) and Cartault (*L'Art de Virgile dans l'Étude*, 1 (1926), 342) fail to see how the inhospitable character of the Syrtis and the neighborhood of the desert constitute dangers for Carthage (rather than protections against foreign attack), but Anna is here emphasizing the wild nature of the adjacent country as suggesting that its inhabitants share the same qualities; cf. the note on *infreni* above; also Hor. *C.* 2, 6, 3: *barbaras Syrtis*; Curt. 4, 7, 20: *Nasamones . . . gens Syrtica, navigiorum spoliis quaestuosa, quippe obsident litora et aestu destituta navigia notis sibi vadis occupant*; cf. Luc. 9, 439-444; 10, 477: *Syrtis barbara*; Sil. 1, 408-409. Such a land would naturally be thought to lack the amenities of countries accessible to trade and the security of those possessing an established culture, and would offer no protection in case of a necessary flight (cf. Donat. *ad loc.*).

For the adjective *inhospita*, first appearing in Virgil (cf. Schol. Dan.: *et fictum 'inhospita,' cum 'inhospes' non dicatur*), cf. 5, 627: *inhospita saxa*; Hor. *Ep.* 1, 14, 19: *deserta et inhospita tesqua*; Ov. *M.* 15, 15; Sil. 4, 751; 6, 308; Avien. 3, 71; 3, 116; 3, 278; 3, 422. So Horace (*C.* 1, 22, 6 and *Epod.* 1, 12) refers to the *inhospitalem Caucasum*, with which cf. Aesch. *Prom.* 20: τῶδ' ἀπανθρώπων πάγψ.

42. hinc deserta siti regio lateque furentes  
Barcaeï. quid bella Tyro surgentia dicam

deseta *b.* uagantis *c.* uagantes *dett.*

barchaei *F.* barcei (*corr. in barchaei*) *b.*; *vide v. 42 supra.* qui *R.* quid (*i in ras.*) *b.* surgeatia (*corr. in surgentia*) *P.* surgenti *F* (*surgentia F<sup>1</sup>*).

42-43. lateque . . . Barcaeï: *Hier. Ep. 126, 2, 2* (= *Aug. Ep. 165, 2, 2*) — uagantes; barchaei *DM.* barchei, brachei, barthei, bacchei *al.* —; *Ep. 129, 4, 3* — lazaque *J.*; uagantes *om. D.*; *varie* barchaei, barchei, bacchei, bachei *al.* —; *Isid. Etym. 9, 2, 107* — lataque *A.*; uacantes *AK.* uagantes *cell.*; uaccei —; *Hrab. Maur. De Univ. 16, 2* — uagantes uaccaeï —.

42. hinc . . . regio: [*Acro*] in *Hor. C. 1, 22, 16.* 42. deserta siti: *Gl. Ansil. 171, 1016.*

42. late furentes: *Gl. Ansil. 331, 416.*

[42\*] 43. Tyro: *Gl. Ansil. 564, 189; q.v.*

42. deserta: *Serv.: inhabitabilis. dicit autem Xerolibyem, id est partem Africae aridam, quae est inter Tripolin et Pentapolin* (probably more distant than what Virgil here has in mind). *et bene terret dicens iuxta esse aut bellicosas gentes, aut deserta loca, unde non speratur auxilium.* Cf. *Ecl. 1, 64: at nos hinc alii sitientis ibimus Afros*; *Mela, 1, 23: deinde late vacat regio perpetuo tractu inhabitabilis.*

42. lateque furentes: cf. Cayado, *Ecl. 6, 86: lateque furens*; the reading *vagantes* perhaps suggested *Oros. 6, 21, 18: in Africa Musulanos et Gaetulios latius vagantes*; cf. also *Avien. 3, 280-287.*

43. Barcaeï: *Servius* remarks: *hi prope sunt a Carthagine; unde addidit 'late furentes'. hi secundum Titianum in chorographia Phoenicen navali quondam superare certamine. Barce autem civitas est Pentapoleos, quae hodie Ptolemais dicitur* (a frequent misidentification of the inland city with its harbor; cf. *Sethe in P.-W. 3* (1899), 20); *nam Cyrene et Barce reginae fuerunt quae singulis dederunt civitatibus nomina.* The *Scholia Danielis* add: *sed hoc per prolepsin dictum est* (for Barce was not founded till the sixth century B.C.; cf. *Hdt. 4, 160*; *Sethe, l. c.*). If Barce near Cyrene were the place meant by Virgil it would seem geographically inappropriate as well, since that is nearly seven hundred miles from Carthage in an air line; on the other hand we know of no other more appropriately situated Barce, and Virgil (who is perhaps not very definite in his African topography or who does not wish to

make Anna appear pedantically accurate) may think of the people of Barce as dominating the region which borders the Syrtes. From the reading *Baccaeï* claimed by Ribbeck for *Hier. Ep. 126, 2, 2* and *129, 4, 3* (from which *Isidore (Etym. 9, 2, 107)* may have derived his *Vacceï*) *Nettleship*, in revising *Conington's* edition, suggests the people of *Vacca* or *Vaga* (*Sall. Jug. 1, 29, 4*; etc.; which *Sil. 3, 259* scans *Vāga*), a town located by *Kiepert* about seventy miles southwest of Carthage. But *Hilberg's* edition of *Jerome's Letters*, though furnishing many manuscript variants in these two passages, does not show that which *Ribbeck* supposed, and *Nettleship's* suggestion is well refuted by *Immisch in Rh. Mus. 52* (1897), 127. It seems best, then, to retain *Barcaeï*. *Immisch's* own proposal to transpose lines 40 and 41 would produce a more logical arrangement of localities, but supposes on the part of Anna a precision of geographical information which we have no right to expect from a lady newly arrived in the country, and lacks MS support.

The nurse *Barce* (mentioned in 4, 632) may be eponymously connected by Virgil with this city, though it is likely that the poet's chief purpose in choosing the name was to foreshadow the great general of the First Punic War, *Hamilcar Barcas (Baraq = 'lightning'*; cf. *Lenschau in P.-W. 7* (1912), 2303).

43. bella . . . surgentia: cf. 9, 667: *pugna aspera surgit*; *Sen. Dial. 12, 9, 8: Africa resurgentis belli minis plena*; *Sil. 1, 686* (= 13,

## 44. germanique minas?

quae γ.

616): *surgentia bella*; 14, 293: *bellum surgebat*.

43. Tyro: this line and the next prepare the way for 4, 325-326; cf. also 1, 340-341.

44. germani, etc.: on Pygmalion, the brother of Dido, cf. 1, 346-364; 4, 325-326; Ov. *H.* 7, 114; 7, 127-128: *est etiam frater, cuius manus impia possit / respergi nostro, sparsa cruore viri*; *F.* 3, 574; *Sil.* 1, 21; 8, 63-64: *nam ferre per aequor / exitium miserae iam Pygmaliona docebat*. For the derivation of his name (a Greek corruption of the Phoenician *Pumi-yathon*, the name of a Cyprian king, cf. Frazer on Ov. *F.* 3, 574, and works there cited; to which add Güntert, *Kalypso* (1919), 232-233), and for his history cf. Kowalski, *De Didone Graeca et Latina* (1929), 14, n. 4; 16, n. 3 (etymology); 16-17, to which add App. *Pun.* 1; Eustath. ad Dionys. *Perieg.* 195 (*Geogr. Gr. min.* 2, 250-251). Menander of Ephesus (ap. Theophil. *Ad Autolycum*, 3, 22) says that he succeeded Metten, lived 56 years, and that in the seventh year of his reign his sister fled to Libya and founded Carthage.

This is the first of five incomplete lines in this book, the others being 361, 400, 503, and 516. On these cf. Donat. *Vit. Verg.* p. 7 Brummer: *Erotem librarium et libertum eius exactae iam senectutis tradunt referre solitum, quondam eum in recitando duos dimidiatos versus complexisse ex tempore. nam cum hactenus haberet* (6, 164): 'Misenum Aeoliden', *adiēcisse: 'quo non praestantior alter', item huic* (6, 165): 'aere ciere viros', *simili calore iactatum subiunxisse: 'Martemque accendere cantu', statimque sibi imperasse ut utrumque volumini adscriberet*; p. 9: *edidit autem auctore Augusto Varius, sed summatim emendata, ut qui versus etiam imperfectos, si qui erant, reliquerit. quos multi mox supplere conati non perinde valuerunt ob difficultatem, quod omnia fere apud eum hemistichia absoluto perfectoque sunt sensu, praeter illud* (3, 340): 'quem tibi iam Troia'; Serv. *Aen.* 6, 165: *hemistichium hoc dicitur addidisse dum recitat* (Cartault, *L'Art de Virgile dans l'Énéide*, 1 (1926), 68-69, thinks it more likely that the

verses were already complete but that Virgil substituted during the reading versions which better pleased him); Serv. *Vit.* p. 2 Thilo: *Augustus vero, ne tantum opus periret, Tuccam et Varium hac lege iussit emendare ut superflua demerent, nihil adderent tamen; unde et semiplenos eius invenimus versiculos, ut 'hic cursus fuit'* (1, 534); Schol. Dan. 4, 361: *et oratorie ibi finivit ubi vis argumenti constitit*.

The number of Virgilian half-lines is 58; for lists cf. Belling, *Stud. u. d. Compositions-kunst Vergils in der Aen.* (1899), 113; 159-160; Shipley, in *Washington Univ. Stud.* 12, Humanistic Ser., 1 (1924), 115-145 (who furnishes metrical data for them; 4, 44 belongs to the commonest type, of those terminating before a penthemimeral caesura); Born in *Cl. Philol.* 26 (1931), 200, n. 1. Every book contains instances, ranging from a single example in Book XII to ten in Book II (cf. Crump, *The Growth of the Aeneid* (1920), 12), and in all save 3, 340 the sense is complete, while that line may be considered as an intentional case of aposiopesis. In eight cases a speech is ended by an unfinished line, just as many speeches end in the middle of a finished one; Crump, *op. cit.*, 11. Lines which Mackail (in *Cl. Rev.* 29 (1915), 225-227) considers as *tibicines* (indications of lines to be inserted; see below) are 5, 653, 8, 469; 9, 295; 10, 580; 12, 631; cf. also the introduction to his edition, l-lii.

In explanation of the half-lines there are two conflicting theories. By some it is supposed that they were left by the poet intentionally unfinished, for greater emphasis, for certain pathetic effects, or to relieve the monotony of the hexameter verse. This view of deliberate intention is found in the Scholia Danielis on 4, 361 (quoted above), and has been adopted by such writers as Zille, *Bemerkungen u. d. unvollendeten Verse der Aeneide* (1865), 39-40; Münscher, *Die unvollständigen Verse der Aeneide* (1879); Belling, *op. cit.*, 113-137; Fowler, *Virgil's "Gathering of the Clans"* (1918), 93-96; cf. Sparrow, *op. cit.*, 25-46. It is combated by Wendland in *Zeitschr. f. d. Gymnasialwesen*,



## 45. dis equidem auspicibus reor et Iunone secunda

diis Ppγ.

45. dis . . . secunda: *Lact. Plac. in Stat. Theb.* 5, 132 — diis LPb —. 45. Iunone secunda: *Gl. Ansil.* 322, 160.

29 (1875), 385–393; Sellar (*Virgil*, 2 ed. (1883), 418), Walter (*Die Entstehung der Halbverse in der Aeneis* (1933), 65–67) and by Miss Crump (*op. cit.*, 8–13), who, while admitting the accidental effectiveness of some of the cases, thinks that Virgil was abundantly able to avoid monotony by his skilful handling of the hexameter, and that if he had deliberately sought effects of this kind he overlooked striking opportunities at other points. Another consideration (which she does not mention) is that, if the Romans had recognized this device as intentional, other poets would undoubtedly have imitated it, but, with the exception of Claud. *Carm. min.* 53, 128 (the last line of a poem), and 14 cases in the Virgilian centos (cf. Born, *op. cit.*, 201; Sparrow, *op. cit.*, 26, n. 1), I find nothing resembling this in later hexameters (Catull. 64, 23b, the only earlier case I have noted, is doubtless due to a lacuna), a half dozen instances in Aonius Palearius, *De Animorum Immortalitate* being too late to be significant, while the cases in Goethe cited by Schanz (*Gesch. d. röm. Lit.* 2, 1, 3 ed. (1911), 66) are hardly to the point.

The other and more probable explanation (cf. Terzaghi, *Virgilio ed Enea* (1928), 56–57, n. 91) makes the half-lines not intentional but the result of the incompleteness of the *Aeneid*; cf. Donat. *Vit. Verg.* p. 6 Brummer: *Aeneida prosa prius oratione formatam digestamque in XII libros particulatim componere instituit, prout liberet quidque, et nihil in ordinem arripens. ac ne quid impetum moraretur, quaedam imperfecta transmisit, alii levissimis versibus veluti fulsit, quos per iocum pro tibicinibus interponi aiebat ad sustinendum opus donec solidae columnae advenirent.* The unfinished lines seem conspicuously to mark some of the points of juncture of the different blocks of the composition, which in his later revision he would have concealed by the addition, in each instance, of the remaining portion of the

line, or, as would have been easier, by adding a new sentence consisting of the rest of the line followed by one or more complete lines.

A further variation of this view would hold that the Fourth Book and the others read by Virgil to Augustus (Donat. *Vit. Verg.* p. 7 Brummer; cf. Serv. *Aen.* 4, 323; the two lists vary but this book appears in each) must have been finished sufficiently to have removed these traces of incompleteness, and that the half-lines (and the lines immediately preceding them, for Mackail, in *Cl. Rev.* 29 (1915), 227, finds at least 22 such cases where a half-line or one and a half lines could be deleted without injury to the sense) have their origin in marginalia written by Virgil and either not used or deliberately rejected by him but later inserted by Varius into the text when he prepared it for publication. According to Henselmans (*Die Widersprüche in Vergils Aeneis* (1914), 74) and Cartault (*L'Art de Virgile dans l'Énéide*, 1 (1926), 56–57) the greater number of incomplete lines in a book the less the evidence of incompleteness and the greater the indication of more frequent and vigorous revision on the margins of Virgil's copy (but cf. Terzaghi, *l. c.*). Born (in *Cl. Philol.* 26 (1931), 199–202), from a study of material in half-lines used by Virgil and others elsewhere, concludes that Virgil probably intended to complete the lines. Knight (in *Cl. Journ.* 27 (1931), 198) thinks that the poet left them unfinished from dissatisfaction with available solutions of problems of rhythmic 'texture.'

For the bibliography of works on the half-lines cf. Schanz, *l. c.*; Sparrow, *Half-lines and Repetitions in Virgil* (1931), 24–25; Walter, *Die Entstehung der Halbverse in der Aeneis* (1933), 69–71; on the effect produced by such lines most famous are the words of Newman (*Grammar of Assent*, 4, 2, 4): "his pathetic half-lines, giving utterance, as the

46. hunc cursum Iliacas vento tenuisse carinas.  
quam tu urbem, soror, hanc cernes, quae surgere regna

hunc *detl.*, Schol. Dan.; *sed cf.* 1, 534. tenuisse (s *post. m.* 2) γ.

(qu)amtu P, quantum c<sup>1</sup>. que P (quae P<sup>1</sup>). consurgere (*pro* quae surgere) m. surge (*corr.* in surgere) b.

46. hunc . . . carinas: Schol. Dan. Aen. 1, 534. 46. Iliacas . . . carinas: Schol. Dan. Aen. 5, 1.

47. quam . . . regna: Aldhelmus, *De Septen.* (Patr. Lat. 89, 179).

voice of Nature herself, to that pain and weariness, yet hope of better things, which is the experience of her children in every time"; cf. Woodberry, *Great Writers* (1912), 137; also Cowley, *Dauides*, I, n. 14 (cited in *Camb. Hist. of Engl. Lit.* 7 (1911), 77) on the "putid officiousness" of the grammarians who attempted to finish the incomplete verses.

45. dis . . . auspicibus: cf. 3, 19-20: *sacra Dioneae matri divisque ferebam / auspicibus coeptorum operum*; Maphaeus Vegius, Aen. 13, 45: *dis auspicibus*; Serv. on our line: *dii qui sunt auspices matrimonii, Aeneam huc venire fecerunt; nuptiae enim captatis fiebant auguriis, ut contentique auspice Bruto* (Luc. 2, 371); Schol. Dan.: *Varro de pudicitia ait auspices in nuptiis appellatos † auspici bisque ab marito et nova nupta per hos auspices captabantur in nuptiis*; and, on the *nuptiarum auspices*, Pease on Cic. *De Div.* 1, 16. The present passage seems a combination of such ideas as *fatis . . . poscentibus* (8, 477) or *dis . . . secundis* (8, 682) with the deeper implications suggested by Servius.

45. Iunone secunda: cf. Schol. Dan.: *vel quae praeest coniugiis, quae pronuba appellatur, quamvis et ipsa in libris augurum praeesse dicatur auspiciis; aut quia Carthaginem fovet*. Probably both ideas are present; for the former cf. 4, 166, n. (*pronuba Iuno*); for the latter 4, 91, n. (*Iovis coniunx*). For other cases of *secundus* used of favoring deities cf. 8, 682: *ventis et dis . . . secundis*; 10, 21-22: *secundo / Marte*; 11, 899 (= 12, 497): *Marte secundo* (and Carcopino, *Virgile et les Origines d'Ostie* (1919), 642, n. 2, who does not recognize any personal element in *Marte*, as contrasted with the distinctly personal *Iunone* of the present line); Liv. 7, 26,

7: *praesentibus ac secundis dis*. Cf. also the use of the verb *secundo*: G. 4, 397; Aen. 3, 36: *rile secundarent visus*; 7, 259: *di nostra incepta secundent*; Sen. H. F. 645: *votum secundet . . . deus*; Luc. 1, 635; *di visa secundent*; Sil. 8, 124: *ut visa secundent*. Maphaeus Vegius, Aen. 13, 611 repeats the verse ending *Iunone secunda*.

46. hunc cursum: Cartault, *L'Art de Virgile dans l'Énéide*, 1 (1926), 343, compares with this phrase 1, 534: *hic cursus fuit*, and notes other parallels between Anna's speech and the First Book, perhaps indicating that Virgil thought of her as present at the speech of Ilioneus (1, 522-558). Bell (*The Latin Dual* (1923), 201) thinks that *hunc* here = *huc hunc*; cf. Knight in *Cl. Weekly*, 26 (1933), 202, n. 16; it is to be noted that Servius had a text reading *huc*.

46. Iliacas: cf. 4, 537.

46. vento: driven by the wind rather than intentionally; cf. Schol. Dan.: *mire, cum alio iter haberent, huc delati sunt; et ideo addidit 'vento'*; Bell, *op. cit.*, 402; also with *vento* cf. 2, 25: *vento petiisse Mycenae*; 3, 563: *ventisque pelivit*; 4, 381: *sequere Italiam ventis*. *Cursum* is not necessarily used of a deliberately chosen course (cf. 3, 337: *tibi qui cursum venti, quae fata dedere*), but usually it implies selection by the travellers; e.g., 3, 686: *ni teneant cursus*; Caes. B. G. 5, 8, 2: *cursum non tenuit*; Cic. N. D. 3, 83: *cursum teneret*; cf. also the phrase in 5, 1-2: *tenebat / certus iter*. Possibly Anna meant to imply that the gods have made the seemingly random route of the Trojans a more purposeful voyage than the latter themselves realize.

46. carinas: Virgil often figuratively uses parts of the ship for the whole, e.g., *prora*, *puppis* (4, 418), *trabs*, and *carina* (also

## 48. coniugio tali! Teucrum comitantibus armis

(co)niugio P. comitanti (corr. in comitantibus) c.

48. comitantibus armis: *Anth. Lat. no. 15, 14* (1, p. 50 Riese) — cogitantibus A —.

in 4, 398; 4, 658); cf. Braumüller, *Ueber Tropen u. Figuren in Vergil's Aeneis*, 1 (1877), 20; Kunz, *Realien in Vergils Aeneis* (1894), 15.

47. *quam*, etc.: cf. Ov. *H.* 7, 151–152: *Ilion in Tyriam transfer felicius urbem / iamque locum regis sceptraque sacra tene*. Anna here anticipates what Mercury actually finds in 4, 260 and reproves in 4, 266–267. In fact, Dido had offered the Trojans a share in the city (1, 572–574) before she had ever seen Aeneas himself. The temptation which Anna here presents to Dido is, on the ground of apparent public benefits to her city, to be false to her private devotion to the memory of Sychaeus; Aeneas's temptation is to be false to his public duty to his people and future state in order to satisfy his private regard for Dido.

On the use of *quam* the Schol. Dan. remark: *qualem vel quantam*.

47. *urbem . . . cernes*: cf. 1, 258; La Cerda (*ad loc.*) compares Stat. *Theb.* 2, 361–362: *fors aderit lux illa tibi, qua moenia cernes / coniugis, et geminas ibis regina per urbes*.

47. *surgere regna*: cf. Sen. *Dial.* 6, 26, 5: *licet surrectura, licet ruitura regna prospicere*. Usually *surgo* is used of the growth of more tangible objects, like the walls of a city; cf. 1, 366: *surgentem novae Carthagini arcem*; Luc. 2, 678–679: *aggere multo / surgit opus*. For the plural *regna* — a favorite Virgilian expression — cf. Braumüller, *op. cit.*, 1 (1877), 12.

On the repetition of syllables (*surgere regna*) cf. Isocr. *Art. fr.* 4: *μηδὲ τελευτᾶν καὶ ἀρχεσθαι ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς συλλαβῆς οἷον εἰποῦσα σαφή, ἥλικα καλὰ, ἐνθα θαλῆς*; Quintil. 9, 4, 41: *videndum etiam ne syllabae verbi prioris ultimae sint primae sequentis*, etc.; Serv. *Aen.* 2, 27 (repeated by Isid. *Etym.* 1, 34, 5): *Dorica castra* (*Aen.* 2, 27 = 6, 88) *mala est compositio ab ea syllaba incipere qua superius*

*finitus est sermo*, etc.; Biese in *Rh. Mus.* 38 (1883), 634–637; Schulze, *Beitr. z. Erkl. d. röm. Eleg.* (1893), 16; Zingerle in *Festschr. Th. Gomperz* (1902), 355; Austin in *Am. Journ. of Philol.* 24 (1903), 452–455; Foster in *Trans. Am. philol. Assoc.* 40 (1909), 49; Bushnell in *Proc. Am. philol. Assoc.* 41 (1910), xxv; Havet, *Man. de critique verbale* (1911), 230; Vollmer on Stat. *Silv.* 3, 3, 12; Norden on *Aen.* 6, 88; Pease on Cic. *De Div.* 1, 108; Marouzeau in *Rev. des Études lat.* 10 (1932), 168–170.

Many examples, however, are to be found in Virgil, e.g., in the present book lines 90 (*peste teneri*), 123 (*nocte tegetur*), 329 (*ore referret*), 335 (*me meminisse*), 350 (*quaerere regna*; cf. Paul. Nol. *Carm.* 21, 87: *florere repletum*), 380 (*te teneo*), 594 (*date tela*), 656 (*fratre recepi*), 701 (*adverso sole*). A verse ascribed to Alaric reads *te tero, Roma, manu nuda*; *date tela, latele!*

48. *coniugio*: probably ablative of attendant circumstance; possibly one of cause or of means. For such an interracial marriage cf. 4, 172, n. (*coniugium*). The difficulties of combining two peoples (cf. 8, 688), one of them Semitic, Anna conveniently overlooks; but cf. Horace's contempt (C. 3, 5, 5–40) for marriage between the Roman soldiers of Crassus and Parthian women. Steiner (*Das Bedeutungslehnewort in Vergils Aeneis* (1921), 44) thinks *coniugium* = *λέχος*, *ἐνὴν* = 'spouse' = 'Aeneas.'

48. *Teucrum*: Virgil uses both *Teucrorum* and *Teucrum*, the shorter occurring also in 4, 537. On the use of this title for the Trojans cf. Schol. *Dan. Aen.* 1, 38: *Teucrorum quia Teucer et Scamandrus Creta profecti Troiam venerunt. facta ascensione hospitio a Dardano accepti de advenis cives facti, quia Batiā, Teucri filiam, Dardanus sibi iunxit et populares suos socero cognomines fecit*.

48. *armis*: for *armati*; cf. Braumüller, *op. cit.*, 1 (1877), 9–10.

49. Punica se quantis attollet gloria rebus!  
tu modo posce deos veniam, sacrisque litatis

<pu>nica P.

<u>u P, tum γ. ueniam (am in ras.) F.

49. Punica . . . rebus: *Carm. Centulensia*, 1, 238 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 3, 288). 49. quantis rebus: *Gl. Ansil.* 476, 131.

50. tu . . . litatis: *Non. p.* 424 M. (p. 686 L.); *Prisc. Inst.* 15, 11 (G. L. K. 3, 69) — pos+ce(t) R; sacris qualitatis D—; *Hrab. Maur. Exc. de Art. Prisc. (Patr. Lat.* 111, 658).

50. tu . . . veniam: *Serv. Aen.* 1, 519; *Schol. Dan. Aen.* 4, 56; *Cledon. Ars* (G. L. K. 5, 64); *Anth. Lat. no.* 17, 169 (1, p. 67 Riese). 50. sacris litatis: *Gl. Ansil.* 504, 101.

49. Punica . . . gloria: cf. 4, 37, n. (*triumphis*). Note the elaborately interlocked order of words in this line.

49. se . . . attollet: cf. *Thes. Ling. Lat.* 2 (1900), 1153, 49–59.

49. quantis . . . rebus: perhaps sc. *gerendis* (abl.); or, more probably, a dative (“to what great heights”).

50. tu modo: this phrase, introducing an imperative or the equivalent, is found, at the beginning of the line, in *Ecl.* 4, 8; *G.* 3, 73; *Aen.* 2, 160; *Aetna*, 144; *Prop.* 2, 15, 49; *Manil.* 1, 458; cf. *Phaedr.* 2, 8, 8: *vos modo*; Bell, *The Latin Dual* (1923), 239. *Tu* may often be added to an imperative to increase its force; cf. *G.* 4, 106; *Aen.* 6, 851; etc. Here Forbiger suggests that it forms a contrast with the *dis* . . . *auspiciis* . . . *et Iunone secunda* of line 45.

50. veniam: closely connected with the *pacem* of 4, 56, the phrase *pax veniaque* being a frequent one, and here and in 4, 56 each of the single words perhaps suggesting the other (Bell, *op. cit.*, 183). Cf. the examples cited by Heinze, *Virgils epische Technik*, 3 ed. (1915), 129, n.; *Cic. Pro Font.* 30: *ab dis immortalibus pacem ac veniam petunt*; *Pro Rab. Perd. Reo*, 5: *ab Iove Optimo Maximo ceterisque dis deabusque immortalibus . . . pacem ac veniam peto*; *Liv.* 1, 31, 7: *unam opem . . . si pax veniaque ab diis impetrata esset, credebant*; 3, 7, 7–8: *supplicatum ire pacemque exposcere deum . . . veniam irarum caelestium . . . exposcunt*; 39, 10, 5: *pacem veniamque precalat deorum deorumque*. There is, however, a certain distinction between these two often coupled terms, *venia* meaning indulgence for some fault or neglect and

*pacem* denoting the attitude of goodwill or favor on the part of the deity which the worshipper seeks in prayer. For the former cf. *G.* 4, 536; *Aen.* 3, 144; *Cul.* 294; for the latter the cases cited in 4, 56, n. (*pacem*).

Schüler (*Quaest. Vergilianae* (1883), 24–25) is troubled because Anna advises Dido to seek indulgence (*veniam*) for the passion which Dido herself recognizes as a fault (cf. 4, 19; 4, 27; 4, 85; 4, 172; 4, 550; Gercke, *Die Entstehung der Aeneis* (1913), 51) and which the *insomnia* of 4, 9 might indicate was displeasing to the powers of the other world, yet, when the sacrifices take place to the divinities associated with wedlock (4, 56–64), the conclusion is drawn by the poet (4, 65–67) that Dido can find in religious rites no cure for her passion, from which it would appear that she was seeking to allay rather than to further it, and this inconsistency he would explain by assuming different stages in the composition of this book. But cf. 4, 65, n. (*quid vota*). Knapp (in *Cl. Weekly*, 27 (1934), 149, n. 62) believes these sacrifices were intended to release Dido from her oath of fidelity to Sychaeus, and that 4, 450–465 implies that they were unsuccessful.

50. sacrisque litatis: the verb is used by Virgil only here and at 2, 118; cf. *Ov. M.* 14, 156: *sacris . . . ex more litatis*; *F.* 4, 630: *sacra litate bove*; *Stat. Theb.* 10, 338: *tibi enim haec ego sacra litavi*; *Luc.* 1, 632–633: *litavi, / Iuppiter, hoc sacrum*. Virgil seems the first to use *lito* transitively (cf. Antoine, *De Casuum Syntaxi Vergiliana* (1882), 39), and Servius, in view of its commoner use with an ablative of manner or means, remarks: ‘*diis litatis*’ debuit dicere; non enim

51. indulge hospitio causasque innecte morandi,  
dum pelago desaevit hiems et aquosus Orion,

hospitio et (que om.) F.

hiems *bp*, hiemps *cell.* et om. π. a. quosus γ. oriori *M* (orion *M*<sup>1</sup>).

51. indulge . . . morandi: *Non. p. 326 M. (p. 511 L.)*. 51. indulge hospitio: *Anth. Lat. no. 17, 98 (1, p. 65 Riese)*; *Schol. Lucan. 4, 664*; *Gl. Ansil. 298, 511*. 51. causas morandi: *Gl. Ansil. 104, 1123*.

52. dum . . . Orion: *Serv. Aen. 4, 309* — hiems —; 4, 626 — hiemps *libri praefer* L —; [*Acro*] in *Hor. C. 3, 27, 18* — desueit *codd. plerique*; hiems γα, hiemps V —. 52. dum . . . hiems: *Anth. Lat. no. 17, 81 (1, p. 64 Riese)* — hyems α —; [*Acro*] in *Hor. Epod. 2, 52* — desueit V, desueuit Av; hiemps —. 52. desaevit: *Gl. Abstr. 27, 27*. 52. aquosus Orion: *Diomed. Art. gram. 2 (G. L. K. 1, 442)*; [*Prob.*] *De ult. Syll. 18 (G. L. K. 4, 263)*; *Donat. Ars gram. 3, 4 (G. L. K. 4, 396)*; *Pomp. Comm. (G. L. K. 5, 299)*; *Consent. Ars (G. L. K. 5, 389; 5, 400)*; *Max. Vict. De Rat. Metr. (G. L. K. 6, 220)*; *Julian. Tolet. De Vitiis et Figuris 4, 14*.

*sacra sed deos sacris litamus, id est, placamus; ergo nove dixit.* On the process of *litatio* cf. Pease on *Cic. De Div. 2, 36*, and works there cited. The ablative absolute here expresses a condition; if the sacrifices have turned out favorably Dido may assume that the gods favor her desired course of action.

51. indulge: cf. 2, 776; 6, 135; 9, 165; 9, 615; etc.

51. causas: here of pretended ones; cf. 9, 219: *causas nequiquam nectis inanis*; *Prop. 4, 5, 29: ulere causas*; *Priap. 50, 4: causas invenit usque differendi*; *Angilbertus, Carm. 1, 15 (Poet. Aevi Carol. 1, 359): causasque morandi sepe rimatur*.

51. innecte: a word perhaps coined by Virgil (Ladewig, *De Vergilio Verborum Novatore* (1870), 4), and used by him ten times, the passage most akin to this being 6, 609: *fraus innexa clienti*. Cf. *Stat. Theb. 5, 743-744: plures innectere pergas, / Phoebe, moras*; *Claud. In Rufin. 1, 315: innectilque moras et congrua tempora differt*; *Arnulf. S. Emm. (Migne, Patr. Lat. 141, 979 C; cited by Manitius, Gesch. d. lat. Lit. d. Mittelalters, 2 (1923), 307, n. 2): morarum causas innectit sociis*; also *Sen. Dial. 5, 39, 3: moras neclit*; *Val. Fl. 3, 374-375: an tibi neclunt / corda moras*; *Mart. Epig. Lib. 30, 2: et varia lentas necleret arte moras*; *Tac. Ann. 12, 14, 1: neclere moras*; *Flor. 2, 13, 2, 42: neclere moras*; *Ambros. Ep. 6, 4: moras innectendo . . . causae morandi*; *Sidon. Carm. 22, praef.: moras necto*. The verb, as in 6, 609,

implies the craft by which Dido is to bind Aeneas by a sense of obligation for hospitality received. The opposite of the phrase is *rumpe moras* (4, 569). See also *Vida, Christias, 3, 57: causas innecte precandi*.

52. desaevit: first in Virgil and Horace. The prefix emphasizes 'continuation with reckless vehemence' (Henry); cf. 10, 569; *Hor. C. 1, 3, 13: decertantem*; 1, 9, 11: *deproeliantis*. The word is generally used of persons or their anger, but cf. *Sen. Dial. 5, 1, 1: dum tempestas prima desaevit*; also *Aen. 2, 418-419: saevitque tridenti / spumeus . . . Nereus*; *Stat. Silv. 1, 4, 121: cum saevit hiems*. For the figure of madness as applied to storms or winter cf. Lünzner, *Über Personifikationen in Vergils Gedichten* (1876), 20; for the singular verb agreeing with the nearer subject cf. Kühner-Stegmann, *Ausf. Gram. d. lat. Spr. 2, 1, 2 ed. (1912), 49-51*.

52. hiems: that this is a stormy season (hence not unnaturally identified with winter) is constantly emphasized, e.g., 1, 535; 4, 193: *hiemem . . . quam longa fovere*; 4, 309-310; 4, 430; 4, 562; cf. *Ov. H. 7, 41; 7, 179*; *Conrads, Quaest. Vergilianae* (1863), xii; *Georgii, Über das dritte Buch der Aeneide* (1877), 70; *Henselmanns, Die Widersprüche in Vergils Aeneis* (1914), 11-13; 26; *Heinze, Virgils epische Technik*, 3 ed. (1915), 147, n. 1; 346; *Valentine in Cl. Weekly, 21 (1928), 108*; *Potter in Cl. Journ. 27 (1932), 506* (who thinks the noun *hiems* and *hiberno* in 4, 309 are used of storms rather than of winter,

## 53. quassataeque rates, dum non tractabile caelum'.

quassataeque *F* (*corr. F<sup>1</sup>*). rataes γ. dum . . . caelum *del. Ribbeck aliique (v. explicat. infra)*.

53. quassataeque rates: *Non. p. 254 M. (p. 385 L.); Anth. Lat. no. 17, 95 (I, p. 65 Riese)* — quasateq; *A* — 53. non tractabile: *Gl. Ansil. 395, 204* — tractabilem —.

and would thus seek to explain some chronological difficulties in the story). With this picture of the season 6, 355 seems to agree, where Palinurus, *qui Libyco nuper cursu . . . exciderat puppi* (6, 338–339), speaks of the *tris . . . hibernas . . . noctes* (which Cocchia in *Riv. Indo-Greco-Italica*, 8 (1924), 15–16 would explain as 'stormy' rather than 'wintry'); on the other hand in 5, 626 (as noted by Crump, *Growth of the Aeneid* (1920), 64) and 7, 495 it is certainly summer. Ovid thinks of the departure as in the winter; cf. *H. 7, 41: quo fugis? obstat hiemps. hiemis mihi gratia prosit*.

52. aquosus Orion: cf. *Hes. Op. 619–622: εὖτ' ἂν Πηλιάδες σθένος ὄβριμον Ὀρίωνος / φεύγουσαι πίπτωσι ἐς ἡεροειδέα πόντον, / δὴ τότε παντοίων ἀνέμων θυλονοῖν ἀήται / καὶ τότε μηκέτι νῆας ἔχειν ἐνὶ οἴνοπι πόντῳ; Arist. Meteor. 2, p. 361 b 30: ἀκριτος δὲ καὶ χαλεπὸς ὁ Ὀρίων εἶναι δοκεῖ, καὶ δύνων καὶ ἐπιτέλλων, κτλ.; Theocr. 7, 53–56; Apoll. Rh. 1, 1201–1202: εὐτε μάλιστα / χειμερὶν ὁλοοῖο δόσις πέλει Ὀρίωνος; Anth. Pal. 7, 273, 1–3: Εὐρου με τρηχεῖα καὶ ἀλπήσσεια καταγίγς, / καὶ νύξ, καὶ ὀνοφερῆς κύματα πανδυσίης / ἔβλαψ' Ὀρίωνος; Aen. 1, 535: subito adsurgens fluctu nimbosus Orion (where the first *o* is shortened, as in our line and 10, 763; cf. *Serv. ad loc.*); 7, 719: saevos ubi Orion hibernis conditur undis; Hor. C. 1, 28, 21–22: devexi rapidus comes Orionis / . . . Notus; 3, 27, 17–18: sed vides quanto trepidet tumultu / pronus Orion; Epod. 10, 10: qua tristis Orion cadit; 15, 7–8: dum . . . nautis infestus Orion / turbaret hibernum mare; Prop. 2, 16, 51: aquosus Orion; Plin. N. H. 18, 223: sidus vehemens Orionis; 18, 278 (where Orion is mentioned among the *horrida sidera* whence storms arise); Stat. Theb. 3, 26–27: cum fragor hiberni subitus Iovis, omnia mundi / claustra tonant multaeque polos inclinat Orion; 9, 459–461: hinc atque hinc tumidi fluctus animosaeque surgit / tempestas instar pelagi, cum Pliadas haurit /*

aut nigrum trepidis impingit Orion a nautis; Claud. De Bell. Gild. 497–498: imbribus umescant Haedi nimbosaque Taurum / ducat Hyas totusque fretus descendat Orion; De Cons. Stil. 1, 287: nubilus Aegaeo quam turbine vexat Orion; Rut. Nam. 1, 637: procelloso . . . Orion. Schol. Dan.: Orion: id est cum occidit Orion, quoniam et oriens et occidens tempestates commovet; Isid. Etym. 3, 71, 10: dictus Orion ab urina (cf. Kientzle in Roscher, *Ausf. Lex.* 3 (1909), 1018), id est, ab inundatione aquarum. tempore enim hiemis oboritur mare et terras aquis ac tempestatibus turbat; Vida, *Christias*, 2, 19: aquosus . . . Orion; Dryden, *Dedication of the Aeneis* (14 (1889 ed.), 197); Gundel, *De Stellarum Appellatione et Relig. Romana* (1907), 182; McCartney in *Cl. Weekly*, 20 (1926), 52. For the adjective cf. *G. 4, 234: sidus . . . Piscis aquosi*.

53. quassataeque rates: echoing Ilioneus in 1, 551: quassatam ventis liceat subducere classem; cf. Cartault, *L'Art de Virgile dans l'Énéide*, 1 (1926), 343; also *Aen.* 9, 91; Hor. C. 1, 1, 17–18: mox reficit rates / quassas; 4, 8, 32: quassas eripiunt aequoribus rates; Ov. H. 7, 175–176: Ianialaque classis / postulat exiguas semirefecta moras; Tr. 1, 2, 2: solvere quassatae parcite membra ratis; Liv. 23, 34, 17: alvei navium quassati erant; 25, 3, 11: veteres quassasque naves; 30, 39, 3: quassatae armamentiisque spoliatae naves; Stat. Silv. 2, 2, 141: non quassa ratis; Dict. Cret. 6, 7: naves quassatas tempestatibus reficit; Aug. De beata Vita, 4: quassatam navem; Prud. Contr. Symm. 2, praef. 10: iactatam qualitat ralem. The refitting of storm-shattered vessels on African territory was permitted to the Romans by a sixth-century arrangement between Rome and Carthage; cf. Polyb. 3, 22, 6; 3, 23, 3; 3, 24, 11. On the number of Aeneas's ships cf. 1, 170; 1, 381; also 4, 397, n. (*celsas*), below. *Ratis*, originally a raft, early came to be used of

## 54. His dictis incensum animum flammavit amore

impenso *F* (corr. in *incensum F*<sup>1</sup>), penso *P* (corr. in *incensum P*<sup>1-2</sup>), impenso *p*, incensum *MRbcγπ*, *Serv.*, *Donat.*; v. explicat. infra. flammavit *FPRc*, inflammavit *MP<sup>1b</sup>γπ*, *Serv.*, *Donat.* amorem *p*, amore (a m. 2) *γ*.

54. incensum amore: *Gl. Ansil.* 306, 1225 — impenso —.

ships; cf. Enn. *Ann.* 385; 497; Naev. ap. Varr. *L. L.* 7, 23; Afran. and Acc. ap. Fest. p. 273 M. (cf. Paul. p. 272 M.); Catull. 63, 1; 64, 121; and many cases in Virgil, including 4, 540; 4, 593; Torr, *Ancient Ships* (1895), 122.

53. *dum*, etc.: Ribbeck, in the critical note in his *editio maior*, remarks: *mihi orationem post rates imperfectum reliquisse videtur poeta: desideratur enim reficiendi aliquod verbum. sequentia post v. 52 ferri omnino non possunt, ut ficta videantur ex ge. I 211. ceterum optimum erat v. 51 Annae orationem concludere, et poterat interpolator pannos desumere ex Aen. I 535 et 551; cf. Kvičala, Neue Beitr. z. Erkl. d. Aeneis (1881), 78-80; Belling, Stud. ü. d. Compositions-kunst Vergils in d. Aeneide (1889), 143; Sparrow, Half-lines and Repetitions in Virgil (1931), 50. It seems unnecessary, however, to adopt Ribbeck's view. Anna means that Dido is to devise excuses for delay while the ships are still shattered (and not yet repaired) and while the weather continues unfavorable for navigation. The omission of *sunt* with *quassatae* and of *est* with *caelum* (I do not, with Henry, consider *quassataeque rates* as parenthetical), though more awkward in a subordinate clause than in a main one, is easily paralleled; e.g., *G. 1*, 505: *ubi fas versum atque nefas*; 2, 312: *hoc ubi*; 2, 528: *ignis ubi in medio*; 3, 144: *musculus ubi*; 3, 235: *ubi collectum robur viresque refectae*; 3, 325: *dum mane novom*; 3, 432: *postquam exusta palus*; *Aen. 1*, 602; 4, 80: *post ubi digressi*; 4, 151; 4, 182; 4, 336: *dum memor ipse mei*; 4, 565: *dum praecipitare potestas*; 5, 315: *haec ubi dicta*; 5, 362; 8, 362: *ut ventum ad sedes*; 8, 580: *dum curae ambiguae, dum spes incerta fuluri*; Stat. *Theb.* 6, 236-237; on the omission of the copula in Virgil cf. Wagner, *Quaest. Virgil.* 15, in 4, 437-442 of the Heyne-Wagner edition. The repetition of *dum*,*

with or without asyndeton, is a characteristic Virgilian touch; cf. *Ecl.* 8, 32-33; *G. 1*, 214; 2, 362-363; 3, 165; 3, 325; 3, 428; *Aen. 1*, 453-454; 1, 494-495; 4, 436; 8, 580-581; 11, 671-672. The view of Nettleship (in his revision of Conington's ed.) that the words of Donatus (*ad loc.*): *quassatas rates asperis interea flatibus non esse credendas* suggest that something has fallen out of the Virgilian text would be more convincing if Donatus were less prone to discursive paraphrase; and that of Scholl (in *Rh. Mus.* 41 (1886), 25-26) that a colon should be placed after *morandi* and the two cases of *dum* be explained in unlike senses (cf. Quintil. 9, 3, 16 on Catull. 62, 45; cf. 62, 56): "so long as the storm and rainy Orion rage over the sea and the ships are still unrepaired, so long one should not make trial of the sky," requires a difficult and ill-attested use of *dum*.

53. *non tractabile*: cf. *G. 1*, 211: *sub extremum brumae intractabilis imbrem*; *Aen. 1*, 339: *genus intractabile bello*; 4, 439; *Ov. Ep.* 18 (19), 17: *est mare, confiteor, nondum tractabile nanti*; Schol. Dan. *ad loc.*: *sub quo tractari nihil potest* (though *caelum* here probably refers to weather rather than to the sky in a literal sense).

54. *his dictis*: cf. 4, 30, n. (*sic effata*); 6, 382, and eleven other cases of *his dictis* in Virgil in various metrical positions. The responsibility of Anna for the subsequent actions of Dido is here stated by the poet and in 4, 549 recognized by Dido herself (cf. *Ov. H.* 7, 191: *soror Anna, meae male conscia culpa*); in fact, "Anna's words have achieved exactly what Dido in her excitement had deprecated" (Glover, *Virgil*, 2 ed. (1912), 189). The words *his dictis* may modify either *incensum* or *flammavit*, more probably the latter, since Dido was already fired with passion before Anna's speech (cf. 4, 23), though with the former view cf. 4, 197.

55. *spemque dedit dubiae menti solvitque pudorem.*

mentis Rγ.

55. *spemque . . . pudorem*: *Anth. Lat. no. 18, 63 (1, p. 82 Riese)*. 55. *spemque . . . menti*: *Cento Probae, 465*. 55. *dubiae menti*: *Gl. Ansil. 189, 5*. 55. *solvitque pudorem*: *Noni. p. 390 M. (p. 626 L.)*; *Auson. Cento nupt. 100, p. 215 Peiper*.

54. *incensum*: Schol. Dan.: *alii non 'incensum' sed 'inpenso' legunt, ut sit Terentianum (Eun. 587): inpenso magis animus gaudebat mihi*. The reading *inpenso*, adopted by many editors, does not occur elsewhere in Virgil, though the comparative adverb *impensius* is found in 12, 20–21: *tanto me impensius aequum est / consulere*, and somewhat analogous expressions may be found in Cic. *Pro Sest. 130: tam impensa voluntate*; Liv. 4, 46, 2: *certamina . . . multo impensius . . . accendi*; Gell. 10, 3, 13: *odium . . . inpenso atque acriter atque inflammanter facit*; cf. Lucr. 5, 964: *impensa libido*. The figurative use of *incendo*, however, is characteristically Virgilian; e.g., 1, 660; 2, 343: *incensus amore*; 3, 298: *incensum pectus amore*; 4, 2, n. (*igni*); 4, 197 (= 6, 889): *incendit . . . animum* (and note); also Catull. 64, 97–98: *qualibus incensam iactatis mente puellam / fluctibus*; 64, 253; Ekkehard, *Waltharius*, 954: *his animum dictis demens incendit*. The use of both *incensum* and *flammavit* is not mere tautology, and Servius well compares Hor. S. 2, 3, 321: *oleum adde camino* (cf. Otto, *Die Sprichwörter . . . d. Römer* (1890), 253), a proverb similar to *currentem incitare* (*id.*, 102–103). Cf. also Donat. *ad loc.*: *amore bis accipiendum, ut sit his dictis incensum animum amore inflammavit amore, hoc est, amorem primum amoris augmento cumulavit*. The passion already kindled Anna fans into flame; cf. Liv. 1, 59, 1: *incensam multitudinem perpulit ut, etc.*

54. *flammavit*: cf. 3, 330: *magno flammatus amore*; also 1, 50; Val. Fl. 8, 300: *sponsae flammatus amore*; Stat. *Theb.* 1, 249; Aug. *Enarr. in Ps.* 49, 15: *animus inflammatur caritate*. The three perfects (*flammavit*, *dedit*, and *solvit*) of this sentence, an island surrounded by direct discourse and historical presents, represent the reflections of the poet, parenthetically inserted in the narrative; cf. Ley, *Vergil. Quaest.* 1 (1877), 11.

54. *amore*: for the assonance of this verse-ending and the next (*pudorem*) cf. lines 78–79 (*labores . . . ab ore*), 189–190 (*replebat . . . canebat*), 256–257 (*volabat . . . secabat*), 331–332 (*tenebat . . . premebat*), 513–514 (*at-nis . . . venenis*), 603–604 (*fuisse . . . tulissem*); and on the whole question of final assonance and rhyme in hexameters cf. Pease on Cic. *De Div.* 1, 20, and works there cited; to which add Kvřčala, *Neue Beiträge z. Erkl. d. Aeneis* (1881), 289, n. 2; Johnstone in *Cl. Rev.* 10 (1896), 10–11 (who remarks that Virgil's favorite rhyme is *-eba(n)t* but his favorite assonance *-orem, -ore, -ora, etc.*); Page on Virg. G. 4, 461 (1898); Smith on Tib. 1, 1, 54 (1913); Evans, *Allitteratio Latina* (1921), 2; Sedgwick in *Rev. bñéd.* 36 (1924), 330–346; Austin in *Cl. Quart.* 23 (1929), 51; Mackail, edition of *Aeneid* (1930), lxxix; Marouzeau in *Rev. des Études lat.* 10 (1932), 178–183.

55. *dubiae menti*: cf. 11, 314; Val. Fl. 7, 243; also 4, 9, n. (*suspensam*), above.

55. *solvitque pudorem*: cf. Manil. 4, 508: *solveitque pudorem*; Claud. *Carm. min.* 29, 47: *solvitque tumorem*; and for *pudor* cf. 4, 27, n. (*pudor*). The phrase, which suggests the loosing of the girdle (cf. Paul. ex Fest. p. 63 M. = p. 55 Lindsay), here refers to the loosening of Dido's purpose of resistance to her passion announced at 4, 24–27, and leads to the events of 4, 68–85. Henry (*Aeneidea*, 2 (1878), 589) compares the loss of Medea's sense of shame in Apoll. Rh. 3, 785–786: *ἐπέρτω αἰδώς, / ἐπέρτω ἀγλαΐη*; 3, 1068: *ὅτ' γὰρ οἱ ἄπ' ὀφθαλμοῦς λίπεν αἰδώς*; while Bignone (*L'Epica di Omero e di Virgilio* (1926), quoted by Buscaroli, *ad loc.*), notes the delicacy with which Virgil ascribes Dido's violation of her protestations so recently made (4, 24–27) to the pressure of Anna rather than directly to her own choice. For imitation cf. Tasso, *Rinaldo*, 9, 73, 1–4: *così diss'ella; e con quei detti sciolse / alla regina*



## 56. principio delubra adeunt pacemque per aras

(pri)ncipio P.

56-57. principio . . . exquirunt: *Macrob. Sat.* 3, 4, 5 — delubru ut vid. B<sup>1</sup> —. 56-57. pacem . . . exquirunt: *Macrob. Sat.* 6, 6, 7; *Serv. Aen.* 1, 519; *Eugraph. in Ter. Heaut.* 997. 56. delubra adeunt: *Prob. Inst. (G. L. K. 4, 184)*; *Gram. Vat. (Auct. class. 5, 318 Mai)*; *Gl. Ansil.* 167, 687.

di vergogna il freno, / le diè speranza, e di timor la tolse, / crescer la fiamma, etc.

56. principio: the abruptness with which Dido's consultation of the gods is introduced (following Anna's advice in 4, 50) is noteworthy and probably intended to show the startling progress of her passion; cf. Glover, *Virgil*, 2 ed. (1912), 190. With principio cf. Pease on Cic. *De Div.* 1, 17, noting several cases in Lucretius (perhaps imitations of Ennius). Virgilian instances in the same position in the verse are *G.* 2, 9; 4, 8; *Aen.* 2, 752; 3, 381; 6, 214; 6, 724; 7, 342; 9, 762; 10, 258; cf. also Vessereau's ed. of *Aetna* (1923), 50; *Stat. Theb.* 3, 456-457: principio fibris pecudumque in sanguine divos/explorant.

56. delubra adeunt: Virgil loves to describe religious rites; cf. Cartault, *L' Art de Virgile dans l' Énéide*, 1 (1926), 305. With this phrase cf. *Lucr.* 6, 75: delubra deum . . . adibis; *Virg. G.* 4, 549: ad delubra venit; *Cir.* 424: delubra petivi; *Sen. Oed.* 199: delubra petunt; *Oct.* 756. On the etymology and use of delubrum see Wissowa in *LP.-W.* 4 (1901), 2702-2703; cf. Schol. Dan. 4, 56: in secundo libro (225) de singulis speciebus delubri iuxta Varronem relatum est; in quibus est species delubri talis ut praeter aedem area sit adsumpta deum causa, id est, spatia relinquantur iuxta aras ministerii causa, ad sacrificia peragenda. huius moris hic meminisse eum accipere debemus 'principio delubra adeunt'; etc. This use of adire is a technical one; cf. Schol. Dan. ad loc.; *Thes. Ling. Lat.* 1 (1900), 624, 2-34. Whether the subject of adeunt is Dido and Anna or Dido and the vates (cf. 4, 65) is ambiguous; cf. Sabbadini ad loc.

56. pacem, etc.: cf. 4, 50, n. (veniam). Parallels are *G.* 4, 535: petens pacem; *Aen.* 3, 261: votis precibusque iubent exposcere pacem; 3, 370: exorat pacem divom; 7, 155: pacemque exposcere Teucris; *Plaut. Merc.* 678: Apollo, quaeso te, ut des pacem propitius; *Enn. Sc.*

40: pacem petens; *Cic. Pro Rabir.* 5: ab Iove Optimo Maximo . . . pacem ac veniam peto; *Lucr.* 5, 1229: non divom pacem votis adit; *Liv.* 1, 16, 3: pacem precibus exposcunt; 3, 5, 14: feriae indictae per quas omnia delubra pacem deorum exposcentium virorum mulierumque turba inplebantur; 3, 7, 7; 4, 30, 10; 6, 12, 7; 7, 2, 2; 24, 11, 1: perpetratis quae ad pacem deorum pertinebant; 39, 10, 5; 42, 2, 3; *Just.* 18, 6, 12; *Treb. Poll. Gallieni*, 5, 5: pax igitur deorum quaesita inspectis Sibyllae libris; *Amm. Marc.* 23, 9, 4; *Serv. Aen.* 3, 370: exorat pacem divom aut de sacrificantium more requirit utrum tempus consulendi esset . . . aut certe, quod et melius est, de sacrificantium more ante nefas expiat, etc.; *Appel, De Romanorum Precationibus* (1909), 121; *Wissowa, Rel. u. Kultus d. Römer*, 2 ed. (1912), 390, n. 3. The phrase pacemque per aras is copied by Aonius Palearius, *De Anim. Immort.* 3, 112; cf. *Vida, Christias*, 5, 990: perque aras pacem exquirunt.

56. per aras: cf. 2, 501: centum . . . per aras; 5, 86; *Schol. Dan.* 4, 56: vel apud aras vel inter aras; probably the idea is that of going about from altar to altar (doubtless those of the divinities named in 4, 58-59), as distinguished from the more frequent phrases ad aras (e.g., 4, 62; *G.* 2, 193; etc.) or ante aras (1, 334; 1, 349; 4, 204; 5, 237; 8, 719; 9, 627).

57. mactant, etc.: cf. *G.* 4, 546: nigram mactabis ovem; *Aen.* 2, 202; 3, 21; 5, 96: caedit binas de more bidentis; 5, 101; 6, 39: totidem (sc. mactare) lectas de more bidentis; 7, 93: lanigeras mactabat rite bidentis; 8, 544: mactant lectas de more bidentis; 11, 197. *Servius* remarks: verbum sacrorum, κατ' ἐμφησιμόν dictum, ut adolere; nam 'mactare' proprie est 'magis augere'; cf. *Schol. Dan.*: quasi magis auctum; unde et magmentum dicebant, quasi maius augmentum. olim enim hostiae 'immolatae' dicebantur mola salsa tactae; cum vero ictae et aliquid ex illis in aram datum,

## 57. exquirunt; mactant lectas de more bidentis

(exq)uirunt P. ma. tant c<sup>1</sup>. . . lectas b, laetas cod. Menagianus prior. uidentis R, bidentes Fbcp.

[56] 57-59. mactant . . . iugalia: Macrob. Sat. 3, 12, 10 — mactat; bidentes; ceteri (pro Cereri B<sup>1</sup>, ut vid.); lieo P, ATAEO B; omnes —. 57-58. mactant . . . Phoeboque: Arus. Ex. Eloc. (G. L. K. 7, 493) — mactat; laetas G; bidentes —. 57. mactant . . . bidentis: Macrob. Sat. 3, 5, 2 — mactat; bidentes —; Anth. Lat. no. 17, 113 (1, p. 65 Riese) — mactat; uidentis A —; Donat. in Ter. Hec. 66 — bidentes —; Schol. Dan. Aen. 2, 202 — mactat c; bidentes —; Prisc. Inst. 7, 85 (G. L. K. 2, 360) — laetas R, 1. ctas B, lactes GL, lacteas K; bibendis D —.

'mactatae' dicebantur . . . per boni ominis significationem. The singular, *mactat*, found in some of the testimonia, is incorrect, for the action does not naturally change from the plurals, *adeunt* and *exquirunt*, to the singular, with Dido as subject, till verse 60: *ipsa . . . Dido*.

57. *lectas*: Serv.: *non vacat 'lectas'; moris enim fuerat ut ad sacrificia eligerentur oves quibus nihil deesset; id., Aen. 6, 39*; for other cases in Virgil see the preceding note; also cf. Val. Fl. 3, 431: *lectas . . . bidentes*. Krause (in P.-W. 5 Supplbd. (1931), 242) notes the use of other terms such as *eximiae* (Liv. 7, 37, 3; Paul. ex Fest. p. 82 M.; Macrob. Sat. 3, 5, 6) and *egregiae* (Donat. in Ter. Hec. 66).

57. *de more*: in accordance with ritual custom (cf. Olck in P.-W. 3 (1899), 427-428), as in 1, 318; 3, 65; 3, 369: *caesis . . . de more iuencis*; 5, 96: *binas de more bidentis*; 6, 39: *lectas de more bidentis*; 7, 357; 8, 344; 8, 544; 10, 832; 11, 35; 11, 142; Ov. M. 7, 606; Damas. Epig. 20, 4 Ihm; so also *ex more* (5, 244; 8, 186). Here the phrase probably modifies the whole clause rather than *mactant* or *lectas* alone.

57. *bidentis*: cf. 12, 170 and the cases cited above; other poetic instances are Laber. ap. Non. p. 53 M.; Ov. M. 10, 227; 15, 575-576: *mactatarumque bidentum / . . . trepidantia consulit exta*; F. 4, 935: *fibras . . . bidentis*; Phaedr. 1, 17, 8; Sen. Oed. 133; 556; Stat. Theb. 3, 457-458: *maculosa bidentum / corda*; Sil. 8, 120; Il. Lat. 550: *caeduntque sacras ex more bidentes*. The word is properly applied to sheep (Plin. N. H. 8, 187: *magna et pecori gratia . . . in placamentis deorum*), but extended, less appropriately, to cattle and boars (Olck, op. cit., 426-427), and,

according to Nigidius (ap. Macrob. Sat. 6, 9, 5), to all two-year-old sacrificial animals. The ancient etymology, *bidennis* . . . *quasi biennis* (Nigid. ap. Gell. 16, 6, 13; Macrob. Sat. 6, 9, 5-7; Serv. Aen. 4, 57) must be discarded for that meaning 'two-toothed'; cf. Hygin. ap. Gell. 16, 6, 15: *quae bidens est . . . hostia oportet habeat dentes octo sed ex his duo ceteris altiores, per quos appareat ex minore aetate in maiorem transcendisse; id., ap. Macrob. l. c.: bidentes appellari scripsit hostias quae per aetatem duos dentes altiores haberent; per quos ex minore in maiorem transcendisse constaret aetatem* (cf. Isid. Etym. 12, 1, 9); Paul. ex Fest. p. 33 M.: *bidentes . . . sunt oves duos dentes longiores ceteris habentes*; Serv. Aen. 4, 57: *bidentes autem dictae sunt quasi biennes, quia neque minores neque maiores licebat hostias dare. sunt etiam in ovibus duo eminentiores dentes inter octo, qui non nisi circa bimatum apparent; nec in omnibus, sed in his quae sunt aptae sacris inveniuntur*; Plin. N. H. 8, 206: *Coruncanius ruminales hostias donec bidentes fierent puras negavit*.

The dentition of sheep, much discussed by closet veterinarians, has been well set forth by Henry (*Aeneidea*, 2 (1878), 595), on the basis of observation, as follows: "Sheep not only are not called *bidentes* because they are *biennes*, but actually cease to be *bidentes* as soon as they are *biennes*. The fact, as I have satisfied myself by actual observation, is as follows. A sheep, until it has attained the age of one year, has a set of eight primary, or milk, teeth; when the age of one year has been attained, the two central of these eight teeth drop out, and are replaced by the first two teeth of the second or permanent set, which being very large and

## 58. legiferae Cereri Phoeboque patrique Lyaeo,

frugiferae *F* (frugiferae *F*<sup>1</sup>, legiferae *F*<sup>3</sup>), frugiferae *R*, ( )ferae *P*, legiferae *Serv.*, *Donat.*, legiferae al(ter) frugiferae *γ*. lico *b*, lyeo *c*.

[57\*] 58. legiferae . . . Lyaeo: *Mythogr. Vat. III*, 9, 13 — frugiferae —. 58. Phoeboque . . . Lyaeo: *Anth. Lat. no. 17, 114* (1, p. 65 *Riese*) — foeboq; *A*; lico *A* —. 58. patri Lyaeo: *Gl. Ansil. 428, 815* — liaeo —.

conspicuous amidst the six remaining milk teeth (originally much smaller, and now greatly diminished by use and absorption), the animal at first sight appears to have only two teeth (sheep never having any front teeth at all in the upper jaw); hence the appellation *bidens* . . . This condition of the teeth continues during the whole of the second year, at the end of which, i.e., when the sheep is two years old complete, two more of the milk teeth drop, and are replaced by two large permanent teeth exactly similar to, and one on each side of, the two first; so that from the completion of the second year till the beginning of the fourth the sheep appears to have a set of four large teeth and is no longer *bidens*. *Bidens* therefore is not *biennis*, but simply *bi-dens*; i.e., a sheep with two teeth, or, in other words, a sheep in the second year of its age; a sheep which having completed its first year and having got its two first long teeth is *bidens*, but not having completed its second year is not yet *biennis*." Cf. also Olck, *op. cit.*, 427 (and the works there cited); Krause, *De Romanorum Hostiis* (1914), 6-8; Knapp in *Cl. Weekly*, 21 (1928), 81-83, who has verified Henry's observation; Kugener in *Mélanges P. Thomas* (1930), 493-497; Krause in *P.-W.* 5 Supplbd. (1931), 247; and Wright, "The Age of Roman sacrificial Victims" (in *Lehigh University, Studies in the Humanities*, 12 (1931) 1-23), who agrees in essentials with Henry and Knapp, but discusses not only sheep but also cattle.

Virgil is here, as elsewhere, transferring a contemporary Roman rite to the heroic age of Carthage; cf. Terzaghi, *Virgilio ed Enea* (1928), 128.

58. *legiferae*, etc.: the deities mentioned form a trinity (to which Juno is added in the next line), and it has been questioned whether Virgil is not attempting to designate some

recognized Punic triad; cf. Domaszewski, *Abhandl. zur röm. Relig.* (1909), 149, who cites the appearance of such triads in the oath between the Carthaginians and Philip of Macedon in Polyb. 7, 9, and thinks the members of the group Ceres, Apollo, and Bacchus are not to be here explained from Greek or Roman concepts, but are derived from the Orient; Baudissin, *Adonis u. Esmun* (1911), 304, who tries to identify Ceres with Tanit, Juno with Astarte, etc. This view is well refuted by Gsell (*Hist. anc. de l'Afrique du Nord*, 4 (1920), 232; 268, n. 4), who admits that Virgil may have desired to name some deities really worshipped at Carthage, but thinks that he would have had little scruple in perpetrating anachronisms, as in the case of Demeter, whose worship was introduced there much later. It may be noted that in 1, 731-734 Dido invokes a trinity consisting of Jupiter, Bacchus, and Juno, as in 4, 607-610 another composed of Sol (i.e., Phoebus), Juno, and Hecate, to which, as an appendage, are added the *Dirae ultrices et di morientis Elissae*.

Ancient commentators raise other difficulties, for, without troubling to equate Greek or Roman deities here with Punic ones, they inquire why these particular gods were selected. Plut. *Quaest. Rom.* 2, asking why the Romans light five torches at weddings, suggests, *ὅτι πέντε δέισθαι θεῶν τοὺς γαμοῦντας ὁλοῦνται*, Διὸς τελείου καὶ Ἥρας τελείας καὶ Ἀφροδίτης καὶ Περσεύς, ἐπὶ πᾶσι δ' Ἀρτέμιδος, and in section 86 he refers to Aphrodite and Hera as *γαμήλιοι θεοί*. It is noteworthy that Venus, who appears in both these lists, receives no sacrifice from Dido — an ominous fact, perhaps implying that the essential element of a union between Dido and Aeneas is lacking; cf. the attitude of Venus as shown in 4, 105-128 (especially 4,

127-128) and contrast Apoll. Rh. 1, 858-860. Servius (*ad loc.*) explains one view of the present selection: *communis hoc habet sensus: sacrificabat, inquit, primo numinibus quae urbi praesunt, quasi nuptura pro utilitate rei publicae; deinde Iunoni, cui curae sunt nuptiae. est etiam sensus altior: nam facturi aliquid ante adversos placamus deos et sic propitios invocamus . . . ergo modo nuptura placat ante Cererem, quae propter raptum filiae nupturas exsecratur; Apollinem, qui expert uxoris est; Liberum, qui nisi raptam coniugem habere non potuit; et sic Iunonem conciliat.* The Schol. Dan. enlarge upon this theory and give still another: *alii dicunt favere nuptiis Cererem, quod prima nupserit Iovi et condendis urbibus praesit . . . similiter et Liber propter Marcyam . . . merito et Apollo; nam et in arce coli solet et muros Troianis instituit; iure ergo in nova urbe his sacra fiunt.* Iunoni duplici causa, quia et Carthagini praeest et matrimonia dat; Schol. Dan. *Aen.* 3, 139: *quidam dicunt diversis numinibus vel bene vel male faciendi potestatem dicatam, ut Veneri coniugia, Cereri divortia (cf. Plut. Rom. 22), Iunoni procreationem liberorum, etc.;* Donat. *ad loc.* says: *primum Cereri legiferae, propterea quod populorum consensus nisi legibus teneri non possit, Phoebo, ut in futuris prosperiora perficeret quae optabantur, Libero patri, ut praestaret laetitiam sempiternam, Iunoni vel maxime, quae coniugiorum teneret plenissimam potestatem, et ne Troianis invidens expugnaret Didonis adfectum;* cf. also Roszbach, *Untersuch. ü. d. röm. Ehe* (1853), 302.

Henry (*Aeneidea*, 2 (1878), 596) supposes the first three deities selected, as Juno clearly was, on account of their connection with marriage, citing Ter. *Eun.* 732: *sine Cerere et Libero friget Venus*; Pervig. Ven. 45: *nec Ceres nec Bacchus absunt nec poetarum deus*; Stat. *Silv.* 1, 2, 219-221, where, in an epithalamium, Bacchus and Apollo are mentioned (Bellessort, *Virgile* (1924), 289 thinks Bacchus represents both the freedom of the soul and the fecundity of nature); Himer. *Orat.* 1, 3 (of Apollo in connection with marriage). This explanation might seem to leave meaningless the adjective *legiferae*, and in view of the emphasis in Anna's speech upon the political considerations of the proposed marriage

one might suggest that the members of the triad were chosen purely because of their relation to the founding of cities and the establishment of laws, yet there is another aspect of the epithet to be considered.

The word *legifer* appears first in this line; cf. also Ov. *Am.* 3, 10, 41: *Minos . . . legifer*; and some patristic instances. For Virgil's fondness for adjectives in *-fer* and *-ger* cf. Ladewig, *De Vergilio Verborum Novatore* (1870), 13. The adjective doubtless is intended to suggest the Greek Δημήτηρ θεσμοφόρος, *legifer* being a literal rendering of that epithet. Demeter is often thought to have been so called as the goddess of agriculture, who had changed men from a roving, nomadic life to one of settled culture, and thus to have represented, on the one side fertility and on the other a developed family organization and, later, civil life. In this second connection she is sometimes thought to have become the goddess of family life and the protector of women in their more intimate relations, being celebrated in the Θεσμοφόρια (cf. Serv. *ad loc.*) and worshipped in many Greek cities; cf. Kern in *P.-W.* 4 (1901), 2750-2751. For Demeter as lawgiver cf. Hdt. 6, 91: Δημήτρος θεσμοφόρον; 6, 134; Callim. *Hymn.* 6, 18: ὡς πολίεσσιν ἐαδὸτα τέθμισα δῶκε; Diod. 1, 14, 4: διὸ καὶ τοὺς παλαιούς Ἕλληνας τὴν Δημήτρα θεσμοφόρον ὀνομάζουσιν, ὡς τῶν νόμων πρῶτον ὑπὸ ταύτης τεθειμένων; 1, 25, 1; 5, 5, 2: καὶ νόμους εἰσηγήσατο καθ' οὓς δικαιοπραγεῖν εἰθίσθησαν, δι' ἣν αἰτίαν φασὶν αὐτὴν θεσμοφόρον ἐπονομασθῆναι; 5, 68, 3; Ov. *M.* 5, 342: *prima dedii leges* (sc. Ceres); Cornut. *N. D.* 28: ἀρχηγὸν ἔλεγον νόμων καὶ θεσμῶν τὴν Δημήτραν αὐτοῖς γεγονέναι· ἐντεῦθεν θεσμοθέτιν αὐτὴν προσηγόρευσαν οἷον νομοθέτιν οὖσαν, κτλ.; Plut. *Adv. Colot.* 22; for her function as a goddess of fertility and marriage Plaut. *Aul.* 354: *Cererin . . . has sunt facturi nuptias*; Calv. ap. Schol. Dan. on this line: *et leges sanctas docuit et cara iugavit / corpora conubiis et magnas condidit urbes*; Paul. ex Fest. p. 87 M.: *facem in nuptiis in honorem Cereris praeferebant*; Artemid. *Oniocr.* 2, 39: ἀγαθὴ δ' ἂν εἴη καὶ πρὸς γάμον καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἄλλας ἐγχειρήσεις πάσας κατ' ἰδίαν ὁρωμένη ἡ Δημήτηρ; Tert. *Ad Uxor.* 1, 6: *ceterum viduas Africanæ Cereri assistere scimus, durissima quidem oblivione a*

## 59. Iunoni ante omnis, cui vincla iugalia curae.

(iun)oni P. ate M (ante M<sup>1</sup>).

[57\*] 59. Iunoni . . . curae: *Serv. Aen.* 3, 20 — omnes —; *Eugraph. in Ter. Andr.* 473; *Mythogr. Val. III*, 9, 13 — omnes —. 59. ante omnis: *Gl. Abstr.* 10, 29 — omnes —. 59. cui . . . curae: *Anth. Lat. no.* 17, 30 (1, p. 62 Riese); *no.* 17, 115 (1, p. 65 Riese); [*Claud.*] *Carm. min. Append.* 8, 1. 59. cui curae: *Gl. Ansil.* 155, 27.

*matrimonio allectas. nam manentibus in aeternum viris non modo toro decedunt sed et alias eis utique ridentibus loco suo insinuant, adempto omni contactu usque ad osculum filiorum, et tamen durante usu perseverant in tali viduitatis disciplina quae pietatis etiam sanctae solacia excludit; De Exhort. Castil.* 13: *novimus et continentis viros. et quidem tauri illius Aegyptii antistites. feminas vero Cereri Africancae; cui etiam sponte abdicato matrimonio adsenescent, aversantis exinde contactum masculorum; Wissowa in P.-W.* 3 (1899), 1973; Nilsson, *Gr. Feste* (1906), 313-325; Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States*, 3 (1907), 75-112; Toutain, *Les Cultes païens dans l'Empire rom.* 3 (1920), 35-36; Altheim, *Terra Mater* (1931), 125. Halliday, however, believes (in *Camb. Anc. Hist.* 2 (1924), 636; also in his ed. of *Plut. Quaest. Gr.* (1928), 143) that this explanation is wrong, because not agreeing with the facts in the worship of Demeter Thesmophoros. These references suggest that, while Ceres is doubtless invoked as a founder of civilized life, she also merits a place here among the deities supervising the marriage relation. Chateaubriand, *Les Martyrs*, 8, 116, imitates these sacrifices to *Cérès qui porte des lois*, etc.; cf. Naylor in *Johns Hopkins Stud. in Rom. Lit. and Lang.* 18 (1930), 152-153.

De la Ville de Mirmont (*Apoll. de Rhodes et Virgile* (1897), 711) doubts the existence of a temple of Ceres at Carthage; yet, in the Roman period (which is, of course, what Virgil himself knew), the worship of *Cereres* in Africa is attested by inscriptions from Theveste and elsewhere; cf. *C. I. L. VIII*, 1548 (= Dessau 6827); *VIII*, 1838 (= Dessau 4460); *VIII*, S. 16693 (= Dessau 4459).

The MS reading *frugiferae* appears a correction by someone ignorant of *Δημήτηρ θεσμοφόρος*, and the Third Vatican Mythogr-

rapher (9, 13) remarks: *Iunoni vero ante omnes sacrificantem inducit; Cereri videlicet ut frugum praestet secunditatem; Phoebo quia auspiciis, ut supra diximus, praestit quibus urbes reguntur; Lyaeo . . . qui . . . apte urbibus libertatis est deus.*

58. **Phoebo**: this god, among his varied attributes, appears as *ἀρχηγέτης* (cf. Wernicke in *P.-W.* 2 (1896), 44; Pease in *Cl. Philol.* 12 (1917), 11-12) and *θερμύς*, which Pausanias (5, 15, 7) conjectures to be a corruption of *θεσμός*; cf. *Serv. ad loc.*: *qui praestit auspiciis quibus urbes reguntur*. For his associations with wedlock I find no evidence save that adduced by Henry and already cited. Dido in line 607 invokes *Sol*, who is perhaps identical with Phoebus, but De la Ville de Mirmont (*op. cit.*, 514) thinks that Apollo as such was unknown to the Carthaginians and that Dido had learned from the story of Aeneas of his aid to the Trojans, and was here trying to conciliate the protector of her beloved.

58. **patrique Lyaeo**: Dionysus, like Demeter, was also called by the epithet *θεσμοφόρος* (*Orph. Hymn.* 42, 1); on his connection with marriage see above. Against the attempt of Baudissin (*Adonis u. Esmun* (1911), 241) to identify him with Esmun cf. Gsell, *Hist. anc. de l'Afrique du Nord*, 4 (1920), 316, n. 1, who discusses the worship of Dionysus-Liber in North Africa. The reverent epithet *pater* is commonly employed with Liber (cf. *Plut. Quaest. Rom.* 104; Wissowa in Roscher, *Ausf. Lex.* 2, 2 (1894), 2022), and so is here transferred to an epithet substituted for his name. On *Lyaeo* cf. Schol. Dan. *ad loc.*: *dictus Lyaeos ἀπὸ τοῦ λύνειν, quod nimio vino membra solvantur*; Höfer in Roscher, *op. cit.*, 2, 2 (1894), 2163; Kruse in *P.-W.* 13 (1927), 2110; Frazer on *Ov. F.* 3, 777. Of the other two Virgilian occurrences of the word (*G.* 2, 229; *Aen.* 1, 686), the

## 60. ipsa tenens dextra pateram pulcherrima Dido

(*ipsa*) *P.* dextra (dextr in ras.) *R.* paterhanc *M* (pateram *M*<sup>2</sup>). pulcerrima *R* (pulcherrima *R*<sup>1</sup>).

60. ipsa . . . pateram: [*Acro*] in *Hor. C. I.*, 31, 2-3.

former is as a noun, the latter as an adjective; in the present line editors disagree whether it is a noun in apposition with *patri* or an adjective modifying that word (like *Lavinia* in 1, 2; 4, 236; *Lenaeum* in 4, 207; *Sychaeo* in 4, 552; and *Sirius* in 10, 273). In view, however, of such phrases as *Liber pater* I incline to the former view.

59. *Iunoni*: on her relation to Carthage cf. 4, 91, n. (*Iovis coniunx*); also 1, 446-447: *hic templum Iunoni ingens Sidonia Dido / condebat*.

59. *ante omnis*: cf. *Ov. M.* 11, 578: *ante tamen cunctos Iunonis templa colebat*; Juno, though last in order, is first in importance; cf. *Macrob. Sat.* 3, 12, 10: *tunc Euangelus "numquamne tibi, Praeextate, venit in mentem toto, ut aiunt, caelo errasse Vergilium, cum Dido sua rem divinam pro nuptiis faceret? 'maclat' — enim inquit — 'lectas de more' bidentes / legiserae Cereri Phoeboque patrique Lyaeo' et quasi expergefactus adiecit 'Iunoni ante omnes, cui vincla iugalia'"; Donat. ad loc.: quam splendida dictio, quam artificiosa, quae in ordinatione verborum novissimam posuit Iunonem nec tamen novissimae sacrificatum memoravit. addendo enim 'ante omnis' ostendit ipsa primo sacrificiorum honores exhibitos; Kvíčala, *Vergil-Studien* (1878), 176, who cites parallels for this order in 5, 406 and 11, 806, in each case with the phrase *ante omnis*; to which may be added 4, 141, introduced by *ante alios*.*

59. *cui . . . curae*: cf. *G.* 4, 113; etc.; a construction frequent in the *Eclogues* and *Georgics* but rare in the *Aeneid*.

59. *vincla*, etc.: cf. 4, 16, n. (*vincolo . . . iugali*); *Stat. Silv.* 1, 2, 239-240: *dat Iuno verenda / vincula*; *Serv.*: *quia est Curitis, est Matrona, est Regina*; *Schol. Dan.*: *hanc Varro Pronubam dicit* (cf. 4, 166). On Hera as goddess of feminine fertility, and (sometimes in company with Zeus, as in *Aesch. Eum.* 213-214) as the deity of wedlock cf.

*Roscher in Ausf. Lex.* 1, 2 (1890), 2098-2104; *Eitrem in P.-W.* 8 (1913), 392-398; also the epithets *γαμήλια*, *γαμήλιος*, *γαμοστόλος*, *ζυγία*, *συζυγία*, *τελεία*. *Apoll. Rh.* 4, 96 makes Jason appeal to *Ἥρῃ Ζυγίῃ*. For Juno in similar capacities cf. *Ov. H.* 2, 41: *Iunonemque toris quae praesidet alma maritis*; *Thulin in P.-W.* 10 (1917), 1115-1116.

Nettleship (*Lectures and Essays*, 1 (1885), 127) remarks upon Dido's sacrificing to the trinity named, presiding over cities and laws, when she is herself forgetful of her duties as queen, and to Juno, goddess of wedlock, while forgetting her pledged faith to her late husband, and Hahn (in *Cl. Weekly*, 27 (1934), 145) notes her similar inconsistency when, after her followers have violated the laws of hospitality (1, 539-543), she invokes at the banquet Jupiter the giver of those laws (1, 731-735). In his *Suggestions introductory to a Study of the Aen.* (1875), 33, Nettleship thinks Dido would not yield to a personal passion but does to Anna's picture of the political advantages to Carthage from such a union (4, 47-49); hence the sacrifices to deities associated with states and institutions. For a parallel to this sacrifice in *Ronsard's Franciade*, 147, 12-23, cf. *Lange, Über Ronsards Franciade und ihr Verhältnis zu Vergils Aeneide* (1887), 22.

60. *ipsa tenens*, etc.: cf. *G.* 2, 192: *laticis qualem pateris libamus et auro*; *Aen.* 1, 729-736; 3, 355: *paterasque tenebant*; 5, 98: *vinaque fundebat pateris*; 5, 775-776: *pateram tenet . . . / . . . ac vina liquentia fundit*; 6, 243-244: *iuvencos / constituit frontique invergil vina sacerdos*; 7, 133; 8, 640-641: *ante aram pateramque tenentes / stabant*; 12, 174; *Hdt.* 2, 39; *Pease on Cic. De Div.* 2, 37. A *patera* held in the right hand during a libation is shown in many ancient works of art. Dido is here contrasted, by the use of *ipsa*, with her sister or the *vates*, as *Sabbadini (ad loc.)* observes.

## 61. candentis vaccae media inter cornua fundit,

candentes *F*, candantis *M* (candentis *M*<sup>1</sup>), (can)dentis *P*, cadentis (*corr. in candentis*) *bc*.  
inter *in ras. c.* conua *P* (cornua *P*<sup>1</sup>).

61. candentis . . . fundit: *Non. pp. 266-267 M.(p. 407 L.)*. 61. media . . . fundit:  
*Serv. Aen. 6, 244; Mythogr. Vat. III, 6, 31.*

60. pulcherrima Dido: cf. 1, 496: *forma pulcherrima Dido*; Mart. 8, 6, 13-14: *hac propinavit Biliæ pulcherrima Dido / in palera Phrygio cum data cena viro est*. The beauty of Dido is merely touched upon in passing (1, 496-504; 4, 137-139; 4, 192; 4, 589-590; 4, 698; DeWitt, *The Dido Episode in the Aeneid of Virgil* (1907), 46; Cartault, *L'Art de Virgile dans l'Énéide*, 1 (1926), 123; 126), with little detail. In 1, 498-504 she is compared to Diana, and in 6, 451-454 comparison is suggested with the beauty of the moon; otherwise we learn only of her general bearing, her fair hair (4, 590; 4, 698), and her dress; yet the impression of her beauty is indirectly conveyed, somewhat like that of Helen's charm (*Il.* 3, 156-158, and the 21st chapter of Lessing's *Laokoon*), by its effect upon others. The tradition of her beauty persisted; cf. Justin, 18, 4, 3: *Elissa . . . insignis formæ virgine*; *Poet. Lat. min.* 5 (1883), 97, n. III, 1-2 (Auson. p. 420 Peip.); *Append. Planud.* 151, 1-2: ἀρχέτυπον Διδοῦς ἐρικυδέος, ὧ ξέρε, λεύσσεις, / εἰκόνα θεοπέσιρ κάλλει λαμπομένην. As late as the *Roman de la Rose* or even in various fifteenth-century French poets Dido still remains a type of female beauty; cf. Atkinson, ed. of Villon, *Le Testament* (1930), 266. It is notable that the two great obstacles to the mission of Aeneas, Dido and Turnus, are each characterized by their physical attractiveness (for Turnus cf. 7, 55-56; 7, 649-650). If Dido is intended to suggest Cleopatra the Roman reader might imagine additional details based on the famous charm of her appearance.

Virgil has a tendency to put the word *Dido* at the end of a line (so in 19 out of 34 occurrences), often preceded by a polysyllabic adjective, such as *inscia*, *nescia*, *laetissima*, *effera*, *exterrita*, *candida*, *pulcherrima*, *optima*, *miserrima*, or *Sidonia*.

61. candentis vaccae: with the participle

used in place of an ordinary adjective (on which Servius remarks) Bell (*The Latin Dual* (1923), 203) compares 3, 589 (*umentem for umidam*); 5, 97 (*nigrantis for nigros or nigra habentes*); 5, 238 (*liquentia for liquida*); 5, 854 (*madentem for madidam*). Similar cases with *candeo* are 5, 236; 6, 895; 9, 563; 9, 628. The color befits victims offered to a celestial deity like Juno; cf. Henzen, *Acta Fratr. Arvalium* (1874), cxiii; 20; 22; etc.; also G. 2, 146-148 (and *Serv.*); *Aen.* 3, 120; 8, 82-83; *Hor. C.* 3, 8, 6-7; *Carm. saec.* 49; *Liv.* 7, 37, 1; 22, 10, 7; 25, 12, 13; 27, 37, 11; *Ov. Am.* 3, 13, 13; *Ex Pont.* 4, 4, 31; *Paul. ex Fest.* p. 4 M.; p. 10 M.; *Sen. Med.* 60; *Juv.* 12, 3; *Plin. N. H.* 22, 9; *Gell.* 10, 15, 32; *Arnob.* 2, 68; 7, 19; *Treb. Poll. Gall.* 8, 2; *Julian, Ep.* 58 Wright; *Macrob. Sat.* 1, 17, 29; *Amm. Marc.* 22, 12, 5; 25, 4, 17; *Claud. De VI Cons. Hon.* 507; *Roscher in Ausf. Lex.* 2, 1 (1890), 602; *Krause, De Romanorum Hostiis* (1914), 4-5; 38-39; *Armstrong, Significance of certain colors in Rom. Ritual* (1917), 33-35; *Krause in P.-W.* 5 Supplbd. (1931), 244-245, who cites additional inscriptional evidence.

61. media inter cornua: cf. 5, 479: *media inter cornua*; 6, 243-246: *iuvencos / constituit frontique invergit vina sacerdos, / et summas carpens media inter cornua saetas / ignibus imponit sacris libamina prima*; *Ov. M.* 7, 593-594: *dum vota sacerdos / concipit et fundit purum inter cornua vinum*; *Sil.* 3, 686: *media inter cornua*; 14, 461: *sacra inter cornua fundit*; *Serv. ad loc.*: *non est sacrificium sed hostiae exploratio, utrum apta sit; id., Aen. 6, 244: fundere est supina manu libare, quod fit in sacris supernis; vergere autem est conversa in sinistram partem manu ita fundere ut palera convertatur, quod in infernis sacris fit. haec autem pertinent ad victimarum explorationem, ut, si non stupuerint, aptae probentur.*

62. aut ante ora deum pinguis spatiatur ad aras  
 instauratque diem donis, pecudumque reclusis

(*aut a*)nte P. ut *c*<sup>1</sup>. pinguis P (pinguis P<sup>1</sup>), pinguis (ui *minio*) M; pingues *bc*, pinguas *p* (pinguis *p*<sup>1</sup>). patiat<sup>1</sup>ur *c*<sup>1</sup>. auras (*corr. in* aras) π.  
 (*inst*)aurat P.

62-63. aut . . . donis: [Aug.] *De Gram.* 25 (*Patr. Lat.* 32, 1406) — pingues; instaurat (*que om.*) —. 62. aut . . . aras: *Macrob. Sat.* 3, 4, 5 — ut; pingues —; *Schol. Dan. Aen.* 4, 56 — ut F; pingues —; *Aug. Regul. (G. L. K. 5 521)*; *Diomed. Art. gram.* 1 (*G. L. K. 1, 418*) — pinguis s. a. —; *Prisc. Inst.* 17, 11 (*G. L. K. 3, 115*) — spaciatur S —; *Mythogr. Vat.* III, 6, 35. 62. pinguis ad aras: *Gl. Ansil.* 443, 153.

[62\*] 63-64. pecudumque . . . exta: *Macrob. Sat.* 3, 5, 2; *Arus. Ex. Eloc. (G. L. K. 7, 478)* — pecorumque G; et spirantia —.

61. fundit: either with *vinum* understood, or, more likely, with *pateram* used both as its object and as that of *tenens*.

62. aut: logically this should be *et*, as noted by Henry (*Aeneidea*, 1 (1873), 659), for the two clauses refer to successive, rather than mutually exclusive, actions.

62. ante ora deum: Serv.: *ante simulacra*.

62. pinguis: cf. 4, 201-202: *pecudum . . . cruore / pingue solum*; 6, 254: *pingue super oleum fundens ardentibus extis*; 7, 764 (= 9, 585): *pinguis ubi et placabilis ara*; *Schol. Dan.*: *plenas vel sanguine delibutas*. So in Homer there is emphasis upon the fat of sacrifices; e.g., *Il.* 1, 460. An ancient altar would probably not have been altogether attractive to a modern eye or nose.

62. spatiatur: Prop. 2, 2, 7 seems based on this line: *aut cum Dulichias Pallas spatiatur ad aras*, where, as here, the verb signifies slow and dignified motion, that majestic gait (*incessus*) so dear to the Romans and proper for deities (1, 405) and monarchs (1, 497; 4, 68, n. (*vagatur*)), but so droll and ludicrous in G. 1, 389. Cf. also Candidus, *De Vita Aegili*, 2, 14, 61 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 2, 106): *spatiatur ad aram*. The *Schol. Dan. Aen.* 4, 56 remark: *nec non areae, licet oblique, attamen manifeste meminil 'aut ante . . . ad aras'; quid enim est 'spatiatur' quam spatio lati loci obambule?* I think the *Schol. Dan.* on our line in error in suggesting that Dido's walking was due to restlessness: *an hoc ad impatientiam amoris*

*referendum est, quo iactata Dido loco stare non poterat*, etc.

63. instauratque: doubtless the same day as at 4, 6, for no actions requiring more time have been mentioned in the meantime; cf. Heinze, *Virgil's epische Technik*, 3 ed. (1915), 343, n. 2; this day closes at 4, 77-85 (for the view that more than one day is here meant cf. Kvíčala, *Neue Beitr. z. Erkl. d. Aeneis* (1881), 80-81). Serv.: '*instaurat*' autem ideo quia iam supra sacrificaverat (1, 631-632); Henry (*Aeneidea*, 2 (1878), 598) thinks Dido was not satisfied with the signs shown by the first *candens vacca* and so offered another; it is more likely that the number was not limited to two (a modest sacrifice for a queen in so important a matter), but that she kept renewing the day with offerings, that is, offered many victims one after another, in the hope of finding a favorable omen; cf. Donat. *ad loc.*: *neque hoc semel sed saepius faciebat, ut produceret diem volens diutius habere praesentem quem amabat*. With the verb cf. 3, 62; 4, 145; 5, 94; 7, 146; 8, 283; etc.; Liv. 27, 36, 9: *plebeis ludis biduum instauratum*; Stat. *Theb.* 2, 88 (= 7, 94): *instaurare diem*; Sil. 3, 218: *instauratus honos*; 11, 421: *instaurat mensas dapibus*.

63. donis: Serv.: *muneribus quae aut dis offerebat aut donabat Tyriis vel Troianis*. For gifts, however, to the Tyrians there seems little point; those to the Trojans were, of course, made (cf. 9, 266; 11, 72-75), yet in view of the context there seems little doubt



## 64. pectoribus inhians spirantia consulit exta.

(pecto)ribus *P.* inhians γ, inhans (corr. in inhians) π. sperantia consulcit *F* (corr. *F*<sup>1</sup>). consuli tecta *p*.

[63\*] 64. pectoribus . . . exta: *Schol. Iuv.* 6, 550. 64. spirantia exta: *Gl. Ansil.* 534, 174. 64. consulit: *Gl. Aa*, 205, 874; q.v.

that we have to deal with offerings to the gods.

63. **reclusis**: cf. *Sil.* 1, 119-123: *tum nigra triformi / hostia mactatur divae, raptimque recludit / spirantis artus poscens responsa sacerdos / ac fugientem animam properatis consulit extis.*

64. **pectoribus**: for the metrical lengthening of a syllable containing a short vowel followed by a single consonant before a following vowel cf. Norden, 2 ed. of *Book VI* (1916), 450-452. As in Homer a final -os may be metrically lengthened under the effect of verse ictus (e.g., *Il.* 1, 153; 7, 416; *Od.* 7, 298; 8, 140), so -us in Latin, as in *Enn. Ann.* 87; 170 (cf. Norden, *Ennius und Vergilius* (1915), 81); *Lucil.* 361 *Marx*; *Catull.* 66, 11; while Virgil employs the same license in *Ecl.* 6, 53; *G.* 2, 5; 3, 189; *Aen.* 2, 563; 3, 112; 3, 504; 5, 337; 9, 610; cf. *Ov. M.* 10, 98; 15, 634. These cases (and other yet commoner types) are classified by Norden under various heads. The explanation of the present case, however, seems to be that the suffix -bus was originally long, being still so found in various passages in Naevius, Plautus, and Titinius cited by Kühner-Holzweissig, *Ausf. Gram. d. lat. Spr.* 2 ed., 1 (1912), 116.

64. **inhians**: expressive of open-mouthed wonder (*G.* 2, 463; 4, 483; *Aen.* 7, 814), and hence of the eager haste which Dido shows in her consultation of the *exta*; cf. De Marchi, *Il Culto privato di Roma antica* (1896), 153, n. 2; Blecher, *De Extispicio* (1905), pl. I, 1, for an ancient representation showing such haste on the part of the priest; also the following note. Here it seems to be Dido who is the subject of the verb, though *vatum* in the next line implies that she had the aid of haruspices in the process; cf. Heinze, *Virgils epische Technik*, 3 ed. (1915), 129, n. 1. Cf. the curious passage in [Quintil.] *Decl.* 8, 20: *stat iuxta medicum pater apertis visceribus* (of

his twin son) *inhians stillantem animae sedem cruentis manibus agitantem*, etc.

64. **spirantia**: in a note on *Cic. De Div.* 1, 16 (in part following Jastrow in *Studies . . . presented to C. H. Toy* (1912), 143-168) I have summarized arguments for supposing (1) that there were six principal *exta*: spleen, stomach, veins, heart, lungs, and liver; (2) that in haruspicine (extispicy) the liver was the earliest and most significant; (3) that the liver was early regarded as the seat of life and of the soul; (4) that it was long held to possess a mantic power; (5) that just before or at the moment of death, a sacrificial animal, like a dying man (*Philostr. Vit. Apollon.* 8, 7, 15 to the contrary) was regarded as most prophetic; and, hence, (6) that the scrutiny of the *exta* to discover the physical evidences accompanying this prophetic knowledge (which evidences were interpreted in accordance with elaborated rules) should occur as quickly as possible after the slaughter of the victim, before there had been opportunity for significant changes in the appearance of the organs, and while muscular quiverings simulating the motions of respiration might still be in progress and suggest that life was not yet at an end; cf. *Serv. ad loc.*: *spirantia: id est, palpitantia; quasi adhuc viva*. Henry's idea (*Aeneidea*, 2 (1878), 599) that *spirantia* merely = *viva* (breath being the most obvious sign of life), yet implies no motion whatever, might seem to fit this passage, but cannot be harmonized with phrases like *trepidant(ia)*, *agitata*, *tremunt*, *salit*, *palpitans*, *σπασμόντων*, etc., in the following passages, which illustrate the general principle of haste in consultation: *Aen.* 12, 213-215: *rite sacras / in flammam iugulant pecudes et viscera vivis / eripiunt*; *Ov. M.* 15, 136: *creptas viventi pectore fibras*; 15, 576: *trepidantia consulit exta* (a reminiscence of our line); *Sen. Oed.* 353-354: *non levi motu, ut solent, / agitata*

*trepidunt exta*; 391: *fibra vivis rapta pectoribus*; *Thyest.* 755-756: *erepta vivis exta pectoribus tremunt / spirantque venae corque adhuc pavidum salit*; *Luc.* 1, 617: *iram superum raptis quae sivit in extis*; 6, 557: *extaeque funerea poscunt trepidantia mensae*; 6, 752: *percussae gelido trepidant sub pectore fibrae*; *Stat. Theb.* 4, 466-467: *semineces fibras et adhuc spirantia reddit / viscera*; *Sil.* 1, 120-122 (quoted at 4, 63, n. (reclusis), above); *Donat. ad Aen.* 12, 215: *in flammam fundebatur sanguis animalium et, antequam morerentur, extrahebantur eorum viscera et aris inponebantur*; *Amm. Marc.* 22, 1, 1: *Iulianus . . . exta rimabatur adsidue*; *Cod. Theodos.* 16, 10, 12, 1: *si quispiam . . . audebit . . . spirantia exta consulere*; *Anth. Lat. no.* 406, 3-4 (1, p. 315 Riese): *pectoris ingenui salientia viscera flammis / imposuit*; *Arnob.* 2, 68: *cum Romulo Pompilioque regnantibus percocta plane ac madida cremarentur diis exta, nonne rege sub Tullo semicruda coepistis et leviter animata porricere prisca observatione contempla*; 7, 4: *quod gaudium est . . . animas cum cruore fugientis patefactisque secretis provolvier intestina cum stercore et ex residuo spiritu exsultantia adhuc corda, tremebundisque palpitantes in visceribus venas*; *Zeno Veron.* 1, *Tract.* 15, 6 (*Patr. Lat.* 11, 367): *qui auguria captant salutemque suam pecudum violenter scissis in ventribus quaerunt*; 2, *Tract.* 17, 3 (*Patr. Lat.* 11, 449-450): *nec pecudum inexpectata morte rapti iecoris spirantis consulunt fibras*; *Caesarius, Dial.* 3, 118 (*Patr. Gr.* 38, 1005): *καὶ σπλάγχων οἰκείων κατατομών, ὧν ἐπὶ τῶν ἡπάτων σπαιρόντων οἱ μαιφόνοι τῷ αἵματι χραίνονται*; *Epigramm. Gr.* 872, 3-4 *Kaibel*: *Πατνὴ παραβώμα ῥέζει / σπαιρόντων αἰγῶν ἔμβρνα καλ-λῆστων*; *Cyril. Alex. In Oseam (Patr. Gr.* 71, 120): *τοῖς ἐν ἡπατι σφαδασμούς περιαθροσιν οἱ δέλαιοι*; *Psell. De Daemon.* 2 (*Patr. Gr.* 122, 877). So *Schol. B Hom. Il.* 1, 86: *ἀνατέμνοντες γὰρ (sc. τὰ ἔγκρατα) σημειὰ τινα θεῶ-ρουν ἐν τοῖς ἡπασιν* (where the present participle seems to denote simultaneity of sacrifice and observation). *Strabo*, 3, 3, 6, says that the Lusitanians τὰ . . . σπλάγχνα ἐπιβλέπου-σιν οὐκ ἐκτέμνοντες. In this connection may be mentioned the proverb *inter caesa et porrecta* (*Cic. Ad Att.* 5, 18, 1; *Otto, Die Sprichwörter . . . der Römer* (1890), 63-64); also *Plin.*

*N. H.* 30, 19 (of moles): *nullis aequae credunt extis, nullum religionum capacious iudicant animal, ut si qui cor eius recens palpitansque devoret divinationis et rerum efficiendarum eventus promittant* (for a thirteenth century parallel cf. *Thorndike, Hist. of Magic and exper. Science*, 2 (1929), 497-498); *Apul. M.* 3, 18: *decanatis spirantibus fibris*; *Blecher, op. cit.*, 73-74, who quotes *Polack, Manners and Customs of the New Zealanders*, 1 (1840), 255: "The New-Zealanders pluck the entrails from the (almost living) human victim, smoking with the warmth of animation"; and *Latham, Descriptive Ethnology*, 1 (1859), 61: "The omens are taken from the warm and reeking livers of sheep sacrificed for the purpose"; also *Blecher, op. cit.*, 187; 243-244; *Krause in P.-W.* 5 Supplbd. (1931), 276.

*Bell (The Latin Dual* (1923), 392) would detect an oxymoron in the expression *spirantia . . . exta*, but in view of the explanation just given this seems needless.

64. *consultit*: *Schol. Dan.: aruspices enim exta consulere dicuntur cum inspiciunt*. *Prescott (Development of Virgil's Art* (1927), 274-275) remarks upon the difficulty apparently arising in that we do not learn the result of Dido's inspection of the entrails. This could not have been favorable, or the gods would have been deceiving her; but it is clearly not represented as distinctly unfavorable. The explanation, he thinks, is that Dido herself conducted the examination, and blinded by her love misread or failed to see the "signs which the entrails would have revealed to a less blurred vision." He further explains *valum* in the next line as part of a broad generalization, not implying the actual presence of any expert *haruspex*. I am not entirely convinced by this explanation of *valum*, and, especially in the case of a rite so complicated as haruspicine and probably (despite *Cic. De Div.* 1, 16: *extis enim omnes fere uluntur*) so far removed from the experience of a lady—even of a queen—I should prefer to free the gods from the blame of false prediction on the principle described in *Cic. De Div.* 1, 24: *similis est haruspicum responsio omnisque opinabilis divinatio; coniectura enim nilitur, ultra quam progredi non potest*.

## 65. heu, vatum ignarae mentes! quid vota furentem,

ignare πγ. mentis FR (mentes F<sup>1</sup>). ferentem R, furente p.

65-66. quid . . . iuvant: *Serv. Aen.* 1, 299 — qui vota BL (quid vota I) —. 65. heu . . . furentem: *Serv. Aen.* 4, 464 — furentes in marg. T —.

65. heu, etc.: a much disputed clause; for a summary of different interpretations cf. Knorr, *Beiträge zur Erkl. einiger Stellen der Äneide* (1898), 21-23. *Serv.*: non sacerdotes vituperat quasi nescios futurorum, sed vim amantis exprimit, et inde vituperat sacerdotes, qui admonuerunt non credituram; nam omnia futura a sacerdotibus praedicta esse sequens indicat locus, ut (4, 464) 'multaque praeterea vatum praedicta priorum'; Schol. Dan.: ignarae ergo amoris reginae, quia illa alias causas litationis praetendebat, et ideo vota non perficiebat; Donat.: fiebant, inquit, ab imprudentibus sacra nullis amorum necessitatibus profutura . . . quid enim quae solvebantur numinibus vota amanti prodesse potuerant, cum amoris ardor iam dudum molliter serpens in immoderata incendia prorupisset? Cf. Heinze, *Virgils epische Technik*, 3 ed. (1915), 130, n. 1. Virgil is probably imitating Apoll. Rh. 3, 932-935, in which a prophetic crow reviles the diviner Mopsus (ἀκλεις ὅδε μάντις, δς οὐδ' ὅσα παῖδες Ἰσασιν / οἶδε νόφ φράσσασθαι, ὀδοῦκεν οὔτε τι λαρόν / οὔτ' ἑρατὸν κούρη κεν ἔπος προτιμυθῆσται / ἡθέω, εἴτ' ἄν σφιν ἐπήλυδες ἄλλοι ἐπωνται, κτλ.), and is himself imitated by Sil. 2, 28: heu, caecae mentes tumefactaque corda secundis; 8, 100: heu, sacri vatum errores; Apul. *M.* 10, 2: heu, medicorum ignarae mentes, quid venae pulsus, quid coloris intemperantia . . . quam facilis, licet non artifice medico, cuius tamen docto Veneriae cupidinis comprehensio, cum videas aliquem sine corporis calore flagrantem. La Cerda (*ad loc.*) compares Lucr. 2, 14: o miseris hominum mentes, o pectora caeca; Plin. *N. H.* 7, 132: heu vana et imprudens diligentia! In 4, 50 Anna had advised Dido to proceed with her love only after securing good omens (*sacris . . . litationis*), and Cartault (*L'Art de Virgile dans l'Énéide*, 1 (1926), 344) remarks that the diviners have done their part and apparently secured favorable omens, yet Dido's heart is not at rest, since

her desires have not been attained. She has not really taken the haruspices into her confidence and told them the symptoms of her malady, hence they, in their ignorance of these facts, are unable to give her the real assistance which she needs. Cf. also 4, 464, n. (*valum . . . priorum*), below, and the possibility there noted that Dido may have neglected some of the predictions which did not accord with her desires, or may have misinterpreted them in her enthusiasm.

On heu followed by a question or an exclamation cf. 4, 13, n. (*heu*). Virgil in general, like Homer, strives for epic objectivity of statement, yet at times, particularly in the Dido story — the most Hellenistic part of the *Aeneid* —, subjective parentheses appear, such as the present line, in its neoteric style, the use of *infelix* (e.g., 4, 68; 4, 450; 4, 529) and *misera* (4, 697), and such lines as 4, 169; 4, 296; 4, 408; 4, 412 (cf. Valmagg in *Riv. di Filol.* 25 (1897), 47-48; Heinze, *op. cit.*, 371; Jackson in *Harv. Stud. in cl. Philol.* 24 (1913), 49; also 4, 90, n. (*quam*, etc.), infra). Other instances cited by Kvčala (*Neue Beitr. z. Erkl. d. Aeneis* (1881), 82, and n. 2) include the striking lines in 9, 446-449; also Sil. 2, 696-707; 4, 396-400. Mac-kail (introd. to his edition, lxxxiii) condemns such cases, in which Virgil, he thinks, ceases to be an artist and becomes a moralist. Even in Homer, however, subjective touches are not altogether lacking, and Conington cites *Il.* 4, 127; 4, 146-147. DeWitt (*The Dido Episode in the Aeneid of Virgil* (1907), 51) suggests that this sentence (*heu . . . iuvant*) corresponds to the part of the chorus in a Greek tragedy, occurring when a chorus might be expected to present the reflections of the poet (cf. Rebert in *Trans. Am. philol. Assoc.* 59 (1928), 61). With the ironic contrast between the apparent success of the omens and the reader's foreboding of Dido's fate cf. 10, 500-502: *quo nunc Turnus ovat*

## 66. quid delubra iuvant? est mollis flamma medullas

(quid delubra iuu)ant Pap. Fl. molli p. medullas (m in ras.) R, (a corr. ex u, s in ras.) b, medulla p.

[65] 66-67. est . . . volnus: *Macrob. Sat.* 6, 6, 18 — uulnus —. 66-67. est . . . interea: [Acro] in *Hor. C.* 1, 13, 7; *Prob. Inst.* (G. L. K. 4, 186) — mollis om. —. 66. quid . . . iuvant: *Anth. Lat.* no. 719a, 114 (2, p. 192 Riese). 66. est . . . medullas: *Diomed. Art. gram.* 1 (G. L. K. 1, 386); *Serv. G.* 1, 151; [Acro] in *Hor. C.* 3, 19, 28; in *Ep.* 1, 2, 39, ed. *Hauhal.* — om. γ —; *Comm. Cruq. Hor. C.* 1, 13, 8; *Gram. Vat.* (in *Auct. class.* 5, 321 *Mai*) — mollis om. —; [Acro] in *Hor. Ep.* 1, 2, 39, ed. *Hauhal.* 66. mollis flamma: *Gl. Ansil.* 374, 200.

*spolio gaudetque potilus. / nescia mens hominum fati sortisque futurae / et servare modum, rebus sublata secundis;* also Valmaggi in *Riv. di Filol.* 25 (1897), 47-48, who, following Giussani (*Studi di Lett. Rom.* (1885), 91) notes the mild and tempered pessimism of such subjective passages as this and 4, 296.

65. quid vota: I cannot suppose with Schüler (cf. 4, 50, n. *veniam*), above) that Dido by these religious rites sought merely to allay her passion. We must not be misled by 4, 478-479, which represents both a feigned explanation and an advanced stage in her love. The first part of the present sacrifices (4, 56-59 — perhaps even 4, 56-62) is propitiatory, prompted by conscience and by the *insomnia* of 4, 9; the extispicy indicates an inquiry into the future, of a more serious sort, to be sure, yet similar to the numerous forms of divination by which superstitious women of all times have tried to secure information about their destined husbands. With the sentiment Professor A. D. Nock well compares Gardiner, *Library of A. Chester Beatty* (1931), 34, 8 (an Egyptian erotic papyrus): "If the master-physicians come unto me, my heart hath no comfort (of) their remedies; the magicians, no resource is in them; my sickness is not discerned."

65. furentem: cf. 4, 8, n. (*male sana*). Fowler (*Roman Essays and Interpretations* (1920), 186) remarks that Dido was possessed by a spirit of madness (cf. 4, 376) quite incompatible with serious marriage, and contrasts (p. 188) with the respectful love of Roman marriage the animal passion of a *furens*.

66. quid, etc.: lines 66-68 and 99-102 appear in a fifth-century papyrus (*Papiri gr. e lat.* 1 (1912), 47, n. 21) provided with marks of accent and quantity (cf. Moore in *Cl. Philol.* 19 (1924), 322; Shipley in *Washington Univ. Stud.* 12, Humanist. Ser. 1 (1924), 144, and n. 7; Mountford in *Trans. Am. philol. Assoc.* 56 (1925), 152-153): [quid delubra iuu]ant est mollis flamma medullas / [interea et tacitu]m utuit sub pectore uulnus / [urit]ur infelix Dido totaque u[aga]tur.

66. delubra: cf. 4, 56.

66. est: cf. 5, 683, where also *est* is used of burning (*lentusque carinas est vapor*) and is put in a prominent initial position in the line as here in the clause. Not only is fire often described as devouring (e.g., G. 3, 566), but passion, grief, and other emotions are thus depicted (e.g., 6, 442; 12, 801; *Il.* 6, 202; 24, 128-129; *Od.* 9, 75 (= 10, 143); *Cic. Tusc.* 3, 63; *Lucr.* 3, 993; *Hor. C.* 1, 18, 4; 2, 11, 18; *Ep.* 1, 2, 39).

66. mollis: perhaps modifying *flamma* and meaning 'subtle,' thus contrasting the apparent slightness of the flame with its devastating effects (cf. the *caeco* . . . *igni* of 4, 2); or, more probably, modifying *medullas*, as in Catull. 45, 16: *ignis mollibus ardet in medullis* (where Ellis thinks of the marrow as liquefying under the effects of heat, though the mere softness of the marrow as contrasted with the hard bone around it is an adequate explanation); *Arnob.* 7, 20: *molles* . . . *medullas*. The latter view is also supported by the adjective *tenerae* in *Ov. Am.* 3, 10, 27 (quoted below); cf. Zingerle, *Kl. philol. Abhand.* 3 (1882), 18-20. The *mollis* . . . *flamma* of 2, 683-684 is of quite a different

## 67. interea et tacitum vivit sub pectore volnus.

(*interea et tacitu*)m *Pap. Fl.*    *tacitum* γ<sup>1</sup>.    *uulnus* FMRbcpγ<sup>2</sup>, *Pap. Fl.*

[66\*] 67. interea . . . volnus: *Gl. Ansil.* 543, 297 — uulnus —; 550, 61 — uulnus —. 67. et . . . volnus: *Hier. Ep.* 125, 7, 2 — tacitus *H*; uiuat; uulnus —; *Porphyr. in Hor. C. 1, 13, 6* — uulnus —; *Lact. Plac. in Stat. Theb.* 5, 445 — uoluit *Pb*; uulnus —.

(and harmless) sort, and cannot be taken as supporting here the view of *mollis* as nominative.

66. *flamma*: cf. 4, 2, n. (*igni*).

66. *medullas*: cf. 4, 101, n. (*per ossa*). For the marrow as a typical seat of love cf. *Eur. Hipp.* 253–255: *χρὴν γὰρ μετρίας εἰς ἀλλήλους / φίλλας θυητοῖς ἀνακίρνασθαι, / καὶ μὴ πρὸς ἄκρον μυελὸν ψυχῆς* (where the scholiast says: *τροπικῶς δὲ εἶπεν, ὥς ἐπὶ σώματος καὶ ὁστέου, τὸ βάθος τῆς ψυχῆς*); *Theocr.* 3, 17: *ὅς με κατασμήνων καὶ ἐς ὁστέον ἄχρως λάπτει*; *Plaut. Most.* 243: *videas eam medullitus amare*; *Cic. Ad Fam.* 15, 16, 2: *de te, qui mihi haeres in medullis* (cf. *Ad Att.* 15, 4, 3); *Catull.* 35, 14–15: *ex eo misellae / ignes interiore edunt medullam*; 64, 92–93: *cuncto concepit corpore flammam / funditus atque imis exarsit tota medullis* (cf. 64, 196); 66, 23: *quam penitus maestas exedit cura medullas*; *Virg. G.* 3, 271: *avidis . . . subdila flamma medullis*; *Aen.* 1, 660: *incendat reginam atque ossibus implicet ignem*; 4, 101; 8, 388–390: *ille repente / accepit solitam flammam, notusque medullas / intravit calor et labefacta per ossa cucurrit*; *Dirae*, 10, 1: *quam tua de nostris emigret cura medullis*; *Ov. Am.* 3, 10, 27: *ut tenerae flammam rapuere medullae*; *M.* 14, 351: *flammaque per totas visa est errare medullas*; *Trist.* 1, 5, 9; *Sen. Phaedr.* 279–282: [*labitur totas furor in medullas / igne furtivo populante venas.*] / *non habet latam data plaga frontem, / sed vorat tectas penitus medullas*; *Agam.* 132: *flammae medullas et cor exurunt meum*; *Luc.* 5, 811: *flamma tacitas urente medullas*; 9, 741–742: *carpitque medullas / ignis edax*; *Apul. M.* 10, 3: *isti enim tui oculi per meos oculos ad intima delapsi praecordia meis medullis acerrimum commovent incendium*; *Avien.* 2, 1176–1178: *caluerunt dira medullis / prolinus in mediis incendia, plurimus ardor / pectore flagrant*; *Anth. Lat.* no. 83, 24–26 (1, p. 114 Riese):

*penitusque cucurrit / sopitus per membra calor diroque medullas / igne vorat*; *Venant. Fort. Misc.* 6, 2, 18 (*Patr. Lat.* 88, 204): *inhaesit flamma medullis*; *Pichon, De Sermone amatorio* (1902), 198; *McCartney in Trans. Am. philol. Assoc.* 56 (1925), 71, n. 13. The marrow typifies the innermost citadel, the last to be captured, yet itself easily overcome when the outer defences have fallen; but with this there is undoubtedly combined the idea of secrecy and freedom from observation.

67. *interea*: 'all this time'; placed in the emphatic position (*Henry*); cf. *Ov. Rem. Am.* 105: *interea tacitae serpunt in viscera flammae*. On Virgil's use of *interea* cf. *Heinze, Virgils epische Technik*, 3 ed. (1915), 388, n. 2; *Reinmuth in Proc. Am. philol. Assoc.* 63 (1932), li–lii.

67. *tacitum*: cf. 4, 2, n. (*caeco*); *Callim. Epigr.* 44, 1: *ἔλκος ἔχων ὁ ξείνος ἐλάνθανεν*; *Theocr.* 11, 15–16: *ἐχθιστον ἔχων ὑποκάρδιον ἔλκος / Κύπριδος ἐκ μεγάλας*; *Apoll. Rh.* 3, 286–287: *βέλος δ' ἐνεδαλετο κούρη / νέρθεν ὑπὸ κραδίῃ*; 3, 296–297: *τοῖος ὑπὸ κραδίῃ εἰλυμένος αἰθερο λάθρη / οἶλος Ἔρωτος*; *Ov. M.* 4, 64: *quoque magis legitur, tectus magis aestuat ignis*; *Sen. Phaedr.* 362: *torretur aestu tacito*. The adjective is perhaps, as *Buscaroli (ad loc.)* thinks, to be construed in the predicate.

67. *vivit*, etc.: cf. *Lucr.* 2, 639: *aeternumque daret matri sub pectore volnus*; *Aen.* 1, 36: *aeternum servans sub pectore volnus*; 4, 689: *infixum stridit sub pectore volnus*; 11, 40: *patens in pectore volnus*; *Sil.* 5, 594: *pulchrum sub pectore vulnus*; *Anth. Lat.* no. 636, 23 (2, p. 103 Riese): *vivit pectore sub dolente vulnus*; also the verse ending *in pectore volnus* (*Carm. Lat. epigr.* no. 490, 5; no. 637, 3 *Bücheler*). With *sub pectore* cf. *Apoll. Rh.* 3, 287: *νέρθεν ὑπὸ κραδίῃ*; *Nonn.* 15, 319: *ἐμπεδον ἔλκος Ἔρωτος, ὑπὸ φρίνα βοσκόμενον πῦρ*; *Maphaeus Vegius, Aen.* 13, 57: *sub pectore volvens*.

## 68. uritur infelix Dido totaque vagatur

(*uritur infelix Dido*) *Pap. Fl.*    u(aga)tur *Pap. Fl.*

68-69. *uritur* . . . *furens*: *Schol. Dan. Aen.* 4, 62. 68. *uritur* . . . Dido: *Prisc. Inst.* 8, 36 (G. L. K. 2, 403) — *labitur* (cf. *Aen.* 5, 329?) —; [*Acro*] in *Hor. C.* 1, 19, 7 — *urit a* —; *Comm. Cruq. in Hor. C.* 1, 6, 19; *Isid. Etym.* 13, 10, 8 — *oritur C*<sup>1</sup> —; *Hrab. Maur. De Univ.* 11, 18. 68. *uritur infelix*: *Anth. Lat. no.* 11, 69 (1, p. 43 Riese).

68. *uritur*, etc.: for the rather Hellenistic treatment of the details of Dido's passion cf. Heinze, *Virgils epische Technik*, 3 ed. (1915), 397; and for love as a fire 4, 2, n. (*igni*); *Ov. H.* 7, 25: *uror*.

68. *infelix*: in seven other places in the *Aeneid* used of Dido: 1, 712; 1, 749; 4, 450; 4, 529; 4, 596; 5, 3; 6, 456; cf. also *Sil.* 2, 414-415; [*Aus.*] p. 417, VIII, 1 Peiper; and contrast 4, 657: *felix, heu nimium felix*. The word is, then, almost a permanent epithet, like *pius* used of Aeneas. For its subjective quality cf. 4, 65, n. (*heu, etc.*). The frequency and the effect of this word have been noted by various critics; e.g., Green, *Stray Studies from England and Italy* (1876), 278: "Little words, like 'misera,' 'infelix,' 'fati nescia,' sound the first undertones of a woe to come, even amidst the joy of the first meeting or the glad tumult of the hunting-scene"; Pichon, *De Sermone amatorio* (1902), 168; Duckett, *Hellenistic Infl. in the Aeneid* (1920), 13, who compares *σχιτλιος* in Callimachus; Hahn in *Trans. Am. philol. Assoc.* 56 (1925), 187; 190-191; 197; Rebert, *The Felicity of Infelix in Virgil's Aeneid* (*Trans. Am. philol. Assoc.* 59 (1928), 57-71; reprinted in *Virgil and those others* (1930), 13-28); DeWitt (in *Cl. Weekly*, 25 (1932), 90), who explains the word as 'ill-starred'; Duckworth, *Foreshadowing and Suspense in the Epics of Homer, Apollonius, and Vergil* (1933), 13; 120; also cf. 4, 32, n. (*solane, etc.*), above. Rebert points out that *infelix*, applied to a considerable series of characters in the *Aeneid*, expresses "artistically, dramatically, and tragically, a poetical concept which lay very close to the poet's heart. Where words leave off, its implied significance takes up the tale"; and he notes how it constantly expresses the poet's own sympathies, i.e., how it introduces a subjective element into the objective epic (Jackson

in *Harv. Stud. in cl. Philol.* 24 (1913), 49, gives good parallels to this in other Latin writers).

I think that in addition we may properly emphasize the literal meaning of the word as 'unfruitful' or 'sterile' (cf. *Ecl.* 5, 37 (= G. 1, 154); G. 2, 239; 2, 314; etc.; Boetticher, *Der Baumkultus der Hellenen* (1856), 303, and Latte in *P.-W.* 9 (1916), 1540-1541 on *infelices arbores*; Oldfather in *Trans. Am. philol. Assoc.* 39 (1908), 70, n. 4), its root appearing also in *fecundus, fetus*, and (though this is disputed) *femina*. Contrast the use of *felix* ('fruitful,' 'fertile'); e.g., G. 2, 81; 4, 329; *Aen.* 7, 725-726; *Hor. Epod.* 2, 14; etc.; *Plin. Ep.* 3, 7, 2: *beatus et felix nisi quod minorem ex liberis duobus amisit, sed maiorem . . . reliquit*; the title *Arabia Felix*; and, at a later date, the verse *bella gerant alii, tu, felix Austria, nube*. Underlying all the tragedy of Dido is the fact, clearly expressed in 4, 327-330, that she leaves no descendant to carry on her race (note that Ovid's Dido, possibly pregnant (*Her.* 7, 133-134), is not called *infelix*). The prospect of singleness (virginal or widowed), of dying untimely (*ἄωρος*) before marriage, or of outliving one's offspring and thus losing a sort of racial immortality destined for those whose descendants can engage in ancestor worship appears in *Aesch. Choeph.* 505-507: *παῖδες γὰρ ἀνδρὶ κληδόνες σωτήριοι / θανόντι· φελλοὶ δ' ὥς ἄγρουσι δι- κτυον, / τὸν ἐκ βυθοῦ κλωστήρα σφύζοντες λίβου*; *Plat. Legg.* 4, p. 721 B-C; 6, p. 773 E; *Eur. Androm.* 418-419: *πᾶσι δ' ἀνθρώποις ἄρ' ἦν / ψυχὴ τέκν'*; *Athenag. De Resurr. Mort.* 12: *ποιεῖται δὲ καὶ παῖδας . . . ἐπὶ τῷ εἶναι τε καὶ διαμένειν καθόσον οἶδον τε τοὺς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ γεννωμένους, τῇ τῶν παίδων καὶ τῶν ἐγγόνων διαδοχῇ τὴν ἐαυτοῦ τελευτὴν παραμυθούμενος καὶ ταύτῃ τὸ θνητὸν ἀπαθανατίζειν οἰόμενος*; also *Apul. Asclep.* 4: *quatinvis omnia genera in-*

## 69. urbe furens, qualis coniecta cerva sagitta,

[68] 69-73. qualis . . . harundo: *Macrob. Sat.* 5, 6, 9 — cerua om. P<sup>1</sup>; chresia P; alla (pro illa) P — 69. qualis . . . sagitta: *Serv. Aen.* 12, 8.

*mortalia sint, species non omnes immortales*; etc.; Frazer, *Golden Bough*, 3 ed., 3 (1911), 369-371; Nock in *Journ. of Egypt. Arch.* 11 (1925), 134, and n. 5; also Rupert Brooke, 1914 (1915), 3, 7-8: "and those who would have been, / Their sons, they gave, their immortality." This was especially sad to a race like the Romans which so stressed its family connections. The curse of childlessness, then, is one of the most severe that can be imagined; cf. Riess in *Am. Journ. of Philol.* 46 (1925), 224-225, citing *Levit.* 20, 20. To youths untimely slain, like Troilus (1, 475), Coroebus (2, 345), Euryalus (9, 390; 9, 430), Lausus (10, 829), and the maiden Camilla (11, 563), or to parents losing their children, like Tereus (*Ecl.* 6, 81), Priam (*Aen.* 3, 50), Brutus (6, 822), the mother of Euryalus (9, 477), Mezentius (10, 850), and Evander (11, 53; 11, 175), or to a sister bereft of her brother (Iuturna, in 12, 870) is applied the adjective *infelix*, typifying the frustration of those natural desires for the reproduction of one's race the pathos of which a bachelor, like Virgil himself, may well have felt with peculiar poignancy. Apposite in this connection is Clem. *Strom.* 2, 23: ἐπεὶ καὶ γάμον τινὰ οἰκτελοῦσιν οἱ ποιηταὶ ἡμῶν καὶ ἀπαιδα μακαρίζουσι δὲ τὸν ἀμφύβαλῃ (cf. also the Roman emphasis upon the completeness of a family in which children are *patrimi et matrimi*); also *Papyr. Gr. magicæ*, 1 (1928), no. 4, 2730-2734 Preisendanz: τὰν Ἑκάταν σε καλῶ συναποφθιμένοισιν ἄωροις, καὶ τινες ἡρώων ἔθανον ἀγύναιοι τε ἄπαιδες. Here again appears a parallel between Dido and Turnus, the two great obstacles to the mission of Aeneas, in that both perish untimely (cf. 4, 697, n. (*ante diem*), below), before their race is perpetuated. The contrast between this adjective and the thoughts and surroundings of Dido parallels the (also subjective) use of *pius* for Aeneas in 4, 393; in each case the poet calls our thoughts from the immediate to the ultimate. On *infelix* *Dido* cf. 4, 322, n. (*extinctus pudor*), below.

68. tota: for similar hyperbole cf. Hunziker, *Die Figur d. Hyperbel in den Gedichten Vergils* (1896), 58; and, for the cadence, Walahfridus Strabo, *De Vila . . . Mammae*, 22, 30 (*Poel. Aevi Carol.* 2, 292): totaque vagantur.

68. vagatur: Schol. Dan.: potest accipi 'vagatur' dum opera ostendit Aeneae; Donat.: cum illa omnia frustra agerentur, amor Didonis medullas et viscera consumebat neque eam patiebatur ullo in loco consistere, ut vaganti totius civitatis non sufficerent spatia. Dido's restlessness culminates in 4, 300-303. So the lovesick Scylla in *Cir.* 167: infelix virgo tota bacchatur in urbe; and Amata in her madness (*Aen.* 7, 376-377); cf. Heinze, *op. cit.*, 287, n. 1, who notes the ἀσχημοσύνη involved. Doubtless the physical wandering suggests mental wandering as well; cf. Heliod. *Aethiop.* 4, 7: τὴν διάνοιαν δ' ἄλβει. The verb *vagor* is in contrast with the dignified or formal *incessus*, admired by the Romans, which should characterize a person of consequence, like a queen; cf. 1, 46; 1, 405; 1, 497; 4, 62, n. (*spatiatur*); 4, 141; 5, 553; 8, 722; 9, 308; 12, 219; Prop. 3, 13, 11; Ov. *Ars am.* 3, 299-300: est et in incessu pars non contempta decoris; / allicit ignotos ille fugatque viros.

69. furens: cf. 4, 8, n. (*male sana*); Serv.: furor enim est amor in quo nihil est stabile; Pichon, *De Sermone amatorio* (1902), 157-158.

69. qualis: Virgil's commonest introduction for a simile, found thus 27 times in the poem (including 4, 143; 4, 301); cf. Fraser in *Cl. Journ.* 19 (1923), 48-49. The origin of the comparison is possibly (though not very probably) *Il.* 11, 473-481: ἀμφὶ δ' ἄρ' αὐτὸν / Τρῶες ἔπον ὡς εἴ τε θαφουνοὶ θῶες ὄρεσφιν / ἀμφ' ἔλαφον κεραὸν βεβλημένον, ὃν τ' ἔβαλ' ἀνὴρ / ἰφ' ἀπὸ νευρῆς: τὸν μὲν τ' ἤλυξε πῶδεςσιν / φεύγων, ὅφρ' αἶμα λιάρῃ καὶ γούνατ' ὀρώρῃ κτλ.; cf. Hornbostel, *Die Gleichnisse bei Vergil* (1870), 9 (who notes the infrequency in Virgil, as compared with Homer, of similes involving animals of the chase);

## 70. quam procul incautam nemora inter Cresia fixit

intere (*corr. in inter*) *p.* cresia (*si ex corr.*) *F<sup>1</sup>*, cressia *p.* fix(*it*) *P*, fi. xit *b.*

[69\*] 70-71. quam . . . telis: *Non. p.* 243 *M.* (*p.* 364 *L.*). 70. nemora . . . Cresia: *Gl. Ansil.* 388, 257.

Houben, *De Comparationibus Vergilianis* (1876), 7; Kopetsch, *De Comparationibus Vergilianis* (1879), 4; Baur, *Homerische Gleichnisse in Vergils Aeneide* (1891), 54; Schuhardt, *Die Gleichnisse in Vergils Aeneis* (1904), 11-12; Keith in *Cl. Journ.* 28 (1933), 606. The simile is imitated by Petrarch, *Sonnets*, 155, 9-12: *e qual cervo ferito di saetta, / col ferro avvelenato dentr'al fianco / fugga, e più duolsi quanto più s'affretta*, etc.; Boiardo, *Orl. inn.* 1, 5, 14, 3-6: *come cerva ferita di saetta, / che al lungo tempo accresce il suo dolore; / e quant'il corso più veloce affretta, / più sangue perde ed ha pena maggiore*, etc.; Ariosto, *Orl. fur.* 16, 3, 5-8: *e come cervo / ferito, ovunque va, porta la freccia: / ha di sè stesso e del suo amor vergogna, / nè l'osa dire, e invan sanarsi agogna*; cf. Haber, *Comp. Study of the Beowulf and the Aeneid* (1931), 92-93, who cites *Beowulf*, 1368-1372; see also Shelley, *Adonais*, 33, 9: "A herd-abandoned deer struck by the hunter's dart"; Cowper, *Task*, 3, 108-111: "I was a stricken deer that left the herd / Long since; with many an arrow deep infixed / My panting side was charged, when I withdrew / To seek a tranquil death in distant shades." For another simile from deer cf. 12, 749-755. In the present case it may be felt that the simile tends to overbalance the incident illustrated, yet if we accept the explanation of the Scholia Danielis there is perhaps justification for this: *satis congrua comparatio: singula enim singulis, cervam Didoni, sagittam amoris, pastorem Aeneae, nemora urbi, ictum letalem amoris mortifero comparavit*; Donat.: *Didone[m] comparavit cervae, silvas civilati, mobilitatem cervae Didonis discursibus, sagittam pastoris sagittae Cupidinis, pastorem Cupidini, cursum inefficacem cervae cum Didonis errantis immoderatis anfractibus*. The interlocked order *qualis coniecta cerva sagitta* deserves notice.

69. *coniecta*: cf. 9, 698; 12, 362; etc.;

Ermoldus, *Ad Pippinum*, 1, 101 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 2, 82): *coniecta cerva sagitta*.

69. *sagitta*: cf. 4, 1, n. (*saucia*); 4, 2, n. (*volnus*). The arrow suggests those of Eros (Cupido); Xen. *Mem.* 1, 3, 13: *ἴσως δὲ καὶ οἱ Ἑρωτες τοιοῦται διὰ τοῦτο καλοῦνται, ὅτι καὶ πρόσωποι οἱ καλοὶ τιτρώσκουσιν*; Lucr. 4, 1052; 4, 1278; Hor. *C.* 3, 27, 67-68; Tib. 2, 1, 81; *Pervig. Ven.* 30-33; etc. The bow and arrow as an attribute of Eros appear first in the fourth century B.C.; cf. Furtwängler in Roscher, *Ausf. Lex.* 1 (1886), 1363; Waser in *P.-W.* 6 (1909), 507; also Heinze, *Virgils epische Technik*, 3 ed. (1915), 124. Forbiger (*ad loc.*) calls attention to the variety of expression in *sagitta . . . telis . . . ferrum . . . harundo* (cf. Schol. Dan. *Aen.* 4, 73).

70. *quam*, etc.: for the development of this picture, word by word, cf. *Ecl.* 8, 37.

70. *Cresia*: cf. 8, 294; Serv.: *Cresia Cretensia: nam Graece Κρής facit, unde et Κρήτες et Κρήσια facit. Latine 'Cretensis' facit, unde est 'Cretensia.'* Plin. *N.H.* 8, 228 states: *mirabilis in eadem insula (sc. Creta) cervos praeterquam in Cydoniatarum regione non esse*, which Solin. 11, 10-11 misunderstands: *ager Creticus silvestrium caprarum copiosus est, cervo eget*. On the evidence of toponymy and the remains of bones for the former presence of deer in Crete, where they are now extinct, cf. Büchner in *P.-W.* 11 (1922), 1741. Virgil here uses the adjective not to add any significant scientific fact but to make the picture more vivid, as Horace often employs geographic adjectives, e.g., *C.* 1, 1, 13-14: *ut trabe Cypria / Myrtoum . . . secel mare*. Virgil himself (*Ecl.* 10, 59-60) says: *libet Partho torquere Cydonia cornu / spicula*, and refers to Cretan bowmen in *G.* 3, 345; *Aen.* 5, 306-307; 11, 773; cf. Hor. *C.* 1, 15, 17; 4, 9, 17-18; *Prop.* 2, 12, 10.

70. *fixit*: cf. *Ecl.* 2, 29: *figere cervos*; *G.* 1, 308: *figere dammas*.



71. pastor agens telis liquitque volatile ferrum  
nescius; illa fuga silvas saltusque peragrat

agens <sup>c1</sup>. liquid *P*, linquit *π*. ferro (*corr. in ferrum*) *π*.  
saltus siluasque *F*.

[69, 70] 71-72. liquitque . . . nescius: *Serv. Aen. 10, 706* — libro ut quae (que *M*)  
*ASM* —. 71. volatile ferrum: *Macrob. Sat. 6, 5, 15*.

[69\*, 71] 72-73. illa . . . Dictaeos: *Schol. Dan. Aen. 12, 413* — peragra dictatos *F* —.  
72. nescius: *Gl. Ansil. 390, 427; q.v.*

71. agens telis: cf. *G. 3, 411-412: apros / latratu turbabis agens; Aen. 1, 190-191: omnem / miscet agens telis nemora inter frondea turbam; 7, 481*.

71. liquit: as Henry notes (*Aeneidea, 2* (1878), 606-607), this verb, as a sort of complement, makes more precise the verb *fixit*; cf. *11, 637: hastam intorsit equo ferrumque sub aure reliquit; Lucr. 4, 1137: verbum iaculata reliquit; Ov. M. 11, 776: dente pedem strinxit (sc. coluber), virusque in corpore liquit; Stat. Theb. 11, 565-567: erigit occulte ferrum . . . / . . . et ense / . . . fraterno in corde reliquit*. The verb combines the loss of the weapon to the hunter, who does not know (*nescius*) where it is, and its permanent fixing in the body of the deer.

71. volatile, etc.: cf. *8, 694-695: stuppea flamma manu telisque volatile ferrum / spargitur; also Sueius ap. Macrob. Sat. 6, 5, 15: volucrumque volatile telum; Lucr. 1, 970: iaciatque volatile telum; Ov. Ars am. 1, 169: telumque volatile sensit; M. 7, 841: telumque volatile misi; Il. Lat. 347-348: laterique volatile telum / incidit; Venant. Fort. De Vit. S. Martini, 1, 348: excussum . . . volatile ferrum; Laurent. Veron. De Bell. Balear. 5, 65 (Patr. Lat. 163, 544). The Latin is probably modelled upon *Il. 4, 116-117: ἰδὲν / . . . πτερόεντα; 5, 171: πτερόεντες διστοί; 16, 773: ἰοὶ τε πτερόεντες*. The alliteration should be noted; cf. Maxa in *Wiener Stud. 19* (1897), 111.*

72. nescius: *Schol. Dan.: quidam 'nescius' ad Aeneam referunt, qui nescit amore suo vulneratam reginam; more probably than some views catalogued by Servius, who says: aut nescius quod ferierit, aut ignoratus et latens; non qui cervam nesciret; id., Aen. 10, 706: nescius pro 'qui nesciebatur.'* Virgil has so

far given no indication that Aeneas suspected Dido's passion, and his own words in *4, 337-339* deserve some weight; cf. DeWitt, *The Dido Episode in the Aeneid of Virgil* (1907), 28. On the effect of the run-over adjective cf. *4, 23, n. (impulsi)*. The juxtaposition with *illa* makes an especially effective contrast. For parallels to this sentence structure cf. Weissenborn, *Untersuch. ü. d. Satz- u. Periodenbau in Vergils Äneide* (1879), 14-15.

72. silvas, etc.: cf. *Lucr. 2, 355: saltus orbata peragrans; 5, 1386: avia per nemora ac silvas saltusque reperta; Catull. 34, 10-11: silvarumque virentium / saltuumque reconditorum; Virg. G. 3, 40: silvas saltusque sequamur; 4, 53: saltus silvasque peragrant; Ov. M. 2, 498-499; perhaps suggested by the deer in *Il. 11, 118: καρπαλίμως δ' ἦξε διὰ δρυμὰ πυκνὰ καὶ ὕλην*. On the alliterative phrase *silvas saltusque* cf. Wölflin in *Sitzb. d. k. bayr. Akad. 2* (1881), 83 (= *Ausgewählte Schriften* (1933), 275).*

72. peragrat: Virgil may here be simply thinking of the deer as roaming in aimless frenzy, but the *Scholia Danielis* (on *Aen. 12, 412-413*) suggest that it is seeking the healing herb *dictamnus*, of which they say: *haec herba licet ubique nascatur, melior in Creta est, quae Dicta dicitur, unde proprium herbae nomen. haec admota vulnere, in quo ferrum est, extrahit ferrum in tantum ut animalia apud Cretam, cum fuerint vulnerata, ad hanc herbam currant eaque depasta tela corpore dicantur excutere; cf. Serv. on our passage*. On this popular belief cf. the passages collected by Schmidt, in *P.-W. 5* (1905), 582-583; to which add *Cic. N. D. 2, 126; Plin. N. H. 8, 97; Plut. Brut. Anim. 9; Terrest. Anim. 20; Tert. De Paenit. 12; Pacianus, Paraenesis, 11 (Patr. Lat. 13, 1088): caprae ferae, ut dicunt,*

73. Dictaeos; haeret lateri letalis harundo.  
nunc media Aenean secum per moenia ducit  
Sidoniasque ostentat opes urbemque paratam.

heret  $\pi\gamma$ , aeret (*corr. in haeret*)  $b$ . latere  $F$  (lateri  $F^1$ ). loetalis  $\gamma$ , laetalis (*corr. in loetalis*)  $b$ . hunc  $\pi$ . aeneam  $Rc$ , aenean (*corr. in aeneam*)  $\pi$ . ostendat  $\gamma$ . opes (e  $m$ . 2)  $\gamma$ . param  $R$  (*corr. m. rec.*).

[69, 72\*] 73. letalis harundo: *Gl. Ansil.* 336, 264-265 — arundo —; *Gl. Abol.* 141, 5 — arundo —; *Gl. Verg.* (C. G. L. 4, 450, 2) — aurundo  $f$ , arundo  $abcg$ , harundo  $de$  —.

74. media per moenia: *Gl. Ansil.* 361, 63.

75. Sidonias . . . opes: *Schol. Dan. Aen.* 1, 446. 75. urbemque paratam: *Serv. Aen.* 4, 655.

*remedia sua noverunt; confixas quippe, audio, venenatis sagittis* (probably a confusion between  $\iota\delta\varsigma$  'dart' and  $\iota\delta\varsigma$  'venom,' according to Thompson on Arist. *H. A.* 8, 26, n. 4), *saltus peragrare Dictaeos, quoad dictami* [sic] *caule detonso, salutarium virulento latice succorum, pulsa decutiant tela corporibus*; Ambros. *Hexaem.* 3, 40; 6, 26; Epiphan. *Panaria*, 2, 1, Haeres. 51; Isid. *Etyim.* 17, 9, 29: *Dicta mons Cretae, ex quo dictamnum herba nomen accepit, propter quam apud Vergilium cerva vulnerata saltus peragrat Dictaeos. tantae enim potentiae est ut ferrum a corpore expellat, sagittas excutiat; unde et eius pabulo ferae percussae sagittas a corpore inhaerentes eiciunt*; *Etyim. M.* s.v.  $\delta\iota\kappa\tau\alpha\mu\acute{o}\varsigma$ ; Thompson on Arist. *H. A.* 8, 26 (n. 5); and on *H. A.* 9, 6; Sargeant, *Trees, Shrubs, and Plants of Virgil* (1920), 40-41; Pease on Cic. *De Div.* 2, 135; Fowler, *Death of Turnus* (1927), 81-82; also Fabricius, *Bibl. Gr.* 3 (1716), 643-644, for a Greek poem on this plant.

73. Dictaeos: cf. *Ecl.* 6, 56; *G.* 2, 536; 4, 152; *Aen.* 3, 171: *Dictaea . . . arva* (Sen. *Agam.* 833-834).

73. haeret: of a weapon sticking in its mark; cf. 9, 419; 11, 804; 11, 864; *Ov. M.* 12, 570; Mar. Victor. *Aleth.* 3, 663; Paul. Nol. *Carm.* 21, 73: *haeret ovans lateri*. For the asyndeton cf. Loewe, *Symbolae ad enarr. Serm. Poet. Lat.* 2 (1873), 12.

73. lateri: dative, to avoid the short syllables of the more idiomatic ablative *latere* (which is the reading of  $F^1$ ); cf. Kern, *Zum Gebrauch d. Abl. bei Vergil* (1881), 10-11; Norden, 2 ed. of Book VI (1916), 232; also Kühner-Stegmann, *Ausf. Gram. d. lat. Spr.*

2, 1, 2 ed. (1912), 318. Sabbadini (*adn. crit. ad loc.*) considers *lateri* as an ablative.

73. letalis: cf. 9, 580; 11, 749; Gualterus, *Alexandreis*, 3, 22: *letalis harundo* (cf. 5, 201; 9, 243). The adjective calls to the reader's attention the outcome of Dido's wound.

73. harundo: figurative for *sagitta*, as in 5, 525; 5, 544; 7, 499; 12, 387; and several times in Ovid, and as *calamus* is used in 10, 140; cf. Braumüller, *Ueber Tropen u. Figuren in Vergil's Aeneis*, 1 (1877), 6; Kunz, *Realien in Vergils Aeneis* (1894), 6; Sargeant, *The Trees, Shrubs, and Plants of Virgil* (1920), 50-51.

74. nunc: correlative with *nunc* in line 77, and indicating repeated actions; cf. Heinze, *Virgils epische Technik*, 3 ed. (1915), 343, n. 2. Forbiger (*ad loc.*) thinks the first *nunc* refers to the daytime, the second to the approach of evening. The skill with which Virgil in lines 74-89 has so strikingly yet so concisely sketched the progress of Dido's passion has been justly admired.

74. Aenean: the regular accusative in Virgil, though before a consonant some MSS at times read *Aeneam* (as cod.  $R$  here); cf. Koczyński, *De Flexura Gr. Nom. propr. apud . . . Vergilium* (1892), 18-19; *Thes. Ling. Lat.* 1 (1900), 982, 1-17; Cottino, *La Flessione dei Nomi greci in Virgilio* (1906), 18; Kühner-Holzweissig, *Ausf. Gram. d. lat. Spr.* 1, 2 ed. (1912), 434.

74. moenia: for *urbs*; cf. 2, 234; Braumüller, *op. cit.*, 1 (1877), 19.

75. Sidonias: cf. 4, 36, n. (Tyro). Into the earlier history of Sidon (cf. Honigmann

## 76. incipit effari mediaque in voce resistit;

efari (corr. in effari) γ.

76. incipit . . . resistit: *Serv. Aen.* 1, 135 — *om. C* —; 1, 663; 4, 69; [*Acro*] in *Hor. C.* 4, 1, 36; *Anth. Lat. no.* 11, 75 (1, p. 44 Riese) — *voca A* —; *Lact. Plac. in Stat. Theb.* 3, 87 — *affari Pb* —; *Mythogr. Vat. III*, 11, 18. 76. incipit effari: *Anth. Lat. no.* 16, 12 (1, p. 56 Riese); *no.* 17, 371 (1, p. 76 Riese); *Orest. Trag.* 163 (*Poet. Lat. min.* 5, 209 Vollmer). 76. media in voce: *Gl. Ansil.* 361, 61. 76. resistit: *Gl. Ansil.* 495, 1523; *q.v.*

in *P.-W.* 2 Reihe, 2 (1923), 2216–2218) we need not enter, save to say that the tradition related by Justin, 18, 3, 5 may have been known to Virgil: *post multos deinde annos a rege Ascaloniorum expugnati, navibus appulsi Tyron urbem ante annum Troianae cladis condiderunt* (sc. *Sidonii*), as possibly also the claim appearing on Sidonian coins (Honnigmann, *op. cit.*, 2217) that Sidon was the mother city of Carthage, Hippo, Citium, and Tyre; cf. also Sall. *Iug.* 78, 1–4 (Leptis as a Sidonian colony); Sil. 15, 38: *Sidoniasque domos* (of the Carthaginians); Hier. *Comm. in Is.* 5, p. 228 Vall. (Tyre a colony of Sidon); *id.*, 5, p. 227 Vall. (Carthage a colony of Tyre; so in *Comm. in Ezech.* 8, p. 310 Vall.); *Comm. in Hierem.* 5, p. 1018 Vall. (Carthage a colony of Tyre and Sidon). Eiselen, *Sidon* (1907), 16–26, considers the question of priority, and decides in favor of Tyre as the older and more early politically prominent, as well as (111 and n. 2) probably the mother city of Carthage. In the Dido story in the *Aeneid* the two cities are mentioned almost indiscriminately, *Tyros* and *Tyrius* appearing 29 times and *Sidon* and *Sidonius* 11 times. *Serv. Aen.* 1, 235 remarks: *Didonem Sidoniam dicit, cum sit Tyria, a loci vicinitate* (they are, in fact, about 25 miles apart); 1, 338: *nihil interest utrum Tyrios an Sidonius dicat. ut diximus enim nomine de vicino mutantur*; 1, 446 (see below); 1, 613: *Sidonia pro Tyria a vicinitate*; 8, 165: *cum sciamus poetas vicinas omnes pro uno habere civitates, sicut de Didone facit, quam nonnumquam Tyriam aliquoties Sidoniam vocat*. It seems more likely that the racial descent of one city from the other is the cause of this mingling, for other cities near one another are not usually so confounded. Though Dido is repre-

sented as exiled from Tyre (cf. 1, 338–347; Meltzer, *Gesch. d. Karthager*, 1 (1879), 116), she herself is not by Virgil called *Tyria* (contrast Hephaest. in *Catal. Cod. astrol. Gr.* 6 (1903), 94, 56: *Καρχηδών Τυρίας Διδούς χειρὶ δαμνηθεῖσα*) but four times designated as *Sidonia* *Dido* (1, 446; 1, 613; 9, 266; 11, 74; cf. *Stat. Silv.* 4, 2, 1: *Sidoniae . . . Elissae*; Sil. 15, 746; Hier. *Comm. in Osee*, 1, p. 24 Vall.: *Dido Sidonia regii generis*), in three of these cases in connection with gifts or wealth, which, with the present passage, perhaps suggested the Scholia Danielis on *Aen.* 1, 446: *licet et Sidon civitas sit Phoenices tamen hic pro Tyria posuit. sane quidam opportune hic 'Sidoniam' volunt positam, ut ostenderet locupletem; Sidonii enim locupletes habiti sunt, ut 'Sidonias ostentat opes.'* Cf. also Bell, *The Latin Dual* (1923), 11, who thinks that the epithet *Sidonia* calls to the reader's mind the origin of both Dido and Tyre. No case of *Sidonia* or *Phoenissa* in the sense of 'Carthaginian' seems to occur earlier than Virgil; cf. Moseley, *Characters and Epithets* (1923), 23–24. Drew, *The Allegory of the Aeneid* (1927), 83, rather fancifully holds the expression *Sidonia Dido* to conceal *Scribonia* (*Libonis*), who was, like Dido, both a widow and deserted.

With the short *o* of *Sidonias* cf. 1, 678; 4, 137; 4, 545; 4, 683; 5, 571; *Cir.* 387; Tib. 3, 3, 18; elsewhere in Virgil it is long (1, 446; 1, 613; 9, 266; 11, 74). In Greek we find both *Σιδώνιος* and *Σιδώνιος*, and perhaps we may here read the word as a trisyllable: *Si-dōn-ias*.

75. *ostentat*: in pride, rather than 'repeatedly shows' (with emphasis upon the frequentative form of the verb); cf. Valmaggia in *Riv. di Filol.* 25 (1897), 37.

75. *opes*: in addition to the sentimental temptation to Aeneas there is a distinct material one, and Virgil repeatedly suggests the wealth of Tyre and of Dido; e.g., I, 343; I, 358-364; I, 447; I, 637-640; 4, 134-139; 4, 261-264; 4, 392; 9, 266; II, 72-75 (in contrast with the needy condition of the exiled and storm-tossed Trojans, as noted in I, 598-599; 4, 373-375); cf. Schol. Dan. I, 446 (quoted in the previous note); Avien. 3, 1070: *hic Tyrus est opulens*; also below, 4, 134, n. (*ostro*). Suet. Nero, 31-32, tells of Nero's interest in the search for Dido's hidden treasure. Cf. also Introd., p. 56, above.

75. *paratam*: Serv.: '*paratam*' *ad illud pertinet quod Aeneas propter civitatem navigat. sed alii movent quaestionem quomodo 'paratam' cum paulo post (4, 88; cf. also 4, 260) inferat 'pendent opera interrupta.' sed paratum potest dici cui etiam paululum superest*; etc. In other words, the participle means, not 'finished,' but 'provided,' and the appeal is "to the weariness of those whose city was yet to seek" (Conington). For the force of such an appeal cf. I, 437-438; I, 557-558 (with mention of the search for *sedes . . . paratas*); 3, 493-505; 5, 623-640; etc. Donat.: *qui enim non teneretur divitiarum alienarum spe et adfectu eius urbis quam alterius labor et instantia procurasset. sed hoc pro animo Didonis est positum; ceterum Aeneas amores eius furoremque nesciebat*.

76. *incipit*, etc.: cf. Alcaeus, 12 (55), 1-2: *θέλω τι φείην, ἀλλὰ με κωλύει / αἰδώς*; Sappho, 2, 9: *ἀλλὰ καμ μὲν γλώσσα φέαγε* (Catull. 51, 9: *lingua sed torpet*); Apoll. Rh. 3, 681-686: *δὴν δὲ μιν αἰδώς / παρθενίη κατέρυκεν ἀμείψασθαι μεμαυῖαν. / μῦθος δ' ἄλλοτε μὲν οἱ ἐπ' ἀκροτάτης ἀνέτελλεν / γλώσσης, ἄλλοτ' ἔνερθε κατὰ στήθος πεπότητο. / πολλάκι δ' ἱμερόεν μὲν ἀνὰ στόμα θύεν ἐνισπεῖν' / φθογγῇ δ' οὐ προύβαινε παροιτέρω*; 3, 967-968: *τῷ δ' ἄνεφ καὶ ἀναυδοὶ ἐφέστασαν ἀλλήλοισιν, / ἢ δρυσὶν ἢ μακρῆσιν κειδόμενοι ἐλάτρησιν, κτλ.*; Parthen. 36 (of Arganthonē and her passion): *τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἡσυχάζει αἰδοῖ κατεχομένη*; Hor. C. 4, 1, 35-36: *cur facunda parum decoro / inter verba cadit lingua silentio*; Ov. H. 4, 7-8: *ter tecum conata loqui ter inutilis haesit / lingua, ter in primo destitit ore sonus*; F. 1,

538: *substitit in medios praescia lingua sonos*; Val. Fl. 7, 118: *atque loqui conata silet*; Stat. Theb. 10, 151: *et medio adfatu verba imperfecta relinqui*; Tasso, Rinaldo, 9, 64, 6-7: *apre a parlar la bocca, e poi si tace / e la voce troncata a mezzo resta*; Chateaubriand, René, 97 (Naylor in Johns Hopkins Stud. in Rom. Lit. and Lang. 18 (1930), 143): *elle commençait une phrase qu'elle ne finissait pas*. In line 85 below Dido's love is again described as *infandum*. She probably thinks of Aeneas as himself recognizing that affection which is so clear to her yet which delicacy prevents her from expressing, but he is too much occupied with other interests (his voyage, and the practical services he can render her in the establishment of her city; cf. 4, 260-267) to detect her deeper sentiments. Valmaggì (in Riv. di Filol. 25 (1897), 37-38) observes that we are not here told what the feelings of Aeneas were. As she hesitates to tell her love, so he, in 4, 283-286 and again in 4, 390-391, lacks words to prepare her mind for his departure — another indication of a friendship lacking in the fundamental of mutual confidence. Crump (The Epyllion (1931), 248, n. 1) finds the whole tragedy one depending largely on mutual misunderstanding, in which "an ambitious and unimaginative man is brought into contact with an emotional woman, whose temperament is beyond her own control. Aeneas is not deliberately brutal; he merely fails to understand why Dido cannot view the position with common sense. Dido equally fails to understand why Aeneas should want anything except her love."

76. *effari*: to speak out, without reservation; cf. 4, 456; this idea is less strong in 4, 30 and 4, 499. Of course Dido had not been literally mute while showing the city to Aeneas! Buscaroli (*ad loc.*) well suggests that she is tempted to repeat to him individually the offer she had made to the Trojans collectively in I, 573: *urbem quam statuo vestra est*.

76. *mediaque in voce*: cf. 4, 204; 4, 277: *medio sermone*; 4, 388: *medium . . . sermonem*; 4, 663.

76. *resistit*: cf. Ov. H. 13, 121: *semper in his apte narrantia verba resistunt*.

77. nunc eadem labente die convivium quaerit,  
Iliacosque iterum demens audire labores  
exposcit pendetque iterum narrantis ab ore.

ores *M* (ore *M*<sup>1</sup>).

77. labente die: *Gl. Ansil.* 326, 34; *Gl. Abol.* 140, 2. 77. convivium quaerit: *Gl. Ansil.* 145, 2030.

78. Iliacos labores: *Gl. Ansil.* 290, 24.

79. pendetque . . . ore: *Arus. Ex. Eloc.* (G. L. K. 7, 500); *Serv. Aen.* 6, 151; *Schol. Dan. Aen.* 8, 631 — narrantes *F* —; *Donat. in Ter. Eun.* 1079 — pendetque i. n. a. o.; *vid. var. lect. in ed. Wessneri* —.

77. nunc: cf. 4, 74, n. (*nunc*).

77. eadem: doubtless modifying *convivium* (cf. Kroll in *Glotta*, 5 (1914), 343), though by Gossrau and others less appropriately construed as referring to Dido; cf. Jahn in *Burs. Jahresh.* 196 (1924), 256. Virgil means the same (sort of) banquets (as previously); cf. 1, 699–756.

77. labente die: cf. 11, 914: *die labente*; the verb is used of the insensible passage of time in general (*aetas*, as in Tib. 1, 8, 48; *tempora*, in Ov. *F.* 6, 771) or its subdivisions (e.g., *lustra* in *Aen.* 1, 283; *anni*, G. 1, 6: *labentem caelo quae ducitis annum*; *Aen.* 2, 14; Hor. *C.* 2, 14, 2; Ov. *Trist.* 4, 10, 27; *F.* 1, 65), the thought being probably suggested by the movement of the heavenly bodies through the sky (cf. 3, 155: *sidera . . . labentia caelo*; 4, 524: *medio volvuntur sidera lapsu*). Cf. *Stat. Silv.* 4, 6, 3–4: *iam moriente die rapuit me cena benigni / Vindicis*.

77. convivium quaerit: so Alcinoüs presses Odysseus (*Od.* 11, 373–374): *νῦν δ' ἥδε μάλα μακρὴ ἀθέσφατος· οὐδέ πω ὤρη/εὔδεν ἐν μεγάρῳ· σὺ δέ μοι λέγε θεσκελα ἔργα*; cf. *Stat. Silv.* 4, 2, 1–4: *regia Sidoniae convivium laudat Elissae, / qui magnum Aenean Laurentibus intulit arvis, / Alcinoique dapēs mansuro carmine monstrat, / aequore qui nullo reducem consumpsit Ulixem*; Val. *Fl.* 7, 118–120.

78. Iliacos . . . labores: not limited to the fall of Troy but including the wanderings of the Trojans, for the adjective is applied to ships (e.g., 4, 46; 4, 537; 5, 607), battle-lines (10, 635; 12, 861), etc., at other places than at Troy.

78. iterum: note the anaphora with *iterum* in the next line, each used postposi-

tively. With the situation cf. Ov. *Ars am.* 2, 127–128: *haec (sc. Calypso) Troiae casus iterumque iterumque rogabat, / ille referre aliter saepe solebat idem*; Prop. 2, 22, 49–50: *et rursus puerum quaerendo audita fatigat, / quem, quae scire timet, quaerere plura iubet*; Val. *Fl.* 2, 351–354: *praecipueque ducis casus mirata requirit / Hypsipyle, quae fata trahant, quae regis agat vis, / . . . unius haeret / alloquio et blandos paulatim colligit ignes*. Donatus remarks: *consumptis omnibus inventionibus, cum iam nihil esset quod ad moras proficere potuisset quodque ipsa ulterius monstraret aut diceret, ipsum volebat iterum narrare labores atque ultimos exitus Troiae. demens, inquit, utpole quae ante paululum narrata iterum desideraret audire*; cf. *Shakesp. Tit. Andron.* Act 3, Sc. 2: “To bid Aeneas tell the tale twice o’er, / How Troy was burnt and he made miserable.”

78. demens: cf. 4, 8, n. (*male sana*); Pichon, *De Sermone amatorio* (1902), 126.

78. audire: no indication is given of any linguistic difficulties arising between the Trojan Aeneas (doubtless speaking in a Greek dialect) and the Semite Dido, any more than later between Aeneas and the Latins or the Etruscans. An interpreter would have detracted much from the spirited effect of the dialogue, and the arbitrary suppression of the question altogether is not uncommon in epic; cf. 4, 305, n. (*dissimulare, etc.*), below; Gehman, *The Interpreters of foreign Languages among the Ancients* (1914), 62; also, on the subject in general, Snellman, *De Interpretibus Romanorum* (1914–1919), especially 1, 40–51; 2, 61–80, for the use of interpreters between the Romans and Carthaginians.

80. post ubi digressi, lumenque obscura vicissim  
luna premit suadentque cadentia sidera somnos,

digressum *C*<sup>1</sup>. vicissim (ui et iss in ras.) *R*.

praemit *F* (corr. *F*<sup>1</sup>) *bp*. suadet *F* (suadent *F*<sup>1</sup>). somnus *p*.

80-81. obscura luna: *Gl. Ansil.* 404, 20. 80. post . . . vicissim: *Schol. Dan. Aen.* 4, 1.  
[80] 81. cadentia sidera: *Gl. Abol.* 108, 30.

On the infinitive cf. Lohmann, *De Graecismo-rum Usu Vergiliano* (1915), 73.

78. labores: for the assonance cf. 4, 54, n. (*amore*); for the phraseology *Troiae labores* (1, 597; 6, 56; 9, 202); also 1, 373: (*si*) *vacet annalis nostrorum audire laborum*; 2, 11: *Troiae supremum audire laborem*.

79. exposcit: with the infinitive in *Sil.* 8, 78; *Tac. Ann.* 14, 13; with the accusative and infinitive in *Aen.* 9, 193.

79. pendet: cf. Catull. 64, 69-70: *illa vicem curans toto ex te pectore, Theseu, / toto animo, tota pendebat perdita mente*; *Lucr.* 1, 37: *equae tuo pendet resupini spiritus ore*; *Ov. H.* 1, 30: *narrantis coniunx pendet ab ore viri*; *Curt.* 3, 6, 10: *spiritus meus ex te pendit*; [Quintil.] *Decl.* 301: *habes uxorem . . . quae tota ex tuo vultu pendeat*; *Sil.* 6, 565: *pendent ex ore loquentum*; 8, 93: *ad vultus conversa tuos, ab imagine pendet*; *Val. Fl.* 1, 481: *pervigil Arcadio Tiphys pendebat ab astro*; *Map, De Nugis Curialium*, 4, 1: *ab ore narrantis pendentem*; *Mozley in Cl. Weekly*, 26 (1933), 178. The verb implies close attention and resembles some uses of *κρεμάννυμι*, as well as the English expression "hang on the lips"; *Tasso, Ger. lib.* 1, 10, 7: *della bocca intento pende*; 7, 14, 1-2: *pende / dalla soave bocca intentia*. For the rapt attention paid to the recital of Aeneas cf. 2, 1: *conticuere omnes intentique ora tenebant*; 3, 716: *intentis omnibus*.

80. post ubi digressi: for the omission of the copula cf. 4, 53, n. (*dum, etc.*). *Post ubi* is a frequent verse beginning, from Lucretius on; e.g., *Lucr.* 3, 451; 5, 886; 6, 128; *Virg. G.* 3, 235; 4, 189; 4, 544; 4, 552; *Aen.* 5, 362; *Aetna*, 378; *Paul. Nol. Carm.* 28, 138.

80. obscura: it is unnecessary with *Bell* (*The Latin Dual* (1923), 321; 392) to explain this by hypallage as equivalent to *obscurum*, for the moon may itself be properly described

as *obscura* (e.g., 6, 453-454; *Aug. Ep.* 93, 30), and the word here gains especial force from juxtaposition with *vicissim*, the moon growing faint, in her turn, as the sun had done — a thought suggested by the *Scholia Danielis* (*ad loc.*): *an ipsa luna suum lumen reprimat, occidens et se obscurans*, and elaborated by Henry (*Aeneidea*, 2 (1878), 610-612) with various parallels. The banquet began near sunset (*labente die*) and ended toward morning (*cadentia sidera*). This is later than the usual bedtime, for in 4, 524 everyone is asleep at a time when the stars are in the middle of their course. It is remarkable what an important part of the Dido story is laid in the night-time; e.g., 1, 697 — 4, 5; 4, 77-85; 4, 460-473; 4, 522-583. Achilles Tatius describes (1, 6, 3-4) the greater effect of emotions during the repose of night-time: *δταν γάρ ἀναπαύηται τὸ σῶμα, τότε σχολάζει τὸ ἔλκος νοσέει· τὰ δὲ τῆς ψυχῆς τραύματα, μὴ κινουμένου τοῦ σώματος, πολὺ μᾶλλον δύνῃ. ἐν ἡμέρᾳ μὲν γὰρ ὀφθαλμοὶ καὶ ὤτα πολλῆς γεμιζόμενα περιεργίας ἐπικουφίζει τῆς νόσου τὴν ἀκμὴν, ἀντιπεριάγοντα τὴν ψυχὴν τῆς εἰς τὸ πονεῖν σχολῆς· ἐὰν δὲ ἡσυχία τὸ σῶμα πεδῇ, καθ' ἑαυτὴν ἡ ψυχὴ γενομένη τῷ κακῷ κυμαίνεται. πάντα γὰρ ἐξεγείρεται τότε τὰ τέως κοιμώμενα· τοῖς πενθοῦσιν αἱ λύπαι· τοῖς μερμνῶσιν αἱ φροντίδες· τοῖς κινδυνεύουσιν οἱ φόβοι· τοῖς ἐρώσει τὸ πῦρ.*

81. suadentque, etc.: in discussing *G.* 4, 496 (*fata vocant, condūque natantia lumina somnus*), *Glover (Virgil, 2 ed. (1912), 178)* remarks upon "the rare and sleepy rhythm," and compares the description of overwhelming sleep in *Aen.* 5, 856: *cunctantique natantia lumina solvit*; cf. also the analysis of the metre by Knight, *Virgil's Troy* (1932), 19. Other passages by rhythm (or phraseology combined with rhythm) suggestive of sleep are: Catull. 64, 122-123: *aut ut eam devinc-*

## 82. sola domo maeret vacua stratisque relictis

amaret *F* (maeret *F*<sup>1</sup>), aeret *M* (maeret *M*<sup>1</sup>). uaque *P*<sup>1</sup>.

82-83. stratisque . . . incubat: *Serv. Aen.* 4, 659. 82. sola . . . vacua: *Non. p.* 344 *M.* (*p.* 545 *L.*); *Serv. Ecl.* 10, 48 — maneret *H* —; *Schol. Dan. G.* 4, 90 — meret *V* —. 82. domo vacua: *Gl. Ansil.* 187, 128 — uaque —. 82. stratisque relictis: *Anth. Lat. no.* 15, 116 (*I.*, *p.* 54 *Riese*); *Quaest. gram. Cod. Bern.* 83 (*Anecd. Helv.* 188).

tam lumina somno / liquerit (cf. *Cir.* 206: iamque adeo dulci devinctus lumina somno); 64, 188: non tamen ante mihi languescunt lumina morte; *Virg. G.* 4, 413-414: qualem / videris incepto legeret cum lumina somno; *Aen.* 2, 8-9: iam nox umida caelo / praecipital suadentque cadentia sidera somnos (partly identical with the present line); 4, 185: nec dulci declinat lumina somno (cf. *Auct. De Viro bono*, 14: in dulcem declinans lumina somnum); 10, 418: canentia lumina solvit; 10, 463: victoremque ferant morientia lumina Turni (of the sleep of death); 10, 745-746: urget / somnus, in aeternam clauduntur lumina noctem; *Cul.* 93: languentia corpora somno; *Ov. H.* 12, 107: flammea subduxi medicato lumina somno; 20, 199: nec loquor, et tecto simulatur lumine somnus; *M.* 1, 714: succubuisse oculos adopertaque lumina somno; *F.* 2, 635: iamque ubi suadebit placidos nox umida somnos; *Calpurn.* 3, 47: disperdit lumina somno; *Val. Fl.* 1, 300: mox ubi victa gravi ceciderunt lumina somno; 3, 33: leves spargebant sidera somnos; 3, 69: declinant lumina Thebae; 8, 85-86: luctantia lumina cantu / obruit; *Luc.* 3, 8-9: inde soporifero cesserunt languida somno / membra ducis; *Stat. Theb.* 1, 389: invitat tenuis ad dura cubilia somnos; 1, 585: suadetque leves cava fistula somnos; 2, 30-31: ni deus horrentem Lethaeo vimine mulcens / ferrea tergemino domuisset lumina somno; 2, 124: et undanti perfundit vulnere somnum; 2, 642-643: procurbere pares fati, miserabile votum / mortis, et alterna clausurunt lumina dextra; 5, 539-540: fugit illicet artus / somnus, et in solam patuerunt lumina mortem; 7, 463: tenuis demisit lumina somnus; 10, 302-303: tali miseris deus aliger umbra / incubat et tantum morientia lumina solvit; 11, 558: cerno graves oculos atque ora natantia leto; *Silv.* 5, 4, 4: et simulant fessos curvata cacumina somnos; *Sil.*

5, 529: longo componit lumina somno; 7, 204: donec composuit luctantia lumina Somnus; 7, 292-293: taurino membra iacebat / effultus tergo et mulcebat tristitia somno; 7, 633: erratque niger per lumina somnus; 10, 152-153: dum supremam Telesinus in auras / exhalat lucem et dubitantia lumina condit; 11, 368: solvit convivia somnus; 12, 249-250: atris / decrescens tenebris languentia lumina condit; 13, 641: implebat quamquam languentia lumina somnus; *Seren. Samm.* 998: gravem dispellunt lumina somnum; *Anon. Genesis*, 34 (*Patr. Lat.* 2, 1156): illicet irriguo persuadit lumina somno; *Anth. Lat. no.* 253, 125 (*I.*, *p.* 207 *Riese*): deponit lumina somno; *no.* 808, 108 (2, *p.* 289 *Riese*): omnia fessa domat caelestia sidera somnus; *Claud. Carm. min.* 30, 91: si placido cessissent lumina somno; *Paul. Nol. Carm.* 21, 635: ad tempus placido sopiri corpora somno; *Venant. Fort. Misc.* 3, 36, 3 (*Patr. Lat.* 88, 150): cum tua blanditus retineret lumina somnus; 7, 2, 9: somno languentia lumina claudo; *C. I. L.* VI, 25427, 11: et postquam fati morientia lumina solvit; *X.* 8131: maior in aeternam mersit sua lumina noctem; *Paul. Diac. Fab.* 7, 17: si tua perpetuus non claudit lumina somnus; *Anon. Vita Leudegarii*, 1, 326 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 3, 15): suadebantque cadentia sidera somnum; *Gualterus, Alexandreis*, 5, 204: fertur et aeterno clauduntur lumina somno; 9, 282: aeterno sopivit lumina somno; *Vida, Bombycum*, 1, 293: demittit lumina somno; *Christias*, 4, 824: placida clausurum lumina morte; *Aonius Palearius, De Anim. Immortal.* 1, 488: sunt quae non dulci declinent lumina somno; *Molsa, Eleg. ad Hen. Brit. Reg.* 201: ut neque iam dulci declinet lumina somno; *Tasso, Ger. lib.* 19, 131, 8: che'l cader de le stelle al sonno invita; *Milton, Sylvae, In V. Novemb.* 187: lumina non umquam tacito nulantia somno; cf. *La Roche in Wiener Stud.*

23 (1902), 125; Norden, 2 ed. of Book VI (1916), 434. With the closing of the hexameter by some form of *somnus* preceded by a dactyl cf. Hom. *Il.* 2, 2: *Δία δ' ὅκ' ἔχε ἥδυμος ἴππος* (cf. 4, 131; 11, 241; 14, 242; 16, 454; etc.).

81. *cadentia sidera somnos*: other such verse-endings with words of a diminishing number of syllables are found in lines 64, 89, 202, 236, 313, 323, 340, 344, 412, 416, 500, 635, 642, 674, 608; cf. 4, 132, n. (*canum vis*).

Serv. *Aen.* 2, 9 remarks: *cadentia sidera: aut epitheton est siderum quae semper et oriuntur et occidunt; aut certe maiorem partem noctis vult esse transactam*; cf. Virg. *Aen.* 8, 59: *primisque cadentibus astris*; Dante, *Inf.* 7, 98: *già ogni stella cade*. Many such expressions, relating to the stars and to night, are discussed in the Heyne-Wagner edition, 4, 400-401.

81. *somnos*: for the plural cf. G. 1, 342; 2, 470; 3, 435; 3, 530; *Aen.* 2, 9; 4, 244; 4, 530; 4, 555; 4, 560; 7, 88; 7, 754; also the phrase *in somnis* (1, 353; 2, 270; 3, 151; 4, 353; 4, 466; 4, 557; 12, 908; for which cf. Stearns, *Stud. of the Dream as a technical Device in Lat. Epic and Drama* (1927), 21, n. 65; Löfstedt, *Syntactica* (1928), 50-54); and for this plural in general Spitta, *Quaestiones Vergilianae* (1867), 37-38; Braumüller, *Ueber Trophen u. Figuren in Vergil's Aeneis*, 1 (1877), 15.

82. *sola*: cf. 4, 32, n. (*solane, etc.*); Val. Fl. 7, 115-116 (of Medea): *oraeque quaerens / hospitii, aut solo maeret defecta cubili*; Stat. *Theb.* 1, 166: *vacua cum solus in aula*. Terzaghi, *Virgilio ed Enea* (1928), 19, n. 20, would trace this line, through Philetas or Parthen. *Narr.* 2, 2 (where Polymela, abandoned by Odysseus, grieves over the objects he has left behind), to Sappho, 19 (54), 4: *ἔγω δὲ μόνα κατεῖδω*; where see the parallels noted by Smyth, *Greek melic Poets* (1906), 243. Servius says: *sola: sine eo quem amabat; nam regina sola esse non poterat. est autem Plauti, qui inducit inter multos amatores positum dicentem quod solus sit*; and the Schol. Dan. add: *ut ipse alibi (Ecl. 10, 48): me sine sola vides, quam constabat Antonii castra comitatam, sed 'sola' sine amatore tuo*.

There is no evidence that Aeneas lodged in Dido's palace during his stay at Carthage.

At 1, 627 he is invited in (cf. 1, 631-632) and stays through the banquet occupying the rest of Book I and Books II and III. At 3, 718 the verb *quievit* gives no clue where he spent the night. Even Iarbas (4, 214) makes no charge that Aeneas lives at the palace, and at 4, 140-142 the Trojans seem to come from a different direction from that of Dido's party. Aeneas's building activities (4, 260) are in the daytime; at 4, 396 he returns to the fleet, and it is presumably to and from it that Anna carries messages (4, 424; 4, 438); while at 4, 554-555 Aeneas is sleeping on shipboard. It is a not unreasonable inference that he lived on or near the ships and came to the palace only for banquets or special occasions.

82. *vacua*: cf. Apoll. Rh. 1, 285: *δμῶς ὅπως κενεοῖσι λελείφθαι ἐν μεγάρουσιν*. The Schol. Dan. G. 4, 90 remark: '*vacua*' hic ad aemulum refertur, ut 'sola domo maeret vacua,' in qua maritus non erat. Cf. Catull. 64, 168 (said by the lonely Ariadne): *nec quisquam adparet vacua mortalis in alga*; Ov. *Am.* 1, 1, 26: *in vacuo pectore regnat Amor*; 3, 10, 2; *Remed. Am.* 752: *de vacuo pectore cedat amor*; Prop. 1, 1, 34; 1, 9, 27; 1, 10, 30; 1, 15, 19; *Hypsipyle vacuo constitit in thalamo*; 2, 33, 22; 3, 17, 11; *Consol. ad Liv.* 328: *in vacui parte priore toris*; Luc. 5, 31: *vacuas . . . domos*.

82. *stratis*: cf. 1, 176; 4, 392; 8, 367; 8, 415; Ov. *M.* 5, 34; Luc. 5, 790-791. So in 4, 650 associations are renewed by lying upon a familiar couch; cf. Apoll. Rh. 3, 655-657: *λέκτροισιν πρηνῆς ἐνικάππεσεν εἰλιχθεῖσα / ὥς δ' ὅτε τις νύμφη θαλερόν πόνον ἐν θαλάμοισιν / μύρεται*; 3, 661-662: *ἡ δ' ἔνδοθεν δαισμένη περ / σίγα μάλα κλαίει χῆρον λέχος εἰσορώσα* (where Rütten, *De Vergilii Studiis Apollonianis* (1912), 68, observes that Virgil has combined into a single concept the fact and the simile of Apollonius); Ov. *Ep.* 10, 51-54: *saepe torum repeto, qui nos acceperat ambos / . . . / et tua, quae possum, pro te vestigia tango / strataque quae membris intepuere tuis*; 15, 149: *incubui tetigique locum qua parte fuisti*; in Sil. 8, 90 Anna says of Dido: *sacrum timui tetigisse cubile*. In the present case the *stratis* seem to be those of the banquet hall; cf. Ov. *M.* 5, 34.

82. *relictis*: Schol. Dan.: *potest intelligi ab Aenea, which seems probable* (cf. 2, 2: *toro paler Aeneas sic orsus ab alto*), rather than



## 83. incubat. illum absens absentem auditque videtque,

[82] 83. illum . . . videtque: *Donat. in Ter. Ad. 668* — absentes audit et videt *C* —; *Donat. in Ter. Hec. 350* — illum absens abs. a. u. —; *Serv. Aen. 4, 4* — uiditque *F* —; *Gloss. apud Barth, Advers. crit. (1648), 38, 14, p. 1748.* 83. auditque videtque: *Gl. Ansil. 72, 87* — audetque —.

that it means the bed left by Sychaeus at his death, or one from which Dido herself had risen and to which she now returned (Heyne-Wagner (*ad loc.*) compare *Luc. 5, 790-791*).

83. absens absentem: *Schol. Dan.: unum suffecerat; sic (10, 600) 'et fratrem ne desere frater.' Terentius (Ad. 668) 'praesens praesentem eripi, etc.'* Kvíčala, *Vergil-Studien (1878), 258-259*, cites other Virgilian cases of such polyptoton in *G. 2, 109; Aen. 1, 684; 3, 159-160; 3, 329; 5, 447; 5, 569; 7, 656-657; 10, 360; 10, 361; 10, 600; 10, 734; 11, 632; 12, 139*; as well as instances in other Greek and Latin poets, and an even larger Virgilian collection is that of Hahn, *Coordination of non-coordinate Elements in Vergil (1930), 12, n. 54*; cf. also Breazeale in *Stud. in Philol. 14 (1917), 314 and nn.* With ἐκόνθ' ἐκόντι (as in *Aesch. Prom. 218*) the repetition emphasizes the mutuality of the relation, as here with *absens absentem*.

With the general situation cf. 4, 3, n. (*multa . . . multus*) and especially *Apoll. Rh. 3, 453-458* there quoted; 4, 4, n. (*haerent*); *Sil. 8, 136-138: diem et convivia mente reduxit / festasque adventu mensas teque ordine Troiae / narrante longos, se pervigilante, labores*; also *Ter. Eun. 192-195; Lucr. 4, 1061-1062: nam si abest quod ames, praesto simulacra tamen sunt / illius et nomen dulce observatur ad auris*; *Hor. C. 4, 1, 37-40; Ov. H. 7, 25-26; Consol. ad Liv. 325-328; Quintil. 6, 2, 29-30; Plut. Amat. 16: αἱ τῶν ἐρώτων (sc. φαντασίου), διαλεγόμενων ὡς πρὸς παρόντας, ἀσπασόμενων, ἐγκαλούντων; Val. Fl. 7, 196-197; Maximian, 4, 18-20 (Poet. Lat. min. 5, 337); etc.* It is not clear whether Dido's imaginings are in wakeful or in sleeping moments; if we force the expression *si . . . possit* in line 85 we might infer the former, though it may merely refer to a sense of conscious effort to do or feel something which one sometimes experiences in dreams. Other references in this book to dreams are in lines 9; 351-353; perhaps 461-462; 465-473; 554-570.

83. auditque videtque: = *Ov. M. 1, 769*; such doubling of *-que* at the end of a verse (an imitation of *τε . . . τε*, appearing, from *Il. 1, 167* on, in many examples) is paralleled by cases of *-ve . . . -ve* (e.g., 9, 211) and *-ne . . . -ne* (e.g., 12, 321), and appears in Ennius, Accius, Lucilius, Cicero, Catullus, Lucretius, and often in Virgil (other cases in this book are lines 558, 581, 605, 629, 682), being used with words of differing lengths, sometimes combined with hypermetry (e.g., 4, 558; 4, 629), and sometimes extended to a triple (e.g., 6, 483) or a quadruple (e.g., 6, 683) polysyndeton (for which cf. *Quintil. 9, 3, 51*, citing *G. 3, 344-345*). On the whole subject and for statistics of the frequency of use in different poets cf. *Belling, Stud. ii. d. Compositions-kunst Vergils i. d. Aeneide (1899), 234-236*; *Christensen in Archivf. lat. Lex. 15 (1907), 165-211*; *Smith on Tib. 1, 1, 33*. Sight and hearing are often mentioned as two of the principal vehicles of love; e.g., *Catull. 51, 3-4: qui sedens adversus identidem te / spectat et audit*.

Janell in his edition sets off *illum . . . videtque* as parenthetical, but *aut* seems more aptly to connect Aeneas (*illum*) and Ascanius than *incubat* and *detinet*, and the parenthesis is harsh and awkward.

84. aut, etc.: for the chance acrostic in this and the following four lines (*adnet*) cf. *Hilberg in Wiener Stud. 21 (1900), 295*, who notes (pp. 296; 299) two other cases in this book (340-344: *maure*; 341-345: *aures*). The situation here described is told by Anna to Aeneas in *Sil. 8, 88-94: mox turbida anhelum / rettulit in thalamos cursum subitque tremore / substitit et sacrum timuit tetigisse cubile. / inde amens nunc sideream fulgentis Iuli / effigiem fovet amplexu, nunc tota repente / ad vultus conversa tuos, ab imagine pendet / conqueriturque tibi et sperat responsa remitti*.

84. gremio: cf. 1, 684-688: *notos pueri puer indue vultus, / ut cum te gremio accipiet*

## 84. aut gremio Ascanium, genitoris imagine capta,

gremio *M* (gremio *M*<sup>1</sup>), gremios *P*, gremio. *γb*. geneitoris *F* (genitoris *F*<sup>1</sup>), geni . . toris *b*.

84. genitoris . . . capta: *Carm. Lat. epigr. no. 424, 5 Bücheler* — capti —. 84. genitoris imagine: *Gl. Ansil. 265, 154* — genitori imaginem —.

*laetissima Dido / . . . / cum dabit amplexus atque oscula dulcia figet, / occultum inspires ignem fallasque veneno; 1, 715-719: ille ubi complexu Aeneae colloque pependit / et magnum falsi implevit genitoris amorem, / reginam petit. haec oculis, haec pectore toto / haeret et interdum gremio fovet inscia Dido / insidat quantus miserae deus.* That Cupid in the form of Ascanius attended one or more of the banquets and was fondled by Dido is the thought of the poet, despite the distress of some commentators that so young a boy should have kept such late hours (!); that he stayed after the banquets so that Dido is here actually fondling him cannot be supposed, for Aeneas would not have left his son and heir behind in this way, nor, if Cupid impersonating him had remained (though 1, 683-684 explicitly says that the impersonation was to last for not more than one night), would it have appeared natural even to the love-sick Dido. Some of the ambiguity arises from Virgil's failure to state explicitly at what point in the story Cupid ceases to appear in the form of Ascanius; cf. Conington (*ad loc.*); Bowra, *Tradition and Design in the Iliad* (1930), 101. Peerlkamp and Gossrau would meet the difficulty by keeping a literal interpretation for lines 84-85 and transposing them after line 79, but it seems more likely that the two lines represent, like line 83, the imaginings of Dido after the guests are gone, so that transposition is unnecessary. This view is preferable, I think, to supposing with Conington that Virgil is here describing the events of various days. For a Pompeian painting sometimes interpreted as Dido holding Ascanius in her lap in the presence of Aeneas and Anna cf. Reinach, *Répert. de Peintures gr. et rom.* (1922), 176, no. 5, and the works there cited. The child, however, seems very young for this identification. On the significance of *gremio* cf. Pichon, *De Sermone amatorio* (1902), 162.

The age at which Ascanius sits in Dido's lap has been much discussed, and can hardly be determined with certainty. At the fall of Troy he was led by the hand of his father, whom he accompanied *non passibus aequis* (2, 723-724), and in Book II he is five times (563, 674, 677, 710, 723) called *parvus*, a relative term, not applied to him in any other book. Since the fall of Troy seven years have passed (1, 755-756); in 3, 491 he is an adolescent (*pubesceret*; though at 5, 546 he is *impubis* while his associates (5, 599) are called *pubes*), contemporary with Astyanax were the latter alive, but Astyanax, according to *Il.* 6, 400, was a babe in arms just before the fall of Troy (cf. Potter in *Cl. Journ.* 21 (1926), 617-618). At 4, 156-159 Ascanius — perhaps 11 or 12 years old — rides a spirited horse, hunts deer, and — doubtless in boyish bravado — wishes to hunt boars and lions; at 5, 670, a few days after leaving Carthage, he delivers an address to the women who have fired the Trojan ships; and in the ninth book he has a prominent and responsible part (e.g., lines 232-233; 255-313; 501; in 9, 311 he is described as *animumque gerens curamque virilem*), though in 10, 70 Juno contemptuously calls him *puero*. The apparent inconsistencies in his age are probably due to a changing conception in Virgil's mind as the poem progressed, and some or all would have been eliminated by a final revision. On this subject of his age cf. Rossbach in *P.-W.* 2 (1896), 1613; Roiron, *Étude sur l'Imagination auditive de Virgile* (1908), 224-226; Heinze, *Virgils epische Technik*, 3 ed. (1915), 157-158; Moseley, *Characters and Epithets* (1926), 49-50; Cartault, *L'Art de Virgile dans l'Énéide*, 1 (1926), 265-266; Potter, *l.c.*; Fowler, *The Death of Turnus* (1927), 87-92, who notes (80) that Virgil ingeniously introduces him only when there is no fighting going on.

84. *Ascanium*: though two persons of this name occur in the *Iliad* (2, 862; 13, 792)

85. detinet, infandum si fallere possit amorem.  
non coeptae adsurgunt turre, non arma iuventus

falle (*corr. in fallere*) γ. amantem *F* (cf. 4, 296), imago *R* (ex v. *praeced.*).  
iuuentis *M* (iuuentus *M*<sup>1</sup>), uenus *F* (iuuentus *F*<sup>1</sup>), iuuen( ) *P*.

85. infandum . . . amorem: *Serv. Aen.* 4, 329 — possit fallere *F* —. 85. infandum amorem: *Gl. Ansil.* 299, 650.

86–89. non coeptae . . . caelo: *Donat. Aen.* 4, 191 — ingentesque aequata *L* —.

86–87. non arma exercet: *Gl. Ansil.* 394, 125.

neither is the son of Aeneas, who first appears as *Ascanius* (doubtless an eponymous name based on one of two or three *Ascanias* in Phrygia and Mysia) in the Posthomeric tradition, including the *Iliupersis* of Stesichorus (as reflected in the *Tabula Iliaca*); cf. Rossbach in *P.-W.* 2 (1896), 1611. Virgil in *G.* 3, 269–270 had used the name for a river.

84. *genitoris imagine*: as Aeneas is handsome (cf. 4, 11, n. (*ore ferens*), above), so the beauty of Ascanius is emphasized (e.g., 5, 570: *forma . . . ante omnis pulcher Iulus*; 7, 107: *pulcher Iulus*; 7, 477–478: *pulcher . . . Iulus*; 10, 132–138 (too long to quote); cf. *Sil.* 8, 91–92 (quoted in note on *aut*, etc. above); Sainte-Beuve, *Étude sur Virgile* (1857), 311, and it is not likely that Cupid, when impersonating him, was any less well-favored. Dido supposes (4, 329) that a child of Aeneas would resemble his father, and other writers often mention such real or supposed family likenesses; e.g., *Apul. M.* 10, 3; *Synes. Ep.* 56 (of a girl to her uncle).

84. *capta*: cf. Pichon, *De Sermone amatorio* (1902), 99; Anon. *Vita Leudegarii*, 1, 251 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 3, 13): *imagine captus*.

85. *detinet*: cf. 1, 670–671: *nunc Phoenissa tenet Dido blandisque moratur / vocibus*.

85. *infandum*: cf. 4, 76, n. (*incipit*, etc.). Virgil means a love for which she could find no expression (cf. the *infandum . . . dolorem* of 2, 3), and Henry (*Aeneidea*, 2 (1878), 613) well compares Aristaen. 1, 16: Ἐρωτὶ περιπεσὼν ἀπορήτω. A thing may be indescribable through sentimental emotion (as here), or through strangeness (3, 644, of the Cyclopes) and loathing (as in 2, 132; 4, 613; 7, 583; 8, 483; 12, 804; etc.). The Schol. Dan. here say: *infandum iuxta iudicium reginae, ut illa sentiebat; vult enim eam culpae eximere. alii*

'infandum' quia falli non potest accipiunt, hoc est, ipsam libidinem, in cuius vicem nihil subponi potest. With the phraseology cf. *Sil.* 6, 193: *infandum si posset [al. possit] fallere monstrum*.

85. *si*: with this loosely connected condition cf. 6, 78–79: *bacchatur vates, magnum si pectore possit / excussisse deum*.

85. *fallere*: cf. 4, 296: *quis fallere possit amantem*; *Hor. S.* 2, 2, 12: *studio fallente laborem* (= *Ov. M.* 6, 60); 2, 7, 114: *iam vino quaerens, iam somno fallere curam*; *Ov. Tr.* 3, 2, 16: *fallebat curas aegraque corda labor*; 5, 7, 39: *detineo studiis animum, falloque labores*; *Ex Pont.* 4, 10, 67: *detinui, dicam, tempus curasque fefelli*; *Sen. Apocol.* 4, 1, 17: *detinet intentas cantu fallitque laborem*.

86. *non*, etc.: cf. 4, 36, n. (*non . . . non*). Virgil here passes from the thoughts of Dido on one (or possibly more than one) night to the practical effects of her infatuation upon the building operations of the city. How long a period is described is not clear, but it is long enough to produce a contrast with the activity described in 1, 421–438; 1, 504–508 (an activity to some degree renewed at 4, 260–267); cf. Glover, *Virgil*, 2 ed. (1912), 191–192. Dido's superintendence of the work must have been here definitely interrupted, otherwise it would be ridiculous, as Gercke (*Die Entstehung der Aeneis* (1913), 42) suggests, to suppose that the masons would cease their work simply because the queen was in love. Donatus remarks: *hic ostenditur rectorem complere omnia, cum insistit et iubet, atque eius negligentia omni modo frigere universa quae ante fervebant*. So in *Sen. Phaedr.* 103–104: *Palladis telae vacant / et inter ipsas pensa labuntur manus*; etc. It is noteworthy that the fortifications are not yet completed

# 87. exercet portusve aut propugnacula bello tuta parant; pendent opera interrupta minaeque

exercit *F* (exercet *F*<sup>1</sup>). portisque *P* (portusque *P*<sup>1</sup>). que  $\gamma$ <sup>1</sup>.  
parent *M* (parant *M*<sup>2</sup>).

[86]

[86] 88-89. pendent . . . ingentes: *Non. p.* 528 *M.* (*p.* 849 *L.*). 88-89. minaeque . . . ingentes: *Serv. Aen.* 1, 162; 4, 75; *Schol. Dan. Aen.* 2, 240; *Porphy.* in *Hor. C.* 3, 4, 54 (*ed. Hauthal*); *Schol. Lucan.* 7, 450. 88-89. minaeque murorum: *Serv. Aen.* 2, 628. 88. pendent . . . interrupta: *Serv. Aen.* 4, 75; 4, 655; 4, 656; *Schol. Dan. Aen.* 8, 631. 88. minae: *Gl. Ansil.* 370, 79; *q.v.*

(cf. also 4, 260), though in 1, 726 Dido's banquet hall is already elaborately furnished. On the slow metre of this passage, appropriate for the delay of the work, cf. *Maxa* in *Wiener Stud.* 19 (1897), 88.

86. *adsurgunt*: cf. 1, 365-366: *ubi nunc ingentia cernis / moenia surgentemque novae Karthaginis arcem*; 1, 437: *o fortunati, quorum iam moenia surgunt*; *Ov. H.* 7, 11-12: *nec te crescentia tangunt / moenia*; *Avien.* 3, 375-376: *surgentia . . . / templa*.

86. *arma*: with the phrase *arma . . . exercet* the *Schol. Dan.* compare 8, 424: *ferrum exercebant*. Cf. also *Val. Max.* 5, 1, 3: *in quo . . . exerceas arma*; *Ov. M.* 13, 54: *exercet spicula*; *Val. Fl.* 3, 161-162: *arcus exercet*; *Sen. De Benef.* 5, 16, 5: *arma cruentius exercuerunt*; *Tac. Ann.* 11, 16: *arma contra patriam . . . exercuisse*. The phrase suggests, as noted by *Masera (ad loc.)*, the *Campus Martius* at Rome.

87. *portus*: cf. 1, 427: *hic portus alii effodiunt*; and the *Schol. Dan.* on that passage: *effodiunt ut portus scilicet faciant. et vere ait, nam Carthaginenses Cothone fossa utuntur, non naturali portu* (*Paul. ex Fest. p.* 37 *M.*: *Cothones appellantur portus in mari interiores arte et manu facti*; *Strab.* 17, 3, 15: *καὶ τοῦ στόματος τοῦ Κῶθωνος φρουρουμένου διώρυξαν ἄλλο στόμα*; *App. Pun.* 127); also the full treatment by *Oehler* in *P.-W.* 10 (1917), 2180-2190 (with maps). For the plural cf. 4, 588; 4, 612; etc.; *Braumüller, Ueber Trophen u. Figuren in Vergil's Aeneis*, 1 (1877), 12. The change by some editors to *portas* is unjustifiable.

87. *propugnacula*: *Schol. Dan.*: *quibus porro pugnatur*; *Aen.* 9, 170: *pontisque et*

*propugnacula iungunt*; 9, 664: *il clamor totis per propugnacula muris*; *Tac. H.* 2, 19: *solidati muri, propugnacula addita, auctae turres*. Though *Stat. Silv.* 3, 3, 101-102 speaks of *propugnacula . . . aequoris* there seems no need here to interpret the word as 'breakwaters,' but rather as the ramparts of the city walls.

88. *parant*: cf. *Caes. B.G.* 5, 42, 5: *turres . . . falces testudinesque . . . parare ac facere coeperunt*.

88. *pendent*: cf. *Sil.* 1, 581: *rerum omnes pendent actus*; a poetical and (in later prose) a legal use of the verb; *Mozley* (in *Cl. Weekly*, 26 (1933), 178) compares *Prop.* 4, 7, 5.

88. *opera* = *fabricae*, according to *Nonius*, *p.* 528 *M.* The term may well cover, however, the *minae* and *machina* which follow.

88. *minae*: *Serv.*: *eminentiae murorum, quas pinnas dicunt*; *Schol. Dan.*: *quidam 'minaeque' ad interrupta opera referunt, ut quae imperfecta sunt sic videantur, quasi ruinam minentur*. The word is used of projecting tops (*Avien.* 4, 138-139: *montium minae / caelo inseruntur*), and especially of merlons on city walls; cf. *Amm. Marc.* 20, 6, 2: *propugnatores . . . ingentibus animis per turres discurrerebat et minas*; 24, 2, 12: *in qua excelebant minae murorum, bitumine et coctilibus laterculis fabricatae, quo aedificii genere nihil esse tutius constat*; 24, 2, 19: *circumfusi . . . per turres ac moenium minas*; 29, 6, 11: *ad usque celsarum turrium minas expediit*. For *pinnae* (or *pennae*) cf. *Caes. B.G.* 5, 40, 6: *turres contabulantur, pinnae loricaeque ex cratibus atlexuntur*; 7, 72, 4;

## 89. murorum ingentes aequataque machina caelo.

morum (moerorum ?) *c*<sup>1</sup>. *macchina* *Pγ*.

[86\*, 88] 89. aequata caelo: *Gl. Ansil.* 36, 195.

Quadrig. ap. Gell. 9, 1, 1: *a pinnis hostis defendebant facillime funditore*; Aen. 7, 158-159: *sedes / castrorum in morem pennis atque aggere cingit*. Several city walls shown on the Column of Trajan, for example, display such merlons. Heyne and others have objected that *minae* in the sense of *pinnae* is a late and technical rather than poetic usage, and that the expression is here figurative, like 2, 235-236: *rotarum / . . . lapsus*; 4, 132: *odora canum vis*, etc. Cf. also 1, 162-163: *vastae rupes geminique minantur / in caelum scopuli*; Spenser, *Mother Hubbard's Tale*, 1173-1174: "and lifted up his loftie towres thereby, / that they began to threat the neighbour sky." As between the literal and the figurative explanations of *minae* it is difficult to decide — and perhaps not absolutely essential.

89. *ingentes*: on this favorite and overworked Virgilian adjective cf. Sellar, *Virgil*, 2 ed. (1883), 420; Henry, *Aeneidea*, 3 (1889), 39-45, with classification of the objects to which it is applied; Bilețchi in *Primitiae Caernovicienses* (1909), 12-13; Mackail in *Cl. Rev.* 26 (1912), 251-254; Conway in *Cl. Rev.* 26 (1912), 254-255. The word does not occur in the *Eclogues* (Wetmore, *Index Verborum Vergilianus* (1911), 240), but is found 199 times in the *Georgics* and *Aeneid* (once in every 60 lines); in this book, however, it occurs but three other times (lines 181, 402, 505), or once in 176 lines.

89. *aequata . . . caelo*: cf. 2, 185-186; 2, 460-461; 4, 177 (and notes); 6, 178; 8, 99-100: *tecta vident, quae nunc Romana potentia caelo / aequavit*; Val. Fl. 2, 491: *Neptunus muros cum iungeret astris*; Sil. 2, 599-600: *certainim structus surrectae molis ad astra / in media stetit urbe rogos*; 3, 624: *et iungel nostro templorum culmina caelo*; 14, 300: *turris, multiplici surgens ad sidera tecto*; Stat. Theb. 4, 358-360: *fide sacra / aequatos caelo surdum atque ignobile muros / firmat opus*; Mart. 8, 36, 1-12, especially 11-

12: *haec, Auguste, lamen, quae vertice sidera pulsant, / par domus est caelo*; Anon. *Panegyrr. Const.* 23, 5 (*Panegyrr. Lat.* p. 219 Baehrens, ed. 2): *sedemque iustitiae in tantam altitudinem suscitari ut se sideribus et caelo digna et vicina promittant*; also the Greek word *ὀβριονήκης*; Hunziker, *Die Figur der Hyperbel in den Gedichten Vergils* (1896), 63-65; Zabughin, *Vergilio nel Rinascimento ital.* 1 (1921), 323, n. 120. Leopardi imitates the phrase (*Palinodia*, 50): *e le macchine al cielo emulatrici*.

89. *machina*: elsewhere in Virgil (2, 46; 2, 151; 2, 237) only of the Trojan Horse. Henry (*Aeneidea*, 2 (1878), 614-618) holds that the word here means, not any instrument of construction or of war, but the ingenious fabric (*Kunstwerk*) of the wall itself, citing such passages as *machina caeli* (Stat. *Silv.* 3, 1, 181; Claud. *De III Cons. Honor.* 169; to which may be added Avien. 2, 906; also *machina mundi* in Lucr. 5, 96; Avien. 2, 84; 2, 562), *machina rerum* (Claud. *De Rapt. Pros.* 280); etc., as well as others capable of a quite different explanation, and lays especial emphasis upon Val. Fl. 6, 383-385: *tunc ruit, ut montis latus, aut ut machina muri, / quae scopulis trabibusque diu confectaque flammis / procubuit tamen, atque ingentem propulit urbem*, where, however, the references to flames might well suggest some wooden contrivance on top of the wall. That in the present line engines of war (cf. Lamert in *P.-W.* 14 (1928), 155-157) are not meant may be inferred from the unfinished state of the wall. On the other hand, it would be highly appropriate that cranes should have been thought of by Virgil as used in the construction, and, placed high and overtopping the unfinished parts of the wall, these might from below appear on a level with the sky. For such cranes cf. Vitruv. 10, 1, 1: *machina est continens e materia coniunctio maximas ad onerum motus habens virtutes. ea movetur ex arte circulatorum rotundationibus,*

## 90. Quam simul ac tali persensit peste teneri

'simulac hyphen legendum' (*Diomed. Art. gram. 2* (G. L. K. I, 435)). pesse P. tenere F (teneri F<sup>1</sup>).

90-91. quam . . . coniunx: *Diomed. Art. gram. 2* (G. L. K. I, 435) — simulac; persensit p. t. c. i. c. —. 90. tali peste: *Gl. Ansil. 551, 130* — preste —.

quam *Graeci* κυκλικήν κίνησιν appellant; 10, 1, 2: *tractorium* vero (sc. genus) cum onera machinis pertrahuntur ut ad altitudinem sublata conlocentur; in 10, 2, 1-11 he describes different types of tackle and derricks; cf. also Cic. *In Verr.* 2, 1, 145; 2, 1, 147; Hor. *Ep.* 2, 2, 73; Suet. *Calig.* 57; Stat. *Silv.* 1, 1, 63-64: *strepit ardua pulsu / machina* (clearly of the derrick, though Henry applies it to the statue raised by it); Schol. Dan. *Aen.* 1, 424: *manibus subvolvere saxa: cur manibus? an quia adhuc machinae non erant?* For a representation cf. the tomb of the Haterii in the Lateran Museum (Reinach, *Rép. de Reliefs gr. et rom.* 3 (1912), 285). μηχανή in Greek shows uses parallel to those of *machina*. On the whole subject of lifting machines see Blümner, *Technologie u. Terminologie der Gewerbe u. Künste*, etc., 3 (1884), 111-129. Other views of the *machina* in this line as scaffoldings or as towers on the walls need hardly detain us. I believe, then, that the proper interpretation here is 'crane,' and certainly the words of Donatus seem to favor the view that it is a definite engine rather than the whole fabric of the wall: *denique cum iam opera murorum ac turrium ordinatis machinis prope perfecta viderentur et ad effectum plenum sola deesset instantia, torpuerant omnia et omnium operum fervor desertione plena languerat.*

90. quam, etc.: the following scene (90-128), like 4, 219-237 and various passages in the other books (including the intrigues of Venus in 1, 657-690, to which Gercke, *Die Entstehung der Aeneis* (1913), 44, considers this passage a companion piece), brings into the story, by the convention used by ancient writers of epic (save Lucan), the personal intervention of deities as an explanation of the course of human events. Homer (*Il.* 14, 153-223) has a scene between Hera and Aphrodite which some have thought the

original of ours, for, though Virgil's account lacks the setting of the Homeric passage, there is present the same air of intrigue; cf. Ihm, *Vergilstudien*, 1 (1902), 8. Even Euripides in his prologues had employed such a device (cf. Glover, *Virgil*, 2 ed. (1912), 181-182, citing especially the case of the *Hippolytus*), and Apollonius Rhodius introduces (3, 6-110) the pleading of Hera and Athena with Aphrodite to make Medea fall in love with Jason; cf. Rütten, *De Vergilii Studiis Apollonianis* (1912), 31-33, and Keith in *South Atlantic Quart.* 21 (1922), 69, for parallels to Virgil; and for other cases, ancient and modern, see Eichhoff, *Études grecques sur Virgile*, 1 (1825), 246. Crump (*The Epyllion* (1931), 251, n. 1) thinks Virgil's weakest passages dealing with the gods are those where he comes nearest to the spirit of Apollonius, but Bertrand (in *Annales de l'Univ. de Grenoble*, 10 (1898), 197) considers this scene a little comic interlude in the sombre drama.

Behind the contrasted figures of Aeneas and Dido appear, at intervals, those of their divine champions, Venus and Juno, like personifications of those forces (or prudential considerations) which impel Aeneas to seek Italy (4, 36: *Italiam non sponte sequor*) and those which conspire to keep him from it (1, 1-4; 1, 8-11; 1, 229-233). Nor can the connotation of the great struggles of Rome and Carthage be kept entirely out of the mind of the reader. Glover (*op. cit.*, 181) notes that this divine intervention effects nothing which could not have been produced without it (but see the opposite view of Fowler, *The Death of Turnus* (1927), 82). Yet it may be considered as another opportunity for that displaying of inner motives and that subjective expression of the author for which the cold objectivity of the epic would otherwise give little chance, and thus as playing the part

## 91. cara Iovis coniunx nec famam obstare furori,

caro *M* (cara *M*<sup>2</sup>; cf. Fairclough in *Trans. Am. philol. Assoc.* 63 (1932), 219). coniux *R*ϕγ. pudori *Rm*.

[90\*]

of a chorus in a Greek tragedy; cf. 4, 65, n. (*heu*, etc.), above. It is also a part of that careful planning in advance which so sets forth the psychology of characters that Virgil can sketch them very hastily when they come into real action. In this case such preparation had extended, here and there, through the first three books; cf. Wili, *Vergil* (n. d.), 93. Thus the gods explain, as Terzaghi (*Virgilio ed Enea* (1928), 24) notes, in an outward and formal manner the psychological progress of Dido's sensual intoxication.

On the contrasting characters of Juno and Venus as here portrayed cf. Cartault, *L'Art de Virgile dans l'Énéide*, 1 (1926), 306-308. In the arrangement of lines 90-104 Belling (*Stud. ü. d. Compositions-kunst Vergils* (1899), 206) detects a division into groups of three, followed in 105-116 by groups of four lines. With the verse beginning *quam simulac* cf. *Lucr.* 6, 440; *Aen.* 12, 222; *Cir.* 163; 220; also Catull. 64, 12.

90. *persensit*: cf. 4, 448.

90. *peste teneri*: cf. 4, 47, n. (*surgere regna*); Aug. *De Moribus Manich.* 68: *eadem peste teneri*; also Catull. 76, 20: *eripite hanc pestem perniciemque mihi*; *Aen.* 1, 712: *pesti devota futurae*; Val. Fl. 7, 252-253: *pestemque latentem / ossibus atque imi monstrabat pectoris ignem*. Servius says: *amore, incendio*, and compares 5, 683 (of literal fire).

91. *cara*: formal, like Greek φίλη (as in *Il.* 3, 138: φίλη... ἄκοιτις; 6, 495; 15, 156: φίλης ἀλόχοιο; *Od.* 9, 207); cf. *Aen.* 1, 646; 9, 84. Hence it is needless, with Wakefield, to emend to *clara*, on the ground that so quarrelsome a deity could not be dear.

91. *Iovis coniunx*: cf. 4, 45, n. (*Iunone secunda*); also 1, 46-47: *Iovisque / et soror et coniunx*; 7, 287: *saeva Iovis coniunx*; 7, 308: *magna Iovis coniunx*; 10, 607 (Jupiter speaking): *o germana mihi atque eadem gratissima coniunx*; 12, 178: *Saturnia coniunx*; also *Il.* 15, 156: φίλης ἀλόχοιο; *Orph.*

*Hymn.* 16, 2: Διὸς σύλλεκτρε μάκαιρα. The concept of Juno as the wife of Jupiter is not part of the old Roman religion, which did not recognize such divine relationships, but an imitation of the Greek wedlock of Zeus and Hera; cf. Thulin in *P.-W.* 10 (1917), 1119; Fowler, *Virgil's "Gathering of the Clans"* (1918), 39.

Juno in the *Aeneid* is the patroness of Rome's early enemies (Moseley, *Characters and Epithets* (1926), 31), particularly Carthage and various Italian cities, and therefore could be treated by Virgil with some freedom; cf. 4, 105, n. (*simulata mente*); Fowler, *Virgil's "Gathering of the Clans"* (1918), 38-40; *The Death of Turnus* (1927), 146. Her hostility to Rome and friendship for Carthage appears also in Horace (*C.* 2, 1, 25-27: *Iuno et deorum quisquis amicio / Afris inulta cesserat impotens / tellure*, etc.); 3, 3, 17-68) and Silius (Kroll, *Stud. z. Verständnis d. röm. Lit.* (1924), 165), and is recognized at the outset of the *Aeneid* (1, 12-32; in 1, 446-447 Dido is erecting a large temple to her), inspiring the advice of Helenus (3, 433-440) that the Trojans should placate her at all costs. In short, she typifies all the ideals opposed to and thwarting the development of Rome (Heinze, *Virgils epische Technik*, 3 ed. (1915), 96-98; Mackail, *Cl. Studies* (1925), 101; Moseley, *Characters and Epithets* (1926), 29-42; Perroni, *Saggio sulla Religiosità di Virgilio* (1927), 51; Frazer on *Ov. F.* 6, 41), and so is constantly hostile to Aeneas, unlike Hera's attitude toward Jason in Apollonius; cf. Mooney's ed. of *Apoll. Rh.* (1912), 34.

On the identity of this Juno cf. Klausen, *Aeneas u. d. Penaten*, 1 (1839), 506-507 and n. 822; Roscher, *Ausf. Lex.* 2 (1897), 612-615; Cumont in *P.-W.* 3 (1899), 1247-1250; Gsell, *Hist. anc. de l'Afrique du Nord*, 4 (1920), 255-258. The chief goddess of the Carthaginians, *Tanit*, was known in Latin as *Caelestis*, *Virgo Caelestis*, *Dea Caelestis*, etc.

92. talibus adgreditur Venerem Saturnia dictis:  
'egregiam vero laudem et spolia ampla refertis

talib(us ad)greditur *P*, aggreditur *b*.

93-115: *fMPR*. <egr>egiam *P*. mpla *M* (ampla *M*<sup>a</sup>).

92. talibus . . . dictis: *Donat. in Ter. Hec.* 731 — aggreditur; saturnia *om. B* —; *Arus. Ex. Eloc.* (G. L. K. 7, 452). 92. talibus adgreditur: *Gloss. ap. Barth, Advers. crit.* (1648), 38, 14, p. 1748 — aggreditur —.

93-95. egregiam . . . est: *Beda, De Schem. et Trop. sacr. Script.* (1533 ed.), 89 — nomen; diuum —. 93-94. egregiam . . . nomen: *Sacerd. Art. gram.* 1 (G. L. K. 6, 461) — tuque p. m. m. n. —. 93-94. egregiam . . . tuus: *Donat. Ars gram.* 3, 6 (G. L. K. 4, 401-402) — tuque puerque tuus *om. LP* —; *in Ter. Eun.* 894 — et s. a. r. t. p. t. —; *Pomp. Comm.* (G. L. K. 5, 310); *Iulian. Tolet. De Viliis et Figuris*, 6, 80. 93. egregiam . . . refertis: *Diomed. Art. gram.* 2 (G. L. K. 1, 462) — egregiam v. l. e. s. a. r. —; *Serv. Aen.* 7, 556 — *om. LH* (egregiam . . . laudem *add. l*) —; *Donat. in Ter. Eun.* 89 — et s. a. r. —; 93. egregiam . . . laudem: [*Iul. Rufin.*] p. 62 *Halm*; *Pomp. Comm.* (G. L. K. 5, 310); *Donat. in Ter. Eun.* 908; *Gl. Ansil.* 196, 55 — *om. vero* —.

(Roscher, *op. cit.*, 612), and by the Romans commonly identified with Juno (Cumont, *op. cit.*, 1249; Gsell, *l. c.*), though her characteristics would more naturally suggest equating her with the Phoenician *Astarte*, the Greek *Aphrodite*, and the Roman *Venus* (cf. Cumont, *op. cit.*, 1249). Herodian, 5, 6, 4, speaks of Dido as bringing her worship to her new city. At the destruction of Carthage this deity was formally evoked by Scipio and brought to Rome (Roscher, *op. cit.*, 614; Cumont, *op. cit.*, 1248), but at the founding of the Roman colony at Carthage in 122 B.C. she became its patron goddess and the place was renamed *Colonia Iunonia* (cf. Plut. *C. Gracch.* 11; Solin. 27, 11).

91. famam: cf. 4, 170.

91. furori: *Serv.*: iam non amori.

92. talibus: cf. 4, 30, n. (*sic effata*); also Cartault, *L'Art de Virgile dans l'Énéide*, 2 (1926), 817, for parallels in the *Aeneid* to *talibus . . . dictis*, of which 12, 212 and 12, 238 are in the same verse position. As in 1, 663 and 5, 780 there is no hint where the following dialogue occurs; cf. Heinze, *Virgils epische Technik*, 3 ed. (1915), 318; Henselmanns, *Die Widersprüche in Vergils Aeneis* (1914), 126.

92. adgreditur: cf. 3, 358: *his vatem adgredior dictis*; 4, 476: *dictis adgressa sororem*; 6, 387: *sic prior adgreditur dictis*; Val. Fl. 6, 587: *tunc his germanam adgreditur . . .*

*dictis*; Juven. 1, 386: *tum sic adgreditur vocis fallente veneno*; *Donat. ad loc.*: *cum dicit adgressa ostendit eam aliquid invidiose dicturam*; Schol. Dan.: *cum calliditate loquitur, et quasi ex praeparato vel ex insidiis ut alibi* (G. 4, 404) '*facile ut somno adgrediare iacentem*'; Wilms, *Qua Ratione Vergilium in Aeneide aut locuturum aliquem aut locutum esse indicaverit* (1865), 11.

92. Venerem: on her character in the *Aeneid* cf. Glover, *Virgil*, 2 ed. (1912), 297 (who contrasts the picture of her in Homer); Fowler, *The Death of Turnus* (1927), 82-84; Cartault, *L'Art de Virgile dans l'Énéide*, 1 (1926), 87-88; Moseley, *Characters and Epithets* (1926), 43-46; above, *Introd.*, p. 54.

92. Saturnia: Schol. Dan.: *ubi nocituram Iunonem poeta vult ostendere Saturniam dicit; scilicet enim Saturni stellam nocendi facultatem habere, ut alibi* (quoting 5, 606 and 12, 830) *. . . ubi autem propitiare eam promittit ait* (3, 437) '*Iunonis magnae*' *et iterum* (1, 734) '*. . . bona Iuno*.' To the four cases of *Saturnia* in the first six books (1, 23; 3, 380; 4, 92; 5, 606) this generalization would apply, and in some of the twelve cases in the last six books, where the epithet reminds the reader that Juno naturally sided with the Italians against the Trojans; cf. Moseley, *op. cit.*, 29-42. The adjective had been used by Ennius of Juno (*Ann.* 64: *Iuno Saturnia sancta dearum*); cf. Carter, *Epitheta Deorum*



94. tuque puerque tuus; magnum et memorabile nomen,  
una dolo divom si femina victa duorum est.

(tuq)ue P. numen *codd. fere omnes*, nomen *dett.*

(u)na P. diuum *codd.*

[93\*] 94. tuque . . . tuus: *Auson. Cento nupt.* 7, p. 209 *Peiper*; *Prisc. Inst.* 13, 2 (G. L. K. 3, 2); *Serv. Aen.* 2, 598; [*Acro*] in *Hor. C.* 1, 32, 10; 3, 2, 2; *Schol. Iuv.* 14, 3 (ed. *Heinrich*). 94. puerque tuus: *Gl. Ansil.* 473, 79. 94. magnum . . . nomen: *Cento Probae*, 429. 94. et . . . nomen: *Anth. Lat.* no. 10, 3 (1, p. 39 *Riese*) — nomen A, numen *edd.* — 94. memorabile nomen: *Anth. Lat.* no. 17, 334 (1, p. 74 *Riese*) — ueai A, numen *Burmman* —.

[93\*] 95. una . . . est: *Donat. in Ter. Eun.* 68 — diuum; *vid. adn. crit. Wessneri* —. 95. dolo divom: *Gl. Ansil.* 187, 71 — diuum —.

(1902), 50. For its position in the present line, separated from its noun, cf. Kvřčala, *Vergil-Studien* (1878), 66, with Virgilian parallels.

93. *egregiam*: with this sarcastic use — emphasized by initial position and by the added *vero* — cf. 6, 523: *egregia . . . coniunx*; 7, 556; *Tac. Ann.* 1, 59, 3: *egregium patrem, magnum imperatorem, fortem exercitum, quorum tot manus unam mulierculam avexerint*; *H.* 4, 32. For the thought Henry (*Aeneidea*, 2 (1878), 618) compares *Ov. M.* 3, 654–655: *quae gloria vestra est, / si puerum iuvenes, si multae fallitis unum*; and *Anth. Pal.* 7, 533, 1–2: καὶ Διὶ καὶ Βρομῶν με διάβροχον οὐ μέγ' ὀλισθεῖν, / καὶ μόνον ἐκ δοῦων, καὶ βροτῶν ἐκ μακάρων; to which add *Tib.* 1, 6, 3–4: *an gloria magna est / insidias homini composuisse deum* (sc. *Cupidinem*)? *Servius* remarks: *ironia est, inter quam et confessionem sola interest pronuntiatio; et ironia est cum aliud verba, aliud continet sensus*; *Schol. Dan.*: *singula autem hic pronuntianda sunt et morandum in singulis verbis; habent enim singula invidiam*; *Kroll in Neue Jahrbücher f. d. klass. Altert.* 21 (1908), 525, on Virgil's irony, other cases in this book being in lines 217–218, 381, and 534–544. *Kroll* compares *Eur. Med.* 509–515. See also *Ercole in Atti d. r. Accad. di . . . Palermo*, 3 Ser., 16 (1931), 222.

93. *ampla*: cf. *Nep. Cato*, 1: *amplissimum . . . triumphum*; *Anth. Lat.* no. 462, 25 (1, p. 341 *Riese*): *scilicet ad patrios referes spolia ampla penates*; *Fest. p.* 186 M.: *opima spolia . . . magnifica et ampla*; *Flodoardus Remensis, De Christi Triumphis apud Ital.*

1, 1, 241: *spolia ampla senatus*; *Anon. Vita Leudegarii*, 2, 43 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 3, 26): *spolia ampla reiecit*.

93. *refertis*: cf. 10, 542; 10, 862–863: *spolia illa cruenta / . . . referes*; *Tac. Ann.* 12, 54, 4: *spoliisque et praedas ad procuratores referre*.

94. *tuque puerque*: cf. *Ov. H.* 7, 142: *intrasses portus tuque comesque meos*; *Serv.*: *puer: filius; Graece dixit παῖς*.

94. *magnum et memorabile*: cf. *Ter. Heaut.* 314: *non fit sine periculo facinus magnum nec memorabile*; *Liv.* 39, 51, 10: *nec magnam nec memorabilem ex inermi proditoque Flamininus victoriam feret* (said by Hannibal); *Vell.* 2, 33, 1: *magnasque ac memorabiles res*; *Luc.* 4, 496–497: *nostris magnum et memorabile fati / exemplum, Fortuna, paras*; also *Ov. M.* 4, 416–417: *Bacchi memorabile Thebis / numen erat*; 10, 607–608: *habebis / Hippomene victo magnum et memorabile nomen*; *Sen. Rhet. Suas.* 6, 22: *vir magnus ac memorabilis*; *Tac. Agr.* 28: *magnum ac memorabile facinus*; cf. *Plin. Paneg.* 61; *Wölfflin in Sitzb. d. k. bayr. Akad.* 2 (1881), 67 (= *Ausgewählte Schriften* (1933), 266).

94. *memorable nomen*: cf. 2, 583–584: *etsi nullum memorabile nomen / feminea in poena est, habet haec victoria laudem*; *Luc.* 9, 964: *nomen memorabile Troiae*; *Sil.* 8, 31: *a vestro nomen memorabile Belo*; *Avien.* 2, 811: *vel fit memorabile nomen*; *C. I. L. VI.* 17622, 11: *semper memorabile nomen*. Interpretation of the phrase hinges upon whether we should read (1) *numen*, the clause

96. nec me adeo fallit veritam te moenia nostra  
suspectas habuisse domos Karthaginis altae.

(n)ec P. . . nostra b.

susceptas P (suspectas P<sup>2</sup>). carthaginis MPR, chartaginis fp, cartaginis γ, cartaginis (corr. in carthaginis) b. alte f.

96. nec . . . fallit: Gl. Ansil. 386, 85. 96. moenia nostra: Gl. Ansil. 365, 338.

97. suspectas . . . altae: Serv. Aen. I, 661.

then (a) standing in apposition with *puer*, or (b) (on the analogy of Ov. *M.* 4, 451-452: *illa sorores / nocte vocat genitas, grave et inplacabile numen*) with *luque puerque*, or (c), understanding *erit*: "it will be a great and memorable exercise of divine power" (Anthon; cf. Ammann, *Vergiliana* (1870), 6-7); or (2) *nomen*, in construction parallel to *laudem et spolia* (for *nomen referre* cf. II, 688-689). Either *numen* or *nomen*, then, can be construed; the former has the support of the older MSS and Donatus, the latter that of later MSS, of the close parallel quoted from 2, 583-584, and of the imitations in Ovid and Avienus. Servius gives no clue, but had he read *numen* it is unlikely that he would have left the phrase without comment, whereas *nomen* is so clear as to require none. Henry, who defends *numen*, would deny any sarcastic effect, as being tactless in one seeking a favor, but he seems to overlook *egregiam vero* in the preceding line, and Conington well remarks: "the words are chosen so as to be as sarcastic as possible; the triumph is of two over one, of gods over a mortal, and that not even a man but a woman." Cf. Tib. I, 6, 3-4: *an gloria magna est / insidias homini composuisse deum*; Racine, *Phèdre*, 2, 5, 681: *ces dieux qui se sont fait une gloire cruelle / de séduire le coeur d'une foible mortelle*. On the whole question cf. also Dietsch, *Theologumenon Vergil. Particula* (1853), 10-11; De la Ville de Mirmont, *Apollonios de Rhodes et Virgile* (1894), 263, n. 5.

95. *una*, etc.: note the complicated word-order, especially effective in connection with the two-fold antithesis (*una* and *duorum*, *divom* and *femina*); cf. Loewe, *Symbolae ad enarr. Serm. Poet. Lat.* 2 (1873), 8.

95. *si*, etc.: in the sense of an explanatory quod-clause paralleled by II, 705-706: *quid iam egregium, si femina forti / fidis equo*; Ov.

*M.* 3, 654-655 (quoted in 4, 93, n. (*egregiam*) above).

95. *femina*: DeWitt, *The Dido Episode in the Aeneid of Virgil* (1907), 74, notes that the three occurrences of this word in the Fourth Book (lines 95, 211, and 570) have each a touch of contempt, which he would trace to a conservative Roman retention of the ancient epic disdain for the erotic motive; perhaps cf. also II, 734.

95. *duorum*: Serv.: *bene cessit masculino femininum*.

96. *nec*, etc.: cf. Lucr. I, 136: *nec me animi fallit* (= I, 922; 5, 97); Bailey in *Proc. of the cl. Assoc.* 28 (1931), 39. Cartault (*L'Art de Virgile dans l'Énéide*, I (1926), 344-345) remarks that Juno here seems to have had a stenographic record of the speech of Venus to Cupid in I, 664-688, for *veritam* recalls *vercor* (I, 671), *suspectas habuisse domos* echoes *domum timet ambiguum* (I, 661), while *tota quod mente petisti* suggests *nostram nunc accipe mentem* (I, 676).

96. *adeo*: modifying the phrase *nec me . . . fallit* rather than *me* alone, which, as elided, could hardly receive such emphasis as in *Ecl.* 4, 11; *G.* I, 24.

96. *veritam*, etc.: cf. I, 671-672: *vercor quo se Iunonia vertant / hospitia*.

97. *Karthaginis altae*: = 4, 265; Sil. 15, 417. The adjective probably imitates the stock Homeric one in the phrase αἰὲν πολίεθρον (e.g., *Od.* 3, 485). It may also indicate pride in the city's defences (cf. 4, 88-89; Cartault, *op. cit.*, I, 345), as in I, 7: *altae moenia Romae*; 2, 56: *Priamique arx alta*; 2, 290: *ruit alto de culmine Troia*; also *G.* I, 485-496: *altae / . . . urbes*; Hor. *C.* I, 16, 18: *altis urbibus*; Ov. *M.* 4, 57-58: *ubi dicitur altam / coctilibus muris cinxisse Semiramis urbem*; *Tr.* I, 3, 33: *urbs . . . alta Quirini*. At other times the adjective may refer liter-

98. sed quis erit modus aut quo nunc certamine tanto?  
quin potius pacem aeternam pactosque hymenaeos

quis *in ras.* R. erat *M* (erit *M*<sup>2</sup>). aut /// quo *b.* certamina tanta *Heinsius et al.*

(*quin*) *Pap. Fl.* pastos *M* (pactos *M*<sup>1</sup>). hymeneos *b*, imineos *f*, hymoeneas *p.* pactos(*que hymenaeos*) *Pap. Fl.*

98. quo . . . tanto: *Anth. Lat. no. 11, 82 (1, p. 44 Riese).*

99-100. quin . . . exercemus: *Schol. Lucan. 8, 441* — hymeneos —. 99. quin . . . aeternam: *Cledon. Ars (G. L. K. 5, 67); Anth. Lat. no. 719a, 118 (2, p. 193 Riese).* 99. pacem . . . hymenaeos: *Anth. Lat. no. 18, 6 (1, p. 80 Riese)* — himeneos *A* —. 99. pactosque hymenaeos *Anth. Lat. no. 15, 1 (1, p. 50 Riese)* — himeneos *A* —. 99. pactos hymenaeos: *Gl. Ansil. 419, 46* — ymeneos —.

ally to lofty situation; e.g., 7, 682: *allum Praeneste*; Ov. *M.* 8, 526: *alta iacet Calydon*; etc. Apul. *M.* 6, 4 speaks of *celsae Carthaginiis*, and considering that the top of the *Byrsa* is 60.5 m. above sea level (Oehler in *P.-W.* 10 (1919), 2205) the term may well be used literally. In 1, 419-420 Virgil thinks of the citadel as overtopped by neighboring heights.

98. sed, etc.: cf. *Ecl.* 10, 28: '*ecquis erit modus?*' inquit; Mart. Cap. 9, p. 888, 3: '*quis modus,*' inquit, '*erit?*' The Scholia Danielis consider this an archaism. Rütten, *De Vergilii Studiis Apollonianis* (1912), 32, would compare Apoll. Rh. 3, 12: *τί χρείος, κτλ.*

98. quo nunc, etc.: Rütten (*l. c.*) compares *Il.* 4, 15-16: *ἢ δ' αὖτις πόλεμόν τε κακὸν καὶ φύλοπιν αἰνὴν / ὄρσομεν.* Servius and the Schol. Dan. offer several explanations: '*quo nunc*' aut quo; aut ad quam rem; aut quid opus est tanto certamine? aut figurate, quo tibi hoc, id est, quo nunc certamen tantum; aut quis modus erit in tanto certamine; aut quousque, ut 'usque' extrinsecus accipiamus; Donat.: quid necesse est, ait, inmoderatas inimicitias ulterius retinere? We may render: "To what point now (are we to go) with such a contest?" (Wakefield explained as *quo tenditis cum tanto discrimine*; others have understood *opus est*). The emendation of Heinsius seems unnecessary; yet cf. Wagner, *Lect. Vergil. Libellus* (1859), 78-79; Palmer on Ov. *H.* 2, 53.

99. quin, etc.: cf. 4, 66, n. (*quid, etc.*) for the papyrus fragment of lines 99-102 with accents, reading: [*quin*] *pótiús pácem aetérnam pactós[que hymenaeos / exerce]mus*

*hábes tóta quót mēnte pe[listi / ardet ama]ns Dido traxitque per ossa [furorem / communem k]únc e[r]go populum p[á]q[ribusque regamus].* The Scholia Danielis gloss *quin* by *cur non*; cf. *Ecl.* 2, 71.

99. pacem . . . exercemus: so *exercere* is used with *amicitiam* and *inimicitiam*, *gratiam* and *odium* or *iras* (as in *G.* 3, 152); cf. also 4, 622-623: *genus omne futurum / exerceat odiis*, as less exactly and by zeugma, used with *hymenaeos*, it may be compared with 1, 499: *exercent Diana choros*. Gercke, *Die Entstehung der Aeneis* (1913), 129, observes that Juno is at times aware of what is fated for the Trojans, but at other times (as here and in 1, 18; 7, 334-554; and 10, 65-95) apparently ignorant.

99. aeternam: cf. 4, 126: *conubio iungam stabili*.

99. pactos: of the marriage bond; cf. 10, 79; 10, 649; 10, 722; Vell. Pat. 1, 1, 3; Juv. 6, 200; etc. Lejay (*ad loc.*) sees an allusion to a contract (*tabulae dotales*), and compares *dotalis* in 4, 104.

99. hymenaeos: the story of Hymenaeus is told by Serv. *Aen.* 1, 651 and the Schol. Dan. on our passage; cf. 4, 127, n. (*hic hymenaeus erit*), below; Stoll in Roscher, *Ausf. Lex.* 1 (1890), 2800-2804; Maas in *P.-W.* 9 (1916), 130-134. On the figurative use of the term in Virgil cf. Braumüller, *Ueber Trophen u. Figuren in Vergil's Aeneis*, 1 (1877), 7; Kunz, *Realien in Vergils Aeneis*, 1 (1894), 18. On the tendency to use the plural of words connected with marriage (*conubium* (as in 3, 319; 7, 96), *coniugium* (cf. 7, 555), *hymenaeus*, *thalamus* (cf. 7, 97; 10, 389; 10, 649), *foedus* (cf. 4, 339), etc.) cf. Spitta, *Quaest. Vergili-*

100. *exercemus? habes tota quod mente petisti:  
ardet amans Dido traxitque per ossa furorem.  
communem hunc ergo populum paribusque regamus*

(*exerce*)mus Pap. Fl. quot Pap. Fl. pe(*tisti*) Pap. Fl.  
(*ardet ama*)ns Pap. Fl. do P (dido P<sup>o</sup>). taraxit f (traxit f<sup>i</sup>). (*furorem*) Pap. Fl., furore p.  
(*communem h*)unc Pap. Fl. e(*rgo populum p*)a(*ribusque regamus*) Pap. Fl. rogamus f.

[99] 100. habes . . . petisti: [Acro] in *Hor. Epod.* 17, 30 — totum P<sup>1b</sup> —. 100. tota . . . petisti: *Anth. Lat.* no. 17, 100 (1, p. 65 Riese) — tot. a A —; *Cento Probae*, 267.

101. ardet . . . Dido: [Prob.] *De ult. Syll.* 8 (G. L. K. 4, 245); [Acro] in *Hor. C.* 3, 9, 6; *Schol. Dan. Aen.* 9, 196.

102–103. paribusque . . . auspiciis: *Anth. Lat.* no. 18, 48–49 (1, p. 81 Riese); *Schol. Dan. Aen.* 4, 340 — rogamus F, rogamur Ambros. —. 102. regamus: *Gl. Ansil.* 490, 724; q.v.

*anae* (1867), 25, who ascribes it to the idea of mutuality; cf. 4, 112, n. (*foedera*); also Güthling, *Adnotat. ad Vergilii Aeneidem* (1877), 16–17.

100. *tota . . . mente*: a feminine adjective with *mente*, developing into an adverbial phrase, and eventually into the Romance adverb, is a familiar idiom discussed by many authors; cf. the works cited by Pease on *Cic. De Div.* 2, 149. In Virgil the cases are not all very clear, but may include *Aen.* 1, 26; 2, 407 (= 2, 588); 4, 105; 9, 292; also *Cul.* 309; 327; cf. Radin in *Cl. Journ.* 16 (1920), 49–51. Especially frequent is *tota mente*; e.g., in *Cic. Tusc.* 3, 33; *De Or.* 1, 121; 2, 89; *Ad Fam.* 10, 5, 2; *Ad Att.* 16, 10, 2; *Catull.* 62, 14; 64, 70; 68, 25; *Liv. praef.* 5; *Ov. Ars am.* 3, 424; *Rem. Am.* 414; *M. S.* 5, 275; 9, 635; *Sen. Rhet. Controv.* 2, praef. 4; *Sen. N. Q.* 7, 1, 1; *Phaedr.* 185; *Apul. Asclep.* 1; *Treb. Poll. Gall.* 1, 5; *Claud. De Cons. Stil.* 2, 143; *Lact. Inst.* 7, 27, 9; *Arnob.* 2, 60; *Cypr. De Laps.* 29; *Hier. Vit. Paul.* 14; *Vit. Malch.* 8; *Ep.* 61, 4, 2; 66, 7, 2; *Adv. Rufin.* 2, 35; *Comm. in Ez.* 3, p. 96 V.; *Comm. in Is.* 6, p. 270 V.; 11, p. 467 V.; 8, p. 348 V.; *Comm. in Naum.* p. 551 V.; *Comm. in Tit.* p. 690 V.; *Querolus*, p. 18 Peiper: *habes nunc plane tota mente quod rogas*; *C. I. L.* XI, 5996 (= Dessau 5519); also Milton, *Sylvae*, *Mansus*, 98. In some of these cases, as in *Vulg. Matt.* 22, 37, it is not clear how far the phrase is adverbial, if at all. For the analogous phrase *toto pectore* cf. Otto, *Die Sprichwörter . . . der Römer* (1890), 270. On the wish of Venus here described see 1, 676–688.

101. *ardet amans*: cf. 4, 2, n. (*igni*); Pichon, *De Sermone amatorio* (1902), 88–89. The expression is equivalent to *ardet amore* (cf. 11, 782; Rantz, *Der Accusativus bei Vergil*, 1 (1871), 23, n. 1, who compares *G.* 2, 499; 2, 510; *Aen.* 5, 575; 10, 500; 12, 6–7; 12, 82; 12, 702–703).

101. *traxit*: *Schol. Dan.*: ‘*traxit*’ autem dixit ut spiritum trahere dicimus. An unusual figure, without close parallels, yet cf. *Ov. M.* 4, 673–676: *vidit Abantiades . . . / . . . / . . . trahit inscius ignes / et stupet*; *Tr.* 5, 13, 3: *traxi contagia corpore mentis*; *Luc.* 9, 934: *ore venena trahens*; *Mar. Vict.* 3, 14 (G. L. K. 6, 121): *dudum saucia cura traxerit furorem*; *Paul. Nol. Carm.* 33, 62: *trahit per membra rigorem*; also *Aen.* 1, 749: *bibebat amorem*; *Sil.* 4, 685–686: *flamma vorax, imo penitus de gurgite tractos / absorbet latices*.

101. *per ossa*: cf. 1, 660; 4, 8, n. (*male sana*); 4, 66, n. (*medullas*); *G.* 3, 258–259: *quid iuvenis, magnum cui versat in ossibus ignem / durus amor*; *Cir.* 164: *et validum penitus concepit in ossa furorem*; and similar phrases noted by Braumüller, *Über Trophen u. Figuren in Vergils Aeneis*, 2 (1882), 12; Norden, 2 ed. of Book VI (1916), 139. The bones are affected, as Forbiger (*ad loc.*) notes, by fear (3, 57), pain (*G.* 3, 457; *Aen.* 5, 172), love (*G.* 3, 258–259; *Aen.* 1, 660; 7, 355), or frenzy (as here).

102. *communem*: *Schol. Dan.*: *ulrum ad solum Carthaginiensem retulit, quem velit sibi communem esse cum Venere; an ulrumque, id est, Tyrios et Troianos?* Probably both ideas are intended; cf. *Donat.*: *quia quod speciale*

103. auspiciis; liceat Phrygio servire marito  
dotalisque tuae Tyrios permittere dextrae.'

(a)uspiciis *P*, auspiciis *M* (auspiciis *M*<sup>1</sup>). frigio *f*, phrygios *γ*<sup>1</sup>. seruere *Pγ*<sup>1</sup>.

(d)otalis *P*, dotalis *hfr*. quae *P* (que *P*<sup>2</sup>), ue *π*. tue *add. sup. π*.

[102] 103. liceat . . . marito: *Serv. Aen.* 4, 214. 103. Phrygio . . . marito: *Anth. Lat.* no. 10, 32 (1, p. 40 Riese) — frigio *A* —; no. 18, 49 (1, p. 81 Riese) — frido *A* —.

104. tuae dextrae: *Gl. Ansil.* 574, 32 — dextrae —.

*singularum fuit factum est me volente commune, utrumque populum regamus pares, utraque servemus.* For such minglings of two peoples cf. 4, 110–111; 4, 214; 4, 374; 8, 475–476; and Lersch, *Antiquitates Vergilianae* (1843), 4–5, notes the proposed union of Latium and Troy in 12, 819–837, perhaps suggested by the legendary one of the Romans and the Sabines (cf. Liv. 1, 13, 4–5).

102. *paribus* . . . *auspiciis*: cf. 7, 256–257: *paribusque in regna vocari / auspiciis*; *Serv.*: *aequali potestate* (though his suggestion that the idea is taken from consular elections is less likely). Cf. Dietsch, *Theologumeneon Vergil. Particula* (1853), 24–25, for *auspicia* as implying *imperium*.

102. *-que*: as noted by Knapp (*Cl. Weekly*, 26 (1933), 143), the conjunction here joins expressions alike in function but different in form, *communem* being equivalent to *communi imperio* and hence adverbial, like *paribus* . . . *auspiciis*.

103. *liceat*: Schol. Dan.: *id est, non necesse sit, sed in voluntate sit Didonis, si velit*. Juno cunningly puts the case as though all the concessions were to be made by her or the Carthaginians, rather than by Aeneas, should he abandon his destined course to his promised land.

103. *Phrygio servire marito*: Strab. 14, 3, 3 remarks: *οἱ ποιηταὶ δὲ μάλιστα οἱ τραγικοὶ συγχέοντες τὰ ἔθνη, καθάπερ τοὺς Τρώας καὶ τοὺς Μυσοὺς καὶ τοὺς Ἀνδοὺς Φρύγας προσαγορεύουσιν, οὕτω καὶ τοὺς Ἀνκίους Κῆρας*; 14, 5, 16: *καλέσας ἐκεῖνος* (i.e., Sophocles) *αὐτὴν* (i.e., Κιλικίαν) *Παμφυλίαν τραγικῶς, καθάπερ καὶ τὴν Ἀνκίαν Καρίαν καὶ τὴν Τροίαν καὶ Ἀνδρίαν Φρυγίαν*. *Serv.*: *ἐμφατικῶς, ac si diceret 'exuli'*; cf. Schol. Dan.: *alii invidiose dictum volunt 'liceat Phrygio marito,' id est, qui victus est; et non dixit 'nubere' sed 'servire.' quidam*

'servire' dubitant utrum Didonem an Tyrios dixerit (which is followed by an account of different forms of Roman marriage, and the attempt to associate that here proposed with *coemptio*); *Ov. M.* 14, 79–80: *non bene discidium Phrygii latura mariti / Sidonis*; Mart. 8, 3, 14: *Phrygio cum data cena viro est*. Heinze (*Virgils epische Technik*, 3 ed. (1915), 420, n. 1) observes that *Phrygius* is commonly used (though not solely; cf. 4, 140) by the enemies of the Trojans as a term of contempt; by Juno (here and at 7, 294), Amata (7, 358; 7, 363), Allecto (7, 430), Turnus (7, 579; 9, 134; 11, 403; 12, 75; 12, 99), Numanus (9, 599; 9, 617), and the matrons of Laurentum (11, 484). This is doubtless due to an idea of Phrygian effeminacy; cf. 4, 215 (and the Schol. Dan.), which is to be coupled with 12, 99; also Donat.: *quod enim dixit Phrygio, ibi est subtile convicium, quasi abiecto et infimae gentis homini*. Braumüller (*Über Trophen u. Figuren in Vergils Aeneis*, 2 (1882), 8) lists the various uncomplimentary terms applied to Aeneas by his enemies. The contemptuous effect of *Phrygio* is increased by the use of *servire* instead of *nubere* (even though Juno uses the former word as a snare to tempt Venus). The word *marito* usually applies however, to a legitimate spouse; cf. Pichon, *De Sermone amatorio* (1902), 196–197. With the present passage cf. *Prud. Cont. Symm.* 2, 496–497: *concessit et ipsa / Iuno suos Frygiis servire nepotibus Afros*.

104. *dotalis*: cf. 9, 737 (= 11, 369): *dotalis regia*. The word generally applies to inanimate objects, though occasionally to slaves (e.g., Plaut. *Asin.* 85), but is here extended to include subjects of a monarch (*Serv.*: *regalem spectavit personam*). Cf. *Ov. H.* 4, 163: *est mihi dotalis tellus Iovis insula, Crete*; 7, 149–150: *hos potius populos in*

105. Olli (sensit enim simulata mente locutam,  
quo regnum Italiae Libycas averteret oras)

simulta P, simula (simulata m. recentissima) R.

(q)uo P, quo// b. libicas fy, lybicus b<sup>1</sup>, lybicas p. auertere R, auerterec P (auerteret P<sup>2</sup>), aduerteret π, cod. Oblongus Pierii; Serv.: 'adverteret oras: absolutior quidem est haec lectio, sed verior et figuratior illa est Libycas averteret oras.' oras (o in ras.) b, aras p.

105. olli . . . locutam: Anth. Lat. no. 11, 152 (1, p. 46 Riese). 105. olli: Gl. Ansil. 410, 62; q.v. — ollis —. 105. sensit . . . locutam: Prisc. Inst. 18, 185 (G. L. K. 3, 295) — simulatam aelocutam V —. Cf. Gl. Ansil. 525, 334.

106. regnum . . . oras: Serv. Aen. 3, 379 — adverteret FCME<sup>1</sup> —; Donat. Aen. 4, 127-128 — aduerteret LR (cf. 4, 105: auerteret LR) —.

dotem, ambage remissa, / accipe et advectas  
Pygmalionis opes; M. 8, 67-68: stat sententia  
tradere secum / dotalem patriam. Henry  
(Aeneidea, 2 (1878), 621-622) compares  
Claud. Carm. min. 30, 177-180: *le non  
Hesperidum pomis, non amne subacto, / non  
socerum fallente rota, sed iudice dignus /  
Augusto variis Stilicho spectatus in armis /  
accipit el regni dotes virtute paravit.*

104. tuae . . . dextrae: Serv.: quasi per  
manus conventionem; secundum ius locutus  
est. Conington (ad loc.) remarks, "Venus is  
said to receive into her power what Aeneas,  
her son, receives; and there may be also a  
notion, as Wund[erlich] thinks, of Venus be-  
coming a tutelary goddess of Carthage."

105. olli: Serv.: aut illi aut tunc. The  
former is undoubtedly correct. Quintil. 8,  
3, 24-25 says: *propriis dignitatem dat anti-  
quilas. namque et sanctiorem et magis admira-  
bilem faciunt orationem quibus non quilibet  
fuerit usurus, eoque ornamento acerrimi iudicii*  
*P. Vergilius unice est usus. 'olli' enim et*  
*'quianam' et 'miis' et 'pone' pellucet et asper-  
gunt illam quae etiam in picturis est gratis-  
sima, vetustatis inimitabilem arti auctoritatem;*  
cf. Varr. L. L. 7, 42. Archaic forms in *ol-* or  
*oll-* (of which *olim* alone survived in classical  
prose) early disappeared from popular speech,  
being absent from Plautus and Terence, but  
lingered in poetic diction, appearing five  
times in Ennius (four times at the beginning  
of the hexameter), eleven times in Lucretius  
(all but two as the last word of a verse, and  
none as the first), and twenty-three times in  
Virgil (four medial, one final, and eighteen  
initial; cf. Wotke in Wiener Stud. 8 (1886),

140-141); they also appear in Avien. 3, 136  
(by emendation); 3, 192; 3, 344; 4, 377;  
Flodoardus Remensis, *De Triumphis Christi*  
(Antioch.), 2, 8, 184. All Virgil's cases are of  
*olli* (dat. sing. or nom. pl.) and *ollis*. Forms  
of *olle* and *ille* are sometimes closely juxta-  
posed; cf. Lucr. 3, 270-271; Aen. 12, 306-  
309. On the form cf. Kühner-Holzweissig,  
*Ausf. Gram. d. lat. Spr.* 1, 2 ed. (1912), 603.  
Glockner (*Archiv f. lat. Lex.* 14 (1905), 187)  
compares its initial use with the Homeric  
*τὸν δ'* . . . In 7, 505 Virgil constructs an-  
other sentence beginning with *olli* followed  
by a long parenthesis.

105. sensit: cf. Val. Fl. 6, 467: *sensit diva  
dolos.*

105. enim: explaining why Venus does  
not herself speak sincerely.

105. simulata mente: cf. 4, 99, n. (*tota  
. . . mente*); also 4, 128: *dolis . . . repertis*;  
*Il.* 14, 197: *τὴν δὲ* (sc. Ἀφροδίτην) *δολοφρονέ-  
ουσα προσήδα πότνια Ἥρῃ*; 14, 300; 14, 329;  
Aug. *De Sermonibus Domini in Monte*, 1, 27: *simulato  
animo*; Ekkehard, *Wallharius*, 242: *simulata  
mente locutum*. The ascription of deceit to  
Juno is, perhaps, in part an imitation of the  
Homeric tradition of gods whose moral quali-  
ties are still undeveloped, but also an at-  
tempt to ascribe to the patron deity of the  
Carthaginians something of that insincerity  
which patriotic Roman tradition associated  
with the Punic race itself; cf. 4, 91, n. (*Iovis  
coniunx*); 4, 305, n. (*perfidie*).

106. quo: Schol. Dan.: *pro 'ut': pronomen  
pro coniunctione causali*. On the thought  
cf. 1, 37-38: *mene incepto desistere victam /  
nec posse Italia Teucrorum avertere regem*; Ov.

107. sic contra est ingressa Venus: 'quis talia demens  
abnuat aut tecum malit contendere bello?  
si modo quod memoras factum fortuna sequatur.

(si) contra *P*, (si)c contra *P*<sup>1</sup>, (si) contra *P*<sup>2</sup>, si *c*, sic (*c add. sup.*) *γ*. est *om. π*, rem *p*. quisi *P* (quis *P*<sup>2</sup>).

(ab)nuat *P*. mallit *R*.

(si) *P*. quot *P*.

107-108. quis . . . bello: *Non. p. 219 M. (p. 396 L.)*. 107-108. quis . . . abnuat: *Anth. Lat. no. 719a, 54-55 (2, p. 191 Riese)*; *Gl. Ansil. 481, 254* — demens *om.* —. 107. sic . . . Venus: *Anth. Lat. no. 10, 20 (1, p. 40 Riese)* — si *A* —.

[107]

109. si . . . sequatur: *Prisc. Inst. 15, 28 (G. L. K. 3, 81)* — furtuna *DL* —. 109. si . . . factum: *Anth. Lat. no. 719a, 50 (2, p. 190 Riese)*.

*H. 7, 151: Ilion in Tyriam transfer felicius urbem.*

106. regnum Italiae: not existing but prospective; cf. *Donat.: potestas omnis quam fata Italiae decreverant.*

106. Libycas averteret oras: *Servius*, reading *adverteret*, comments: *absolutior quidem est haec lectio, sed verior et figuratior illa est 'Libycas averteret oras': nam plerumque trahitur schema, ut aliquo ituri non ad locum sed de loco ponamus significationem, ut si dicas 'de Campania abeo in Tusciam,' 'abeo' honestius est quam si 'eo' dixeris. nec hoc tantum hoc loco facit, sed pluribus; hinc enim est (6, 375) 'ripamve iniussus abibis?' Ussani (in *Atene e Roma*, 10 (1907), 270) would see in these words an allusion to the reputed will of Antony, by which (*Dio Cass. 50, 4, 1*) ἀν κρατήσῃ τὴν τε πόλιν σφῶν τῇ Κλεοπάτρῃ χαριεῖται καὶ τὸ κράτος ἐς τὴν Αἴγυπτον μεταθήσει.*

107. sic, etc.: cf. 4, 30, n. (*sic effata*); *Schol. Dan.: calliditatis est, ut supra (4, 92)*; *habet enim haec vox insidiarum significationem.*

107. ingressa: cf. 6, 867; 11, 704.

107. quis, etc.: cf. *Il. 14, 211-213: τὴν δ' αὐτὴ προσέειπε φιλομειδῆς Ἀφροδίτῃ / οὐκ ἔστ' οὐδὲ ἔοικε τῶν ἔπος ἀρνήσασθαι / Ζηνὸς γὰρ τοῦ ἀρίστου ἐν ἀγκοῖνῳσιναίβης*; *Xen. Anab. 2, 5, 12: τοῦτων δὲ τοιοῦτων ὄντων τίς οὕτω μαινεται ὅστις οὐ βοῦλεται σοὶ φίλος εἶναι*; *Aug. De Quant. Animae, 5: quis hoc demens crediderit?*

108. tecum: thrown forward in its clause,

perhaps, as *Page* suggests, for ironical emphasis.

108. contendere bello: cf. 9, 518: *caeco contendere Marte.*

109. modo, etc.: note the double alliteration: *modo . . . memoras, factum fortuna.* *Schol. Dan.: oblique, dum consentit, docet fieri non posse.*

109. fortuna: without a modifier, is used either of good fortune or of bad; cf. *Fabri-cius, De Iove et Fato in P. Vergili Maronis Aeneide* (1896), 5-6; *Canter in Stud. in Philol. 19 (1922), 78, n. 145.* The *Scholia Danielis* remark: *subauditur fortuna prospera*, and the verb *sequatur* may suggest *fortuna secunda* (as in 9, 282) or *secundet* (cf. *G. 4, 397; Aen. 3, 36; 7, 259*). There seems here no thought of a deified Fortune, though whether the word "represents the abstract principle of personification of luck, accident, the incalculable element in nature and human life, etc.," under which *Canter (op. cit., 78; 80)* would class this line, is doubtful, for the following lines seem rather to imply that the final result depends on the will of Jupiter. So *Fowler in Hastings, Encycl. of Relig. and Ethics*, 6 (1914), 101 (cf. *id. in Cl. Rev. 17 (1903), 153; Rom. Ideas of Deity (1914), 77*) remarks: "For Virgil, when Rome or Aeneas or even Evander . . . is in question, Fortuna is the same thing as Fate, or Providence, or the will of Jupiter representing the Divine government of the world, or the Destiny of the Stoics"; cf. *Knight in Cl. Weekly, 26*

110. sed fatis incerta feror, si Iuppiter unam  
esse velit Tyriis urbem Troiaque profectis,  
miscerive probet populos aut foedera iungi.

(sed) P, set MR. fa. tis by.

ue. lit b. tyrios (corr. in tyriis) p. profecti. s b.

miseri P (misceri P<sup>2</sup>), misceri (isceri in ras.) b. que R (ue R<sup>2</sup>). federa f, phoedera γ, foedere p, cod. Venetus, dell.; cf. Serv. in explic. citatum; Mart. Cap. 2, 125, 30: foedere iungi.

110. incerta feror: Gl. Ansil. 293, 150. 110. si . . . unam: Schol. Dan. Aen. 4, 115.

111. esse velit: Gl. Ansil. 210, 19.

112. miscerive . . . populos: Sacerd. Art. gram. 1 (G. L. K. 6, 444) — miseriue B —.

112. foedera iungi: Gl. Ansil. 238, 87 — foedera —; 238, 96 — foedere —.

(1933), 202, n. 16. Perhaps here, then, the word means rather 'outcome' (Serv.: *hoc ad casum pertinet*). With the verse-ending cf. 8, 15-16: *quem, si fortuna sequatur, / eventum pugnae cupiat*; 10, 49: *quancumque viam dederit Fortuna, sequatur*; 12, 677: *quo dura vocal Fortuna, sequamur*; Ov. Am. 1, 4, 69: *noctem fortuna sequetur*.

110. fatis, etc.: Serv.: *bene omnia tetigit quibus res humanae reguntur: casum, fata, voluntatem deorum*; and the Schol. Dan. add: *alii sic exponunt: quia scio fatis aliud videri, ideo de Iovis voluntate nunc dubito. ergo 'fatis' propter fata. sane oratorie et blanditur et pugnat, sed non palam, dicendo incertam se esse de voluntate fatorum*. The significance of fate in Virgil (cf. 1, 14, n. (fatis), above) is well summarized by Heinze, *Virgils epische Technik*, 3 ed. (1915), 293-297, who considers it as identical with the will of an omnipotent Jupiter (cf. 4, 614: *fata Iovis*; less precisely called *fata* (or *fatum*) *deum*; 2, 54; 2, 257; 3, 717; 6, 376; 7, 50; 7, 239), though Greene (in *Am. Journ. of Philol.* 43 (1922), 351) thinks "the identification of fate with the will of Jupiter is not complete; the two forces remain at the most only parallel"; cf. also Glover, *Virgil*, 2 ed. (1912), 299-302. The original doctrine of εἰμαρμένη, according to Heinze, is thus by Virgil identified with πρόνοια, though the logical conclusions of this are not carried out in all details, because of the exigencies of the epic poem, with concessions also to the Stoic view that while large events are determined by fate there yet remains, at some points, a chance for mortals

to influence by prayers the actions of the gods.

The grammatical construction of *fatis* is hard to explain; Dietsch, *Theologumennon Vergil. Particula* (1853), 26, notes that we lack other cases of such an ablative dependent upon *incertus*, our nearest analogy perhaps being the ablative with *callidus* and *peritus*. To connect *fatis* closely with *feror* is easy in grammar but hard in sense; most editors therefore resort to making *fatis* dependent, not upon *incerta* alone, but upon the phrase *incerta feror*, and cite 4, 376: *furiis incensa feror*; 10, 630-631: *veri / vana feror* — unsatisfactory parallels at best.

110. feror: Geist, *Erklärung einiger Stellen aus der Aen. Vergils* (1878), 41-42, equates this with πέλομαι; also cf. φέρομαι; e.g., Thuc. 2, 60: καλῶς . . . φερόμενος ἀνὴρ; yet see 4, 376, n. (feror), below.

110. si, etc.: for the form of sentence Kvíčala, *Vergil-Studien* (1878), 90, compares 1, 218-219: *dubia seu . . . / sive*, etc.

111. esse: Bell, *The Latin Dual* (1923), 147, takes this as equivalent to *feri*, and compares 10, 221: Hor. S. 1, 8, 3. But it seems simpler to understand here a permanent situation, rather than the temporary process of construction of the city, in which case we have a dative of possession. With the whole line cf. 1, 731-733: *Iuppiter . . . / hunc laetum Tyriisque diem Troiaque profectis / esse velis*.

112. misceri: cf. 4, 48, n. (coniugio); the difficulties in such racial mixture were considerable, and the protection of purity of race



113. tu coniunx, tibi fas animum temptare precando.  
perge, sequar.' tum sic excepit regia Iuno:  
'mecum erit iste labor. nunc qua ratione quod instat

coniux *Rp.* praecando *Rp.* pre(ca)ndo *P.*

rigia *f.*

(quod in)stat *P.* q̄instat (q̄in *m.* 2 in *ras.*) *γ.* instar *M* (instat *M*<sup>1</sup>).

113. tu . . . precando: *Cento Probae*, 194 — coniux *PSπA*; praecando *Lb* —. 113. animum temptare: *Gl. Ansil.* 54, 280.

115–116. nunc . . . docebo: *Donat. in Ter. Andr.* 167 — quod *i.* cf. *p.* *a.* *d.*; *vid. adn. crit. Wessneri* —. 115. mecum . . . labor: *Cledon. Ars* (*G. L. K.* 5, 66); *Anth. Lat. no.* 15, 27 (*l.* *p.* 51 *Riese*) — eret *A* —; *Cento Probae*, 597. 115. mecum erit: *Gl. Ansil.* 361, 33.

by the prevention of intermarriage was sufficiently familiar to make it remarkable that Juno, as a goddess of marriage, should herself propose such a mingling.

112. *aut.* Forbiger (*ad loc.*) thinks it not disjunctive but conjunctive; cf. 4, 62, *n.* (*aut.*). But may we not think of two distinct possibilities: (a) coalescing of the two races, and (b) confederation of the two without actual mixture?

112. *foedera*: *Serv.*: *si 'foedera,' per se plenum est; si 'foedere' ad populos pertinet. Foedera* is plural because of the mutuality of the relationship (as of the uniting Trojans and Latins in 12, 191); cf. 4, 99, *n.* (*hymenaeos*); 7, 546: *foedera iungant*; 8, 56: *foedera iunge*; 8, 641: *iungebant foedera*; 12, 822: *foedera iungent*.

113. *tu*: cf. 1, 76–79: *Iuus, o regina, quid optes / explorare labor; mihi iussa capessere fas est. / tu mihi quodcumque hoc regni, tu sceptrā Iovemque / concilias*. Rütten, *De Vergilii Studiis Apollonianis* (1912), 32, compares *Apoll. Rh.* 3, 34–35: *εἰ δέ σοι αὐτῇ μῖθος ἐφανδάνει, ἥ τ' ἂν ἔγωγε / ἐσποιμην· σὺ δέ κεν φαίης ἔπος ἀντιώσα*; *Schol. Dan.*: *dicens 'coniunx' ostendit eam non posse ignorare impossibile esse quod petit*; *Donat.*: *quicquid secretum, ait, retinent viri facile confitentur uxoribus*. Masera (*ad loc.*) detects a subtle irony in the speech, hinting at Juno's inability to penetrate and control the purposes of Jupiter.

The line shows a double omission of the copula, *es* being understood in the first clause and *est* in the second.

113. *fas*: commonly used of what is per-

mitted to man in his relations to the gods (e.g., 6, 266; 6, 563), but sometimes of what is allowed to a deity in relation to other deities or even to human beings (e.g., 1, 77; 5, 800; 6, 63; 8, 397).

113. *animum temptare*: cf. *Cic. Pro Cluent.* 176: *animi servorum et spe et metu temptati*; *Dict. Cret.* 6, 2: *temptandos prius civium animos*; *Ov. Am.* 2, 3, 17: *precibus temptasse*; *M.* 11, 239: *precibus temptata repugnas*; *Suet. Tib.* 12: *temptare singulorum animos*. For the verse-ending cf. 4, 413: *iterum temptare precando*.

114. *perge*: *Serv.*: *bene aliud agens aliud ostendit; ante est enim Iunonis officium ex matrimonio, sic usus Venerius; unde paulo post* (4, 125) *'adereo . . . voluntas.'*

114. *excepit*: cf. 4, 30, *n.* (*sic effata*); 9, 258; *Ov. M.* 4, 790; 5, 260; 5, 523; 7, 681; *Schol. Dan.*: *et potest 'excepit' pro 'insidiosae respondit' accipi* (comparing 3, 332; 6, 173). Ercole (in *Atti d. r. Accad. di . . . Palermo*, 3 ser., 16 (1931), 222) remarks that the protectress of love cannot fail to be also a mistress of lying!

114. *regia Iuno*: cf. 1, 443; 7, 438; 10, 62; *Val. Fl.* 6, 650; *Stat. Theb.* 8, 503; also the title *Iuno Regina* (for which see Thulin in *P.-W.* 10 (1917), 1119–1120); cf. Eitrem in *P.-W.* 8 (1913), 382; 401–402 for *Ἥρη Βασίλεια* (or *Βασίλισ*).

115. *mecum erit*: cf. *Sil.* 8, 328: *mecum erit haec prorsus pietas*; *Il. Lat.* 94: *mecum labor iste manebit*.

115. *iste labor*: cf. 1, 76–77: *Iuus, o regina, quid optes / explorare labor*; 2, 708 (in a literal sense); 4, 379: *is superis labor est*.

116. confieri possit, paucis (adverte) docebo.  
venatum Aeneas unaque miserrima Dido

116-121: *fMR*. quodfieri *M* (comfieri *M*<sup>1</sup>), confieri (con *m. 2 in ras.*) *c*, confier *p*, quodfieri (quod *m. 2 in ras.*) *γ*, quofieri *π* (*corr. in quonfieri*) *b*, quofieri, habundat quo uel quod, *in marg.* uel conferri *f*, quo fieri *τ*; *cf. Serv. et Schol. Dan. in explicatione cil. ad uertere (corr. in ad uerte) π.*  
miserrima *M* (*fide Hoffmanni*).

[115\*] 116. confieri possit: *Pomp. Comm. (G. L. K. 5, 271); Serv. Aen. 3, 717.* 116. confieri: *Gl. Ansil. 134, 885; q.v.* 116. paucis docebo: *Gl. Ansil. 429, 874.*

117-118. venatum . . . parant: *Prisc. Inst. 8, 47 (G. L. K. 2, 411) — misserrima K, miserima Med., miseri madido H —; Macrob. Exc. Bobiensia (G. L. K. 5, 648) — nenatum B —.* 117. venatum . . . Dido: *Donat. in Ter. Andr. 56 — unaque m. d.; sed vid. adn. crit. Wessneri —.*

115. nunc, etc.: *cf. 8, 49-50: nunc qua ratione quod instat / expeditas victor, paucis (adverte) docebo;* also 1, 676: *qua facere id possis, nostram nunc accipe mentem.*

115. quod instat: *cf. Cic. De Invent. 2, 37: illud quod insiet agi oportere; Ecl. 9, 66: et quod nunc instat agamus; Donat.: quod instat, id est, quod urget.*

116. confieri: *Serv.: 'con' abundat, ut (3, 717) 'fata renarrabat'; Schol. Dan.: quamvis veteres indifferenter 'conferri' dicebant.* The word occurs in Plautus (*Trin. 408*), Terence (*Andr. 167; Ad. 946*), Pacuvius (*Trag. 180 Ribbeck*), Lucretius (2, 1069; 4, 291; 4, 738; 4, 929; 5, 891), and later poets, as well as in prose; *cf. Thes. Ling. Lat. 4 (1906), 194, 61-82.* The form is perhaps used here (= *confici*) for metrical reasons, as Kappes-Wörner (*ad loc.*) think.

116. paucis: *Schol. Dan.: aut 'adverte paucis,' aut 'paucis docebo';* the latter explanation probably being correct; in addition to 8, 50 *cf. 11, 314-315: nunc adeo quae sit dubiae sententia menti / expedit et paucis (animos adhibete) docebo;* also 6, 672: *responsum paucis illa reddidit;* 10, 16: *Iuppiter haec paucis;* 12, 71: *paucisque adfatur Amatam.* Similar phrases are: 4, 333 (and *n.*): *pauca refert* (so 8, 154; 10, 17); 4, 337: *pro re pauca loquar;* *cf. 3, 313-314; 3, 377; Milreton, P. L. 10, 157: "he thus to Eve in few."*

116. adverte: *Schol. Dan.: id est 'animadvert'; parte pro toto usus est;* for examples *cf. Thes. Ling. Lat. 1 (1900), 862, 43-*

62; so in Greek *προείχω* may be used, with *οὐδὲν* omitted. Virgil likes parentheses, and in this book may be noted lines 182 (*mirabile dictu*), 296 (*quis fallere possit amantem?*), 338 (*ne finge*), 357 (*hestor utrumque caput*), 435 (*miserere sororis*), 454 (*horrendum dictu*), 478 (*gratare sorori*), with longer ones in lines 315, 324, and 633, and numerous instances in the other books. Such imperative parentheses in Greek and Latin are discussed by Vahlen, *Opusc. acad. 1 (1907), 117-118.*

116. docebo: Juno speaks like a schoolmistress; *cf. Cartault, L'Art de Virgile dans l'Énéide, 1 (1926), 307.* With the clause *cf. Dracont. Romul. 2, 52: paucis (adverte) docebo;* *Anon. Carm. de Ponderibus, 135 (Poet. Lat. min. 5, 79 Baehrens): paucis (adverte) docebo;* *Gualterus, Alexandreis, 1, 84: quoque modo id possis, aures adverte, docebo;* *Wandalbertus Prumiensis, Horologium, 2 (Poet. Aevi Carol. 2, 616): paucis, adverte, docebo;* *Anon. Vita Leudegarii, 1, 465 (Poet. Aevi Carol. 3, 18): paucis adverte, docebo.*

117. venatum, etc.: lines 117-127 are resumed by 129-172 in an expanded form (*cf. 4, 11, n. (quam, etc.), above*), but with distinct reminiscences (as of 124-125 by 165-166), in the epic style, to make the precise fulfilment more obvious at the most significant points. *Venatum* may perhaps contain a slight suggestion that not all the hunting was to be directed against goats and stags; for the figurative use of *venari* *cf. Hor. Ep. 1, 1, 78: crustis et pomis viduas venentur avaras; Ov. Ars am. 1, 253; Med. Fac. fem. 27-28:*

118. in nemus ire parant, ubi primos crastinus ortus  
extulerit Titan radiisque retexerit orbem.

primus *MR*, primum *M*<sup>1</sup>. urtus (?) *f*.

[117] 118. in nemus: *Gl. Ansil.* 298, 557; *Gl. Aa*, 270, 505. primos ortus: *Gl. Ansil.* 461, 1277.

119. retexerit: *Gl. Aa*, 345, 443; *q.v.*

quo se cuique parent et quo venentur amores / refert; Phaedr. 4, 5, 4: unam (sc. filiam) formosam et oculis venantem viros; so θηρεῖω in Greek; e.g., Aesch. *Prom.* 858-859: θηρεῖοντες οὐ θηρασίμους / γάμους.

117. *miserrima Dido*: Schol. Dan.: *aut ex persona miserantis dictum; dolet enim insidiis circumventum; aut 'miserrima' quae perdidit castitatem.* But the adjective (or adverb *miserere*) is often used of lovers; cf. 1, 344; 1, 719; 4, 315; 4, 420; 4, 429; 4, 697; *Cir.* 325; also Plaut. *Mil. gl.* 1068; Ter. *Andr.* 520; *Ad.* 667; *Eun.* 71; *Heaut.* 190; Lucr. 4, 1076; 4, 1159; 4, 1179; Catull. 45, 21 (*misellus*); Hor. *C.* 1, 5, 12; 1, 27, 18; 3, 7, 10; 3, 12, 1; *Epod.* 14, 13; etc.

118. in, etc.: cf. Angilbertus, *Carm.* 6, 262 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 1, 372): *in nemus ire parat.*

118. *nemus*: Schol. Dan.: *pro silvis et montibus.*

118. *ubi*, etc.: cf. *G.* 4, 544: *post ubi nona suos Aurora ostenderit ortus* (cf. 4, 552); *Aen.* 5, 64-65: *si nona diem mortalibus alnum / Aurora extulerit radiisque retexerit orbem*; 9, 461: *iam rebus luce relectis*; 12, 76-77: *cum primum crastina caelo / puniceis invecta rotis Aurora rubebit*; *Ov. M.* 7, 804-805: *sole fere radiis feriente cacumina primis / venatum in silvas iuvenaliter ire solebam*; 8, 1-2: *iam nitidum relegente diem noctisque fugante / tempora Lucifero*; 9, 795: *postera lux radiis latum patefecerat orbem*; *Il. Lat.* 117-118: *cum crastina primum / extulerit Titana dies noctemque fugarit*; 650: *ut nitidum Titan radiis patefecerat orbem*; Claud. *De Rapt. Pros.* 1, 222: *crastina puniceos cum lux detexerit ortus*; *De III Cons. Hon.* 178: *primos cum detegis ortus*; Paul. Nol. *Carm.* 33, 81: *ergo dies primos ubi crastina fulsit in ortus*; also, for the plural use of *ortus*, *G.* 3, 277; *Aen.* 6, 255; Spitta, *Quaest. Vergil.* (1867), 36;

Braumüller, *Ueber Tropen u. Figuren in Vergil's Aeneis*, 1 (1877), 13.

119. Titan: the sun, as the child of the Titan Hyperion. Cicero had so used the term in *Arat.* 60 (p. 368 Müller); Virgil in 6, 725 mentions the *Titania . . . astra*; cf. *Ov. H.* 8, 105; *Ep.* 15, 135; *M.* 1, 10; 2, 118; 6, 438; 10, 79; 10, 174; 11, 257; *F.* 1, 617; 2, 73; 4, 180; 4, 919; *Tib.* 4, 1, 51; 4, 1, 114; 4, 1, 158; *Colum.* 10, 42; frequent cases in Seneca (Canter, *Rhetorical Elements in the Tragedies of Seneca* (1925), 132-133, cites 33 cases in the tragedies); *Luc.* 8, 202; *Sil.* 1, 209; 5, 57; 6, 1; 12, 508; 12, 648; 12, 681; 15, 248; *Stat. Theb.* 1, 501; 5, 297; 12, 229; *Achill.* 1, 242; in Greek [*Orph.*] *Argon.* 514; also Shakesp. 1 *Hen. IV*, Act 2, Sc. 4, 135; Aldhelmus, *Aenigm.* 4, 9, 3 (*Patr. Lat.* 89, 190); al.; Collins, *Plays and Poems of Robert Greene*, 1 (1905), 315, for other cases in English.

119. *radiisque*, etc.: in addition to passages cited in 4, 118, n. (*ubi*, etc.) cf. *Lucr.* 5, 267: *radiisque retexens aetherius sol* (= 5, 389), where, despite a lilt which may have suggested Virgil's phrase, a different verb (*relexere*) is used; cf. Bailey in *Proc. of the cl. Assoc.* 28 (1931), 32. More like in thought are *Enn. Ann.* 558: *inde patefecit radiis rota candida caelum*; *G.* 4, 51-52: *sol . . . / . . . caelum . . . aestiva luce reclusit*; *Aen.* 9, 461: *iam rebus luce relectis*; *Ov. M.* 8, 1-2: *iam nitidum relegente diem noctisque fugante / tempora Lucifero*; 9, 795: *postera lux radiis latum patefecerat orbem*; *Luc.* 7, 787; 8, 202: *ostendit terras Titan, et sidera texit.*

120. *ego*: Hera speaks as an atmospheric deity; cf. 1, 50-80; 5, 606-607; 7, 287; 10, 634; 12, 791-792; 12, 796; 12, 810; 12, 842; also *Plat. Crat.* p. 404 C: ἵσως δὲ μετεωρολογῶν ὁ νομοθέτης τὸν αἶρα Ἥραν ὠνόμασεν ἐπικρυπτόμενος; Mayor on *Cic. N. D.*

120. his ego nigrantem commixta grandine nimbum  
dum trepidant alae saltusque indagine cingunt,

is f. ergo p. commissarandire f (commixta grandine — g ductu Visigotico) f<sup>1</sup>. nymbum  
b, ymbum (corr. in nymbum) c.  
ale γ.

120. his . . . nimbum: Serv. Aen. 4, 161. 120. nigrantem nimbum: Gl. Ansil. 391, 53.  
120. commixta grandine: Gl. Ansil. 130, 492.

121. dum . . . cingunt: Gloss. ap. Barth, Advers. crit. 37, 5 (Hagen, Append. Serv. (1902),  
527) — ablae —. 121. dum trepidant: Gl. Ansil. 190, 138. 121. saltusque . . . cingunt:  
Schol. Lucan. 6, 42. 121. indagine: Gl. Ansil. 296, 360; 296, 364; q.v.

2, 66; Serv. Aen. 1, 78: *motus aeris, id est, Iunonis, ventos creat*; 4, 122: *quia aer est Iuno; bene ergo hic se facturam dicit quod habet in polestate*; Heinze, *Virgils epische Technik*, 3 ed. (1915), 299.

120. *nigrantem*: Schol. Dan.: *et quaeritur quis prius 'nigrantem' dixerit?* The verb first appears in Lucr. 2, 733; cf. Varr. R. R. 2, 5, 7; in Virgil in 5, 97 (= 6, 243); 8, 353-354: *cum saepe nigrantem / aegida concuteret dextra, nimbosque cieret*; 9, 87; also in later authors; e.g., Sil. 12, 620: *nigrante procella*. For Virgil's use of *niger* (and derivatives) and *ater* cf. 4, 384, n. (*atris ignibus*); 4, 454, n. (*nigrescere*); Fowler, *Death of Turnus* (1927), 92-93; also Roiron, *Étude sur l'Imagination auditive de Virgile* (1908), 540, with tables on the frequency of allusions to different colors in this book and in Virgil as a whole; similar tables by Gauger in *Tübing. Beitr. z. Allertumswiss.* 16 (1932), 69.

120. *commixta*, etc.: cf. Lucr. 6, 159: *concreti montes nimborum et grandine mixti*; Aen. 4, 161: *insequitur commixta grandine nimbis*; 5, 458-459: *quam multa grandine nimbi / culminibus crepitant*; 9, 669-670: *quam multa grandine nimbi / in vada praecipitant*; 10, 803-804: *effusa si quando grandine nimbi / praecipitant*; Ov. H. 7, 93-94: *illa dies nocuit, qua nos declive sub antrum / caeruleus subitus conpulit imber aquis*; F. 4, 626: *ventus ab occasu grandine mixtus erit*; Anon. *Laus Pison.* 57: *cum grandine nimbos*; Sil. 3, 197: *imbriferam hiemem permixta grandine torquet*; 3, 489-490: *illa undique nubes / huc atras agit et mixtos cum grandine nimbos*; 13, 15: *imbres, o patria, et mixtos cum grandine nimbos*; Cypr. *Hept. Iesu Nave*, 340: *conferta ex grandine nimbi*; Andrelinus,

*Bucol.* 12, 22: *mixta venturum grandine nimbum*. Henry (*Aeneidea*, 2 (1878), 292) notes that *nimbus* is not equivalent to a mere *nubes* but means a thunderstorm. The heavy combination of consonants in the line (cf. Austin in *Cl. Quart.* 23 (1929), 50) seems appropriate for the reverberations of such a storm. Donatus remarks: *his, inquit, inmittam pluviam, ac, ne aquae contemptui habeantur, misceam grandinem et haec desuper infundam*.

121. *dum trepidant*: = 9, 418; cf. 12, 737: *dum trepidat*; Serv.: *festinant, ut* (3, 616) *'hic me, dum trepidi crudelia limina linguunt'*; Schol. Dan.: *'trepidant' vero hoc loco 'sensim' accipiunt, non, ut alibi, 'festinant,' quia saltus non cursu, sed sensim cinguntur. quidam 'trepidant' ab equis, qui hodieque trepidare dicuntur, appellari putant. Cato (Orat. Rel. p. 48, 13 Jordan) 'sedere non potest in equo trepidante.'*

121. *alae*: Serv.: *equites; ob hoc 'alae' dicti, quia pedites tegunt alarum vice*; Schol. Dan.: *et quidam cum vestigatoribus alatorum mentionem inductam accipiunt; nam indaginem vestigatores ipsos tradunt, alas vero alatores, qui dextra et sinistra plagarum sublata voce prohibent feras exire*; Sil. 2, 84: *reginam cingunt, sed virgine densior ala est*; 2, 416-419: *hinc et speluncam furtivaque foedera amantum / Callaicae fecere manus; il clamor ad auras / latratusque canum, subitoque exterrita nimbo / occulant alae venantium corpora silvis*; Isid. *Etym.* 10, 282: *quattuor autem sunt venatorum officia: vestigatores, indagatores, alatores, pressores*. This use of *ala* is extended from the very common one of a unit of soldiers, particularly of cavalry. Henry (*Aeneidea*, 2 (1878), 625-626) cites similar uses of *ala* in

122. desuper infundam, et tonitru caelum omne ciebo.  
diffugient comites et nocte tegentur opaca;  
speluncam Dido dux et Troianus eandem

122-143: *MR.* tonitrum γ<sup>1</sup>. mouebo γ.  
diffu. gi. ent b. teguntur Mc<sup>1</sup> (tegentur M<sup>1</sup>).  
dux (d add. m. 2) γ.

122. desuper . . . et: *Anth. Lat. no. 18, 58* (1, p. 81 Riese). 122. desuper: *Gl. Ansil. 172, 1174*; q.v. 122. infundam: *Gl. Ansil. 302, 824*; q.v. 122. et . . . ciebo: *Schol. Dan. Aen. 4, 339*. 122. ciebo: *Gl. Aa, 195, 296*; q.v.

123. diffugient . . . opaca: *Cento Probae, 638* — diffugiunt; teguntur —. 123. diffugient comites: *Anth. Lat. no. 17, 425* (1, p. 78 Riese) — diffugiunt —. 123. diffugient: *Gl. Ansil. 177, 297*; q.v.

Manzoni, *I promessi Sposi*, chapters 4 and 10. *Alae* have been here less probably explained as the red feathers used for scaring game; cf. *G. 3, 372*; *Aen. 12, 750-751*; *Sen. De Clem. 1, 12, 5*.

121. saltus, etc.: cf. *Sil. 10, 80*: *lustrat inaccessos venatum indagine saltus*; *Claud. In Rufin. 2, 376-377*: *sic ligat inmensa virides indagine saltus / venator*; *Gesta Cnutonis Regis, 3, 4, p. 522* (cf. *Manitius, Gesch. d. lat. Lit. d. Mittelalters, 2* (1923), 331): *aut saltus canibus ad venandum cinxit*.

121. indagine: of a cordon; cf. *Ecl. 6, 56*: *nemorum iam claudite saltus*; *G. 3, 411-413*; *Tib. 4, 3, 7-8*: *densos indagine colles / claudentem*; *Ov. M. 7, 766*: *latos indagine cinctimus agros*; *Luc. 6, 41-42*: *amplexus fines saltus nemorosaque tesqua / et silvas vastaue feras indagine claudit*; *Tac. Agr. 37*; etc.; and, for the technique of such hunting, *Xen. Cynege. 10, 7*.

122. infundam: cf. *Ov. M. 1, 269*: *funduntur ab aethere nimbi*; *Prud. Cont. Symm. 1, 67-68*: *desuper auri / infundens pluviam*; also 4, 120, n. (*ego*), above.

122. tonitru, etc.: cf. 4, 160-161; 4, 167.

122. omne: *Serv.*: *pro 'totum'*; 'omne' enim numeri est, 'totum' quantitatis.

122. ciebo: cf. 8, 354: *nimbosque cietet*; also 2, 419: *ciet aequora*.

123. diffugient: this word is initial in eight of the nine Virgilian lines in which it occurs.

123. nocte tegentur: cf. 4, 47, n. (*surgere regna*). The hunters are not to be sheltered from the storm but cut off from the sight of

Aeneas and Dido. *Nox* is here used of the darkness of the storm; cf. *Lucr. 4, 172*: *tetra nimborum nocte coorta*; *G. 1, 328*: *nimborum in nocte*; *Aen. 1, 89*; 3, 194-195: *imber / noctem hiememque ferens*; *Steiner, Das Bedeutungslehnnwort in Vergils Aeneis* (1921), 50-51.

123. opaca: an epithet of *nox* in 8, 658; 10, 161-162; cf. *Anderson, A Study of Virgil's Descriptions of Nature* (1916), 154-155; 162.

124. speluncam: cf. 4, 165, which repeats this line; *Od. 5, 194*: *ἔξον δὲ σπέος ἐς γλαφυρὸν θεὸς ἦδὲ καὶ ἀνὴρ*; *Vida, Poet. 2, 520-522*, quoted at 4, 166, n. (*pronuba Iuno*), below. For the separation of the noun and its adjective at the beginning and end of the line cf. *Bell, The Latin Dual* (1923), 364, who cites from this book also lines 462 and 513. The heavily spondaic line contrasts with the preceding, and indicates that Dido and Aeneas are to pause after reaching their goal; cf. *Maxa in Wiener Stud. 19* (1897), 89-90.

124. et: for its position cf. 4, 33, n. (*Veneris nec*).

125. devenient: cf. 4, 166. The verb is also used in 1, 365; 6, 638; *Cul. 208*; *Val. Fl. 1, 844*; etc.; generally in the sense of 'arrive at' or 'take refuge at.'

125. adero: cf. *Ov. M. 6, 428-429*: *non pronuba Iuno, / non Hymenaeus adest*; 10, 295; *coniugio, quod fecit, adest dea*.

125. tua, etc.: cf. 7, 548: *tua si mihi certa voluntas*; 6, 675: *si fert ita corde voluntas*; *Cul. 230*: *modo sit dum grata voluntas*; *Serv.*: *hoc est, si etiam tuum subsequatur officium*; and the *Schol. Dan. add.*: *quia Iuno*

125. devenient. adero et, tua si mihi certa voluntas  
conubio iungam stabili propriamque dicabo.

125-126. adero . . . stabili: *Mythogr. Val. III, 9, 13* — conubio —. 125. adero . . . voluntas: *Serv. Aen. 4, 114; 9, 651* — adero *om. AS*; si tua *R*, tunc si *H*, tua sit *F* —. 125. tua . . . voluntas: *Anth. Lat. no. 8, 1 (1, p. 34 Riese)*; *no. 15, 20 (1, p. 51 Riese)* — uoluntas *A* —; *Cento Probae, 195* — sit *P*, si tua *A*<sup>1</sup> (*corr. m. 2*) —.

[125] 126. conubio . . . dicabo: *Anth. Lat. no. 10, 31 (1, p. 40 Riese)*; *no. 18, 45 (1, p. 81 Riese)* — conubio *A*; probiamque *A* —; *Hrab. Maur. Exc. de Art. Prisc. (Patr. Lat. 111, 623)* — connubio —; *Thomas Cisterc. Comm. in Cant. Canticorum, praef. (Patr. Lat. 206, 18)*; *Ioann. Saresb. Metalogicon, 3, 3*. 126. conubio . . . stabili: *Schol. Dan. Aen. 4, 213*.

*coniugii, Venus causa coniunctionis sit. igitur Iuno nil se posse adnuntiat, nisi voluntas Veneris adfuerit. 'certa' autem 'firma,' quia promiserat*; cf. Heinze, *Virgils epische Technik*, 3 ed. (1915), 483-484.

126. conubio, etc.: this line = 1, 73, of which Servius remarks: 'conubio' nu brevem posuit, cum naturaliter longa sit. 'nubo' enim, unde habet originem, longa est. sed est tropus systole, qui fit quotienscumque longa corripitur syllaba propter metri necessitatem. ipse alio loco longam posuit (citing 3, 319; 4, 213; 4, 316; 4, 535). sciendum tamen est, quia plerumque in compositione vel derivatione principalitatis natura corrumpitur; cf. the repetition of part of this statement in his note on our line, and the Schol. Dan. on 4, 213. In the *Aeneid*, in short, we have certain clear cases of a long second syllable of *conubium*, including six instances of *conubia* and three of *conubis* (two of these with variants), while the three cases of *conubio* and two (or doubtfully four) of *conubiis* must either shourt the *u* or consonantize the *i* preceding the ending, as in some forms of *Paeonius* (7, 769; 12, 401), *omnis* (6, 33), *abies* (2, 16; 5, 663; 8, 599; 11, 667), *aries* (2, 492; 7, 175; 12, 706), *fluvius* (G. 1, 482), etc.; cf. Pascal on *Aen. 3, 136*. The testimony of Servius as well as the fact that some derivatives of *nubo* shorten the *u* (e.g., *pronuba*, *innubus*) favors the supposition that *conubio* is here quadrisyllabic. On the whole subject cf. Munro on *Lucr. 3, 776*; Wackernagel in *Festschrift für . . . Kretschmer* (1926), 289-306. With *conubio iungam* cf. *Ov. M. 6, 428: conubio Prognos iunxit*. I cannot agree with those editors (Peerlkamp, Ribbeck, and Mackail; cf. also Sparrow, *Half-lines and Repetitions in*

*Virgil* (1931), 142-143) who consider this line an interpolation from 1, 73, nor with their belief in its irrelevance in the present place.

Juno seems interested in a firm and legitimate founding of the marital relation between Aeneas and Dido (cf. Kunz, *Realien in Vergils Aeneis*, 1 (1894), 17; Pichon, *Hist. de la Litt. lat.* 5 ed. (1912), 354), though ulterior motives lie behind this, as shown in 1, 8-33; cf. also Conway, *Anc. Italy and modern Religion* (1933), 114. Of the identical line (1, 73) Servius says: *conubium est ius legitimi matrimonii. et bene 'conubio iungam' dixit, ut hanc ab aliis segregaret quae a regibus sine lege habentur. solent enim reges inter plures uni praecipuum dare nomen uxoris . . . dicendo enim 'conubio' ostendit legitimam; dicendo 'stabile' longam promittit concordiam, id est, quae divorzio careat; dicendo 'propiam' adulterii removel suspicionem. quod autem adiecit 'dicabo' obsequentem eam fore demonstrat*. With the general situation Sabbadini compares *Il. 14, 168: δῶσω ἐπνιέμεναι καὶ σὴν κεκληῶσθαι ἀκοίτιν*. To delete this verse, with Peerlkamp (who feels that a formal marriage, such as would be denoted by the term *conubium*, would not be thus informally contracted in a cave), Ribbeck (who is not followed by Janell), Haupt, et al. (cf. Belling, *Stud. ii. d. Compositions-kunst Vergils in d. Aeneide* (1899), 199-200), seems unnecessary, as is the attempt of Güthling (*Adnotat. ad Vergilii Aeneidem* (1877), 16-17) to omit the words *stabili . . . Hymenaeus erit*; cf. Henry, *Aeneidea*, 2 (1878), 627.

126. *propiam*: cf. *Schol. Dan. Aen. 1, 73: 'propiam' autem possumus vel firmam vel perpetuam accipere, ut 'si proprium hoc fuerit' (Ecl. 7, 31). Terentius (Andr. 716):*

127. hic hymenaeus erit.' non adversata petenti  
adnuat atque dolis risit Cytherea repertis.

hymaenaeus *M*, hymoenaeus *p*, hymeneus *γ*, hemeneus (hoemenaeus ?) *b*<sup>1</sup>. auersata *R*; cf. *Serv. in explicatione citatum*.  
annuit (*n pr. in ras.*) *b*, annuit *c*. adque *R*. rysit *γ*.

127. hic hymenaeus: *Gl. Ansil.* 279, 58 — imenaeus —. 127. non adversata: *Gl. Ansil.* 394, 121.

128. atque . . . repertis: *Schol. Dan. Aen. I, 254*.

'*nililne esse cuiquam proprium*' et '*quod voluptates eorum propriae sunt*' (*Andr.* 960), et '*da propriam, Thymbraee, domum*' (*Aen.* 3, 85); cf. *Aen.* 3, 167; 6, 871.

127. *hymenaeus*: cf. 4, 99, *n.* (*hymenaeos*); *Manil.* 5, 546: *hic Hymenaeus erat* (*Henry, Aeneidea*, 2 (1878), 626, would de-capitalise the noun); *Schol. Dan.*: *id est, hae erunt nuptiae. sane de Hymenaeo licet superius* (on 4, 99) *iam dictum sit, tamen sunt etiam aliae opiniones: nam alii hunc Veneris et Liberi filium dicunt primum nuptiis prospere usum, ob quod in nuptiis vocatur; unde nuptiale carmen Hymenaeus. alii nuptiarum inventiorem tradunt . . . Cornelius Balbus Hymenaeum ait, Magnetis filium, musicae artis peritum . . . dum nuptias Liberi patris et Althaeae religiosis cantibus celebrat, exspirasse; propter quod ei talis honor in nuptiis adtributus est ut celebratio nominis eius nuptiarum iungendarum perpetuum omen esset*. This is the only case in Virgil of the singular of *hymenaeus*, and its interpretation is disputed. Is it a person, and does Juno mean that he will be present at the rites with her and Venus, as in *Ov. M.* 6, 429; 9, 762; 9, 796? Then, even if *hic* = 'here,' the whole clause seems very flat. If, however, the singular can mean 'nuptials,' we secure a forceful and appropriate meaning, and for the singular in this sense cf. *Catull.* 66, 11: *novo auctus hymenaeo*; *Sen. Phoen.* 262-263: *proloqui hymenaeum pudet / taedasque nostras*; also the use of *hymen* in *Sen. Tr.* 861-863: *quicumque hymen funestus, intractabilis, / lamenta, caedes, sanguinem, gemitus habet, / est auspice Helena dignus*; *Stat. Achill.* 1, 938: *hicne est liber hymen*. The singular in the sense of 'wedding-hymn' is also found in *Catull.* 62, 4; *Sen. Tr.* 202; *Med.* 116. In

the present passage it is probably figuratively used of the whole rite, rather than with reference to a single day of the nuptials (as *Ladewig-Jahn* suggest).

127. *non adversata*: cf. 4, 30, *n.* (*sic effata*); *Serv.*: *legitur et 'aversata'*; *Donat.*: *cum haec Iuno dixisset noluit Venus adversari petitioni ac voluntati eius perindeque consensit ridens adversariae dolos evidentissime patuisse, quae sic insistebat, ut fieret aliquid quod esset Aeneae Troianisque contrarium, scilicet ut regnum Italiae Libycas adverteret oras* (cf. 4, 106). The best MS tradition here supports *adversata*, which well fits the sense. *Bell (The Latin Dual* (1923), 298) detects an amphibole, for *adversata* may be grammatically the object of *adnuat* or in apposition with its subject. The latter is undoubtedly the meaning.

127. *petenti*: depending upon *adversata*, *adnuat*, or, perhaps, both.

128. *adnuat*: cf. 4, 107-108: *quis . . . / abnuat*.

128. *dolis . . . repertis*: *Schol. Dan.*: *vel compertis vel deprehensis. cur autem dolis repertis risit? qui alius intelligunt sic tradunt: hoc est quos iam pridem compererat, cum Ilium oppugnaretur*. *Henry (Aeneidea*, 2 (1878), 627-634) thinks (1) that Venus had already (4, 105-106) recognized the roguery of Juno, so that it would now be inappropriate for her to smile at its discovery; and (2) that *doli reperti* are wiles devised by Juno (cf. *Tac. Ann.* 13, 16, 2: *talis dolus repertus est*), not discovered by but communicated to Venus (*op. cit.*, 1 (1873), 403; 3 (1889), 356; so also *Kvičala, Neue Beitr. z. Erkl. d. Aeneis* (1881), 83-84, who observes that *atque* should connect agreeing rather than contrasted ideas — yet note the many instances of *atque* with an adversative force

## 129. Oceanum interea surgens Aurora reliquit.

relinquit *M* (reliquit *M*<sup>2</sup>).

129. Oceanum . . . reliquit: *Diomed. Art. gram.* 3 (G. L. K. 1, 496) — reliquid *A* —; *Mar. Vict. Art. gram.* 2 (G. L. K. 6, 73); *Anth. Lat. no. 11, 100* (1, p. 44 Riese) — oceanum *A*; relinquet (1 in *ras. ex ns ut vid.*) *A* —; *Anon. Perioch. Il. et Od.* 19, p. 389 Peiper (in *Auson. edit.*); *Cento Probae*, 600 — reliquid *P* —; *Medicina Plinii*, 3, 272 (= *Heim, Incantamenta magica* (1892), 502, no. 121).

listed in *Thes. Ling. Lat.* 2 (1906), 1074, 16-1075, 2). It should, however, be noted (a) that lines 105-106 are not used of a time long past but at the beginning of this short speech of Venus; and (b) that even if Venus had known long in advance of the general attitude and intention of Juno she had, in the previous speech, just learned of the particular ruse by which Juno hoped to execute her plans. Further, while *reperio* may be used of devising an artifice or an invention, it is equally apposite for the detection of something devised by another (e.g., *Plaut. Most.* IIII: *omnia male facta vostra repperi radicitus*; *Ov. F.* 3, 846: *furia reperta*; *Claud. In Eutrop.* 1, 88-89: *fraude reperta / cautior*). The view of Gercke (*Die Entstehung der Aeneis* (1913), 45-46) that this phrase and lines 105-106 belong to a late stratum of the composition of the *Aeneid*, if correct, is hardly essential to an understanding of the poem as it stands. The construction of *dolis . . . repertis* is probably ablative absolute, though *ridens* with the ablative may perhaps be justified by such cases as *Hor. S.* 2, 8, 83: *ridetur fictis rerum*; *C.* 4, 1, 17-18: *quandoque potentior / largi muneribus riserit aemuli*. Venus knew (1, 257-295) that the plans of Juno were not destined to be fulfilled, and hence could afford to laugh.

128. *risit*: cf. *Hor. C.* 3, 16, 5-7: *si non Acrisium, virginis abdūctae / custodem pavidum, Iuppiter et Venus / risissent*. Laughter is represented as a frequent attribute of the goddess of love; e.g., the φιλομειδής 'Αφροδίτη of *Il.* 3, 424; *Od.* 8, 362; *Append. Planud.* 177, 1; cf. *Hom. Hymn. in Aphrod.* 49: ἡδὺ γελοῖσασα φιλομειδής 'Αφροδίτη; *Hes. Theog.* 205; *Apoll. Rh.* 3, 51; *Hor. C.* 1, 2, 33-34: *sive tu mavis, Erycina ridens, / quam Iocus circum volat et Cupido*; *Ov. H.*

15, 83: *dulce Venus risit*; *F.* 4, 5; *Sil.* 7, 466-467: *nitenti / affulsit vultu ridens Venus*. *Buscaroli (ad loc.)* remarks that Venus here shows the perfidy and insensibility to human misfortune (for she knows that the result will cause Dido's death) which is characteristic of the Hellenistic Aphrodite. Further, it is a conflict between the destiny of her son and that of his lover.

128. *Cytherea*: in the *Aeneid* six times of Venus; cf. *Moseley, Characters and Epithets* (1926), xxv. The term is as old as Homer (*Od.* 8, 288; 18, 193) and appears often in later writers; cf. *Bruchmann, Epitheta Deorum quae apud Poet. Gr. leguntur* (1893), 59-61; *Carter, Epitheta Deorum quae apud Poet. Rom. leguntur* (1902), 100-101; *Prehn in P.-W.* 12 (1924), 217-218.

129. *Oceanum, etc.*: this line = 11, 1, and was probably suggested by *Il.* 19, 1-2: 'Ὡς μὲν κροκόπεπλος ἄρ' Ὀκεανοῖο ῥόων / ὤρνυθ'; cf. *Od.* 23, 243; also *Aen.* 4, 584-585 (with n. on *et iam, etc.*); 7, 25-26; *Anth. Lat.* nos. 579-590 (2, pp. 79-82 Riese) for several variations of the phrase; and, for the ethos of descriptions of daybreak, *Heinze, Virgils epische Technik*, 3 ed. (1915), 366-368; cf. *Keith in Stud. in Philol.* 22 (1925), 518-521 (on the dawn in Virgil); also *Cartault, L'Art de Virgile dans l'Énéide*, 1 (1926), 345; *Bowra, Tradition and Design in the Iliad* (1930), 88-89. This is probably the fourth day of the Carthaginian episode (cf. 4, 6, n. (*postera, etc.*), above), which extends through 4, 168. An unnecessary change of the order of lines, proposed by Klouček, *Krit. u. exeget. zu Verg.* (1879), 16-17, would produce the sequence 129, 133-150, 130-132, 151 ff. *La Cerda (ad loc.)* observes that the hunt appropriately begins at daybreak, and compares *Od.* 19, 428-429; *Opp. Cyneg.* 1, 111;



## 130. it portis iubare exorto delecta iuventus;

it *R* (et *R*<sup>2</sup>), id  $\gamma^1$ . it//portis *b*. iuuare *R*. dilecta *b*<sup>1</sup>*c*, delectare (*corr. in* delecta)  $\pi$ .

130. it . . . iuventus: *Schol. Dan. Aen. 4, 133* — ut *F* —; *Anon. Quaest. gram. (Anecd. Helvet. 182)* — exto *corr. in* exorto —. 130. it . . . exorto: *Schol. Dan. Aen. 4, 404* — id *NH*; iuuare exhorto *F* —. 130. it . . . iubare: *Schol. Dan. Aen. 11, 142* — ait *G* —. 130. it portis: *Gl. Ansil. 288, 75* — id —. 130. iubare exorto: [*Prisc.*] *De Acc. 23* (*G. L. K. 3, 523*); *Prob. Cathol. 1* (*G. L. K. 4, 11*); *Phocas, Ars, 2* (*G. L. K. 5, 415*) — iuuare exortu *P* —.

etc.; see also 4, 130, n. (*iubare exorto*), below.

129. interea: Juno and Venus conversed during the night; cf. Cartault, *L'Art de Virgile dans l'Énéide*, 2 (1926), 809.

129. surgens Aurora: cf. *Stat. Theb. 12, 563*: *septima iam surgens . . . Aurora*.

129. reliquit: against reading *relinquit* (with *M*<sup>1</sup>) cf. Ley, *Vergil. Quaest. 1* (1877), 14–15; Unterharnscheidt, *De Veterum in Aen. Coniecturis* (1911), 31.

130. it: this little word tends to appear as initial in its line; e.g., *Enn. Ann. 439, 474*; 14 times in the *Aeneid* (including 4, 404); *Moretum*, 103. Where not initial in the line it often begins a sentence or clause; e.g., *G. 3, 507*; 3, 517; seven times in the *Aeneid* (including 4, 443; 4, 665); *Luc. 1, 388*. Other forms of *eo* show the same tendency; in Book IV we may note *i* (lines 381 and 424) and *ire* (413 and 468). The monosyllable *fit* is similarly treated; e.g., three times in the *Georgics* and eight in the *Aeneid*; cf. *Caes. B. G. 7, 70, 5*; 7, 88, 3; 7, 88, 5; and for *stat* and *stant* cf. 4, 135, n. (*stat*); 4, 509, n. (*stant, etc.*). On this subject cf. Löfstedt, *Syntactica*, 2 (1933), 36; 51; who mentions Wackernagel's finding in Homer a tendency to put unaugmented monosyllabic verbs at the beginning of the sentence or the line. The sentence also closes with a conspicuous monosyllable; cf. 4, 132, n. (*canum vis*). With the phraseology cf. *Anon. in Mon. Germ. hist., Epist., 6, 200*: *it portis iubare exorto*.

The contrast of the dawn with the subsequent storm well befits that between the gaiety of the setting forth of this hunting party and the grim catastrophe to follow, as in 8, 585–596 the starting out of Pallas contrasts with his later fate. Several common

elements appear in the two descriptions: the going out of the gates; the presence of Aeneas and attendants; the similarity of 4, 137 and 8, 588; and the comparison of the hero's appearance to that of a deity (4, 143 and 8, 589); cf. Henry, *Aeneidea*, 3 (1889), 754–755, who sums up: "Each picture may be regarded as the last glimpse of a blue sky immediately to be enveloped in clouds and storm — as the ballet before the curtain rises for the last act of the tragedy." Conway (*New Studies of a great Inheritance* (1921), 148, n. 1) thinks this scene taken from the romance of Arganthon and Rhesus (*Parthen. 36*); Cartault (*L'Art de Virgile dans l'Énéide*, 1 (1926), 308) supposes it an elaborated reproduction of one of the great hunts popular among the high society folk of Rome; while Prescott (*The Development of Virgil's Art* (1927), 278) believes that "the Roman reader could hardly have failed to associate it in his thought with the splendor of a bridal procession, with the festal preparations for marriage in his everyday experience." *Quot homines tot sententiae*. Possibly the idea of the hunt may have been suggested to Virgil by the hunting parties of Antony and Cleopatra; cf. *Plut. Ant. 29*. For an African mosaic of a boar-hunt found at Carthage in 1923 cf. *Art and Arch. 17* (1924), 71; Kelsey, *Excavations at Carthage, 1925* (1926), 27.

The site of the hunt (since not more than one day seems to be thought of) would naturally lie within a few miles of Carthage, and Ancey (in *Rev. arch. 19* (1912), 155–156) supposes it to have been in the peninsula of Cape Bon to the east of the city, identifying the mountain whose flanks are carved with grottos as *Bon-kour-nein*, directly in sight of Carthage (but cf. also Boissier, *Roman*

131. *retia rara, plagae, lato venabula ferro;*

plage γ. *latoe M (lato M<sup>2</sup>).*

131-132. *retia . . . equites: Non. p. 378 M. (p. 602 L.) — massyli querunt A<sup>a</sup>B<sup>a</sup> —.*  
 131. *retia . . . ferro: Charis. Inst. gram. 1 (G. L. K. 1, 61) — lata (corr. in lato) N —.* 131.  
*retia . . . plagae: Non. p. 369 M. (p. 587 L.); [Acro] in Hor. Epod. 2, 32 — plage Ac, pl V —.* 131. *retia rara: Gl. Ansil. 496, 1706.*

*Africa* (1899), 60). Little, however, depends on an exact localization of the events, and Virgil's account is general in character.

130. *iubare exorto: cf. Pacuv. Tr. 347 Ribbeck: exorto iubare, noctis decurso itinere; Ov. M. 7, 663; F. 2, 149-150: quintus ab aequoreis nitidum iubar extulit undis / Lucifer; Colum. 10, 294: iubare exorto; Sen. Oed. 2: exoritur iubar; Serv.: nato lucifero, nam proprie 'iubar' lucifer dicitur . . . sane modo hysteropteron in sensu est; iubar enim praecedit auroram; Schol. Dan.: alii iubar solem; alii splendorem siderum dicunt.* In this passage Henry seems right in taking *iubar* of the sun itself (cf. Gundel, *De Stellarum Appellatione et Relig. Romana* (1907), 106-110), though it properly means 'the sun's mane' (cf. Whatmough, *The Prae-Italic Dialects of Italy*, 2 (1933), 453), and so may refer to shafts of light radiating from the not yet visible sun. The importance of an early start in hunting is emphasized by Grat. *Cyneg.* 223; cf. Hor. *Ep.* 1, 6, 58-59: *Gargilius, qui mane plagas, venabula, serros, / differtum transire forum populumque iubebat*, etc.

130. *delecta iuventus: as in 8, 499; 8, 606; 9, 226; cf. Angilbertus, Carm. 6, 156 (Poet. Aevi Carol. 1, 370); Poeta Saxo, De Gest. Carol. Magni, 1, 200 (Poet. Aevi Carol. 4, 12); 3, 231 (Poet. Aevi Carol. 4, 36). Xen. Cyneg. 2, 3 recommends that the hunter be an agile person about twenty years of age; cf. Anab. 1, 9, 6.*

131. *retia rara: the awkward zeugma, in which a verb must be supplied from ruunt, has attracted the notice of commentators, beginning with the Schol. Dan.: sane 'retia rara, plagae' et reliqua subauditur 'portantur'; aut zeugma est 'ruunt'; cf. Bell, The Latin Dual* (1923), 311; McCartney in *Philol. Quart.* 8 (1929), 83; 86, n. 26. Cima (in *Riv. di Filol.* 16 (1888), 297-298; *id.*, *Analecta*

*Latina* (1901), 13-14) thinks the line one which Virgil had intended to weave into the poem and which Varius and Tucca too scrupulously preserved in the place where they found it, where it fits neither with what goes before nor with what follows. Lejay, however (*ad loc.*), thinks this *une phrase purement nominale, à laquelle il est vain de chercher un verbe . . . on le trouve souvent dans les descriptions*, and cites 1, 639-642; 3, 618-619; Cic. *Brut.* 173; Hor. *S.* 1, 4, 12-13.

Servius remarks: *multi dividunt, ut sit 'rara' maiora, 'plagas' minora intellegamus. alii plagas per definitionem accipiunt, ut intellegamus 'quae sunt retia rara, plagae.' sciendum tamen proprie plagas dici funes illos quibus retia tenduntur circa imam et summam partem; cf. Cic. Off. 3, 68: tendere plagas; Hor. Epod. 2, 33: aut amite levi rara tendit retia; also Sen. Phaedr. 44-45: alius raras / cervice gravi portare plagas.* *Rara* seems to mean 'wide-meshed.' For the types of net used in hunting cf. Orth in *P.-W.* 9 (1916), 568-569. Note also the inventory of a hunter, including *retibus* and *plagis*, in *C. I. L. XIII*, 5708 (= Dessau 8379). In *Ecl.* 5, 60; *G.* 1, 307; 3, 413 *retia* are mentioned as used for hunting deer; in *Ecl.* 3, 75 and *Aen.* 10, 710 as employed against boars. The phrase *retia rara* is imitated by Vida, *Christias*, 2, 803; Cayado, *Ecl.* 4, 97.

131. *plagae: in Virgil only here.*

131. *lato . . . ferro: cf. 1, 313 (= 12, 165): bina manu lato crispans hastilia ferro; Ov. H. 4, 83: sive tenes lato venabula cornea ferro; M. 8, 342: tela tenent dextra lato vibrantia ferro; Mart. Epig. Lib. 11, 3: splendida iam tecto cessant venabula ferro; 14, 31, 1: si delecta gemes longo venabula rostro; Sen. Phaedr. 50: robur lato dirige ferro; Opp. Cyneg. 1, 152 (in a list of hunting equipment): σιγήνην ἐβρυκάρηνον; Poll. 5, 20: αἱ*

## 132. Massylique ruunt equites et odora canum vis.

massyliis (*corr. in massylii et massyli mm. postt., fide Hoffmanni*) *M*, massi.li γ, massili b<sup>4</sup>c<sup>4</sup>p; cf. *Serv. in explicatione citatum*. aequites b<sup>4</sup>. dora *R*, odora *M* (odora *M*<sup>2</sup>). canum uis (m u m. rec. in ras.) π, canubis (*corr. in canubiis*) ρ.

[131\*] 132. Massylique . . . equites: *Schol. Dan.* 4, 133 — masxylque f *F* —; *Schol. Lucan.* 4, 682 — massilia quēf *C* —; *Lact. Plac. in Stat. Theb.* 2, 676 — aequales (*pro equites*) *L* —. 132. Massyli: *Gl. Ansil.* 359, 855 — massilii —. 132. et . . . vis: [*Acro*] in *Hor. C.* 1, 1, 27. 132. odora . . . vis: [*Acro*] in *Hor. C.* 4, 11, 4; in *Epod.* 6, 6; *Gl. Ansil.* 408, 37.

δὲ λόγχοι αὐτῶν ἐπ'λατεῖς καὶ ξυρῆεις; Wandalbertus Prumiensis, *De Mens XII Nomin.* 321 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 2, 614): lato metuunt venabula ferro; Gualterus, *Alexandreis*, 3, 458: stringens venabula ferro.

131. venabula: 'hunting-spears' (from venari); also mentioned in 9, 553; cf. Varr. *Menipp.* 361 Bücheler: sues silvaticos in montibus sectaris venabulo, aut cervos . . . verutis; *Plin. Ep.* 1, 6, 1.

132. Massyli: *Serv.*: Massylorum gens est non longe a Maurelania et 'Massyli' legendum per unum 'i', ne non stet versum; 'sy' enim longa est, ut (4, 483) 'hinc mihi Massylae gentis monstrata sacerdos.' In 6, 60 Virgil thinks of this Libyan race as inhabiting a region visited by Aeneas, and hence probably near Carthage. Historically they are to be placed in the general region of Cirta (Constantine), east of the Masaesyli, with whom they are often confused; cf. Schwabe in *P.-W.* 14 (1930), 2166, to which add *Luc.* 4, 682; *Sil.* (many passages noted in Bauer's index, 2, 228); *Avien.* 3, 281; *Prisc. Carm.* 2, 177 (*Poet. Lat. min.* 5, 281); *Lact. Plac. in Stat. Theb.* 8, 124.

132. odora: the first case of the word in Latin (*Ladewig, De Vergilio Verborum Novatore*, 1 (1870), 5), save for Varr. *L. L.* 6, 83, where the text is somewhat uncertain. Elsewhere it is applied to objects emitting rather than pursuing a scent (e.g., *Ambros. Hexaem.* 3, 8, 36: species amplius florum an vis odora delectant), though *Ioann. Saresb. Policr.* 7, 19, p. 682 c follows Virgil in the expression odora vis aut sagacitas canum (cf. *Andrelinus, Ecl.* 12, 34: canes . . . odoros), *Vida, Christias*, 3, 696, has forte canis leporem vi longe sensit odora, and *Gell.* 6 (7), 6, 1 uses

inodorus of animals lacking the sense of smell. *Serv.* remarks: 'odora' autem inproprie dixit; nam 'odorum' est quod ex se odorem emitit, non quod odorem sequitur . . . odoratum est quod aliunde odorem accipit, ut 'odoratum templum.' tria ergo sunt: 'odorum' quod per se olet, 'odoratum' quod aliunde odorem accipit, 'odorisecum' quod odorem sequitur; sicut modo de canibus debuit dicere.

On the keen scent of dogs cf. *Soph. Ichn.* 86; *Xen. Cyneq.* 5, 1-2; *Liv. Andr. Trag.* 29 *Ribbeck: odorisequos . . . canes*; *Plaut. Mil. gl.* 268: odorans quasi canis venaticus; *Lucr.* 4, 680-681; *Cic. N. D.* 2, 151; 2, 158; *Virg. Aen.* 7, 480; *Ov. M.* 7, 806-807; *Philo Jud. De Abrahamo*, 266; *Dio Cass. ap. Zonar.* 8, 18; *Sen. Phaedr.* 40; *Thyest.* 497-498; *De Benef.* 2, 29, 1; *Plin. N. H.* 8, 147; 9, 92; *Plut. Terrest. Anim.* 13; *Sil.* 10, 78-82; *Apul. Apol.* 57: vincit idem sagacitate odorandi canes et vulturios; *Opp. Cyneq.* 1, 463-480; 4, 357; *Haliut.* 4, 275; *Poll.* 2, 74; 2, 80; *Diog. L.* 9, 80; *Clem. Paed.* 2, 8; *Sext. Emp.* 1, 64; *Veget. Epit.* 4, 26; *Sidon. Carm.* 7, 189; *Symm. Ep.* 3, 23; *Venant. Fort. Vit. S. Mart.* 3, 329; *Pschor, Beilr. z. antiken Jagdkunde* (1910), 9-16; *Orth in P.-W.* 8 (1913), 2561-2565 (on hunting dogs).

132. canum vis: *Serv.*: plus est quam si diceret 'multitudo'; unde *Sallustius (Hist. fr.* 3, 53 *Kr.*): qua tempestate ex ponto vis piscium erupit; *Schol. Dan.*: ergo vim aut ad multitudinem aut ad naturam retulit. In the former sense vis (cf. our 'force of men') is so well known as to require no illustration, but is mostly limited to prose rather than poetic diction (*Plaut. Epid.* 249 hardly invalidates this generalization). Much more probably Virgil here imitates Greek periphrases with

## 133. reginam thalamo cunctantem ad limina primi

thalamo (*corr. in thalamo*) *b.*

133-134. reginam . . . expectant: *Porphyr. in Hor. C. 4, 5, 9.* 133. reginam . . . cunctantem: *Anth. Lat. no. 17, 23 (I, p. 62 Riese)* — thalami cunctantes *A* (*cf. no. 10, 32: reginam thalamis*) —; *Non. p. 252 M. (p. 382 L.)*; [*Acro*] *in Hor. C. 4, 5, 11* — regina *A* —.

*βίη* (e.g., *Il. 11, 690: βίη Ἡρακλείη*; Aesch. *Sept. 448*), *is* (e.g., *Il. 23, 720: is Ὀδυσσεύς*; *cf. 21, 356*), *μένος* (e.g., *Il. 14, 418: Ἑκτορος . . . μένος*; *Od. 7, 2: μένος ἡμιόνων*), and *σθένος* (e.g., *Il. 13, 248; 18, 486; Pind. Ol. 6, 22: σθένος ἡμιόνων*; *Pyth. 2, 12: σθένος ἱππειον*), as had been done by Ennius (e.g., *Ann. 276: Vestina virum vis*; *cf. the ancient comments on this phrase in Vahlen's note; Sc. 275 (by emendation): vim taurorum*), Cicero (*Arat. 57 (291): equi vis*), Lucretius (*2, 264; 3, 8 (= 3, 764): fortis equi vis*; *3, 296; 4, 681: promissa canum vis*; *5, 1286; 6, 1222: fida canum vis*), and Horace (*Epod. 6, 6: amica vis pastoribus*), and as was later done by others, e.g., *Sil. 4, 599: vis elephantorum*; *Stat. Theb. 1, 625: rabidamque canum vim*; *Sedulius, Carm. 2, 41, 51 (Poet. Aevi Carol. 3, 205): vis rabiosa canum*; *Politian, Nutricia, 312: nocturna canum vis*; *Vida, Christias, 1, 479: opis vim*; *2, 292: virum vi*; *5, 259: opum vi*; *Sannazaro, Salices, 78: et amica canum vis*; *Gray, De Princip. Cogitandi, 1, 130: odora hominum vis*; *Carducci, Odi barbare, 1, All'Aurora, 11: la forza de i cani*; *Alle Fonti del Clitumno, 15-16: la forza / de' bei giovenchi*.

For the use in hexameter of a final monosyllable following a polysyllable, which is found as early as Homer (e.g., *Il. 1, 426: χαλκοβαρές δῶ*), *cf. Pease on Cic. De Div. 1, 108; 2, 115*; and the works there cited, to which add Harkness in *Am. Journ. of Philol. 31 (1910), 154-174*; *Norden's 2 ed. of Aen., Book VI (1916), 440-441; 448-449*; *Rouse in Cl. Rev. 33 (1919), 138-140* (who finds here "a genial and half-comic effect"); *Merrill on Lucr. 3, 3*; *Marouzeau in Rev. de Philol. 48 (1924), 39-42*. On the effect produced *cf. Quintil. 8, 3, 20*; *Serv. Aen. 5, 481: pessimus versus in monosyllabum desinens*; *8, 83: sciendum tamen hoc esse vitiosum, monosyllabo finire versum, nisi forte ipso monosyllabo*

*minora explicentur animalia, ut 'parturient monles, nascetur ridiculus mus'* (*Hor. Ars poet. 139*); *gratiores enim versus isti sunt, secundum Lucilium*. Such endings, according to Manitius (*Rh. Mus. 46 (1891), 622-628*) occur in Ennius about once in 17 lines, in Lucretius once in 45, in Catullus once in 122, in Virgil once in 293, in Horace once in 26, in Ovid once in 1748, and in Juvenal once in 32. In the present line the last three words decrease in length by one syllable each, as in *4, 314* if *dextramque* be considered as a unit; *cf. 4, 81, n. (cadentia sidera somnos)*; *5, 481: procumbit humi bos*.

**133. thalamo:** in *4, 18* and *4, 550* figuratively used (= 'wedlock'), but here and in *4, 392*; *4, 495* literally of Dido's chamber or apartment.

**133. cunctantem:** *Schol. Dan.: morantem; atqui amatrix ad eum quem amabat debuit festinare; sed pathos natura superavit, ut mulierem et reginam ostendat, ut Terentius (Heaut. 240, quoted below) . . . deinde haec morabatur iam studio placendi. hic enim inducitur veste, armis, auro, vel purpura comp-tior, cum supra (1, 496) naturalis pulchritudinis gloria contenta sit*; *Donat.: aut Didonis meritum fuit aut dedecus Tyriorum ut expectarent reginam constituti ante fores eius, hoc est, mulierem femineis ornatibus occupatam*. For passages showing the proverbial slowness of ladies in making their toilet *cf. Plaut. Poen. 210-225; Stich. 701-702: sed amica mea et tua dum cessat dumque se exornat, nos volo / ludere inter nos*; *Ter. Heaut. 239-240: non cogitas hinc longule esse? et nostri mores mulierum: / dum moliuntur, dum conantur (al. comantur), annus est*; *Cic. Pro Mil. 28: paulisper, dum se uxor (ut fit) comparat, com-moratus est*; *Tib. 1, 8, 16: nec nitidum tarda compserit arte caput (and Smith ad loc.)*; *Prop. 1, 15, 5-6: et potes hesternis manibus componere crines / et longa faciem querere*

## 134. Poenorum expectant, ostroque insignis et auro

expectant *Mp.* austro *b*<sup>1</sup>.

[133]

*desidia*; and add, for the psychological effects of such delay, *Ov. Ars am.* 3, 752: *grata mora venies; maxima lena morast*. Cf. also Angilbertus, *Carm.* 6, 182-183 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 1, 370): *hinc thalamo cunctata diu regina superbo / procedit multa circum comitante caterva*. Yet it was, of course, proper etiquette for the queen to appear last; cf. Kyřkala, *Neue Beitr. z. Erkl. d. Aeneis* (1881), 84.

133. *ad limina*: Serv.: *ante, vel apud*.

133. *primi*: Schol. Dan.: *principes, ut* (8, 105) '*una omnes iuvenum primi*.' et bene reginae officio *primi* adsunt, quia de plebe dixerat '*ut portis iubare exorto delecta iuventus*' et '*Massylique ruunt equites*'; cf. also *Aen.* 9, 453; Reid on *Cic. Fin.* 1, 9.

134. *expectant*: cf. Angilbertus, *Carm.* 6, 158 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 1, 370): *nobilium manus expectans in limine primo*.

134. *ostro*: used by Virgil, along with *murex* (*Ecl.* 4, 44; *Aen.* 4, 262; 9, 614) as the noun corresponding to the adjective *purpureus*; cf. *G.* 2, 506: *Sarrano . . . ostro* (cf. Serv. and Probus *ad loc.*); 3, 17: *Tyrio conspectus in ostro*; *Aen.* 1, 639; 1, 700; *Cir.* 387: *Sidonio . . . ostro*; 440: *nec Libys Assyrio sternetur lectulus ostro* (cf. *G.* 2, 465).

The dye was produced from *Murex trunculus* L., *M. brandaris* L., and *Purpura haemastoma* Lam.; cf. Pietschmann, *Gesch. d. Phönizier* (1889), 239-242; Dedekind, *Beitrag zur Purpurkunde* (1898-1911) — a diffuse work in four volumes with exhaustive bibliographies and reprints of earlier dissertations —, especially 1, 48-50; and 2, plates II and IV; Besnier in Daremb. & Saglio, *Dict. des Antiq.* 4 (1907), 770 and fig. 5887; also the works mentioned in Lübker's *Reallex. d. kl. Altertums*, 8 ed. (1914), 874.

The best known seat of manufacture was at Tyre (e.g., the passages above cited, also *Cic. Verr.* 2, 5, 146; *G.* 3, 307; *Aen.* 9, 127; *Hor. Epod.* 12, 21; *Strab.* 16, 2, 23 (cf.

Eustath. *ad Dion. Perieg.* 911); *Sen. N. Q.* 1, 5, 12; *Med.* 99; *Thyest.* 3; 45; 955; *H. O.* 644; *Paus.* 3, 21, 6; *Quintil.* 12, 10, 75; *Plin. N. H.* 5, 76; 9, 127; 9, 135; 9, 137; 21, 45; 35, 45; et al.; *Suet. Ner.* 32; *Poll.* 1, 45; *Hier. Comm. in Ezech.* 8, p. 306 Vall.; *Amm. Marc.* 14, 9, 7; *Boeth. Cons.* 3, poet. 4, 1; *Isid. Etym.* 15, 1, 27), but the dye was also produced at other places in the vicinity, such as Sarepta, Caesarea, Neapolis, Dorus (*Steph. Byz. s.v.*), and Lydda (Junior, *Tot. Orb. Descript.* 31 (*Geogr. Gr. min.* 2, 519)), in Cyprus (*Isid. Etym.* 19, 28, 3), at Smyrna (Junior, *op. cit.*, 47), in Laconia (*Hor. C.* 2, 18, 7-8; *Plin. N. H.* 9, 127; 21, 45; 35, 45), at Puteoli (*Plin. N. H.* 35, 45), in Egypt (*Besnier, op. cit.*, 774, nn. 29-30), and (*Plin. N. H.* 9, 127) in *Meninge Africae et Gaetulo litore oceani*; cf. *id.*, 5, 12; 6, 201; 30, 45; 35, 45; *Solin.* 26, 1. From this African manufacture the adjective *punicus* (cf. *Punicus*) is derived (cf. *Hor. C.* 2, 16, 35-37; and other allusions), and it is, doubtless, in part this which leads Virgil to mention the color here, though it was in itself one to which he often alludes; cf. Bellesort, *Virgile* (1924), 262.

Probably from their cost purple garments were associated with the wealthy (e.g., *Od.* 4, 115; 4, 154; 4, 298; 7, 337; 10, 353; 13, 108; 14, 500; 20, 150-151; et al.; *Xen. Anab.* 1, 5, 8; *Demetr. De Eloc.* 108; *Cato ap. Gell.* 11, 18, 18; *Cic. Phil.* 2, 27 (*Quintil.* 8, 4, 25); *Hor. S.* 2, 6, 106; *C.* 3, 1, 42-43; *Quintil.* 1, 2, 6; *Sen. Ep.* 16, 8; 62, 13; 62, 31; 69, 4; 76, 31; 90, 41; *Dial.* 7, 25; 11, 11; *Plin. N. H.* 9, 124; *Plut. Quaest. conv.* 3, 1, 2; *De Esu Carn.* 2, 2; *Brut. Anim.* 6; *Dio Chrys.* 47, 25; *Luke*, 16, 19; *Athen.* 4, 49; 7, 33; 12, 16; 12, 20; 12, 29; et al.; *Gaudent. Serm.* 13 (*Patr. Lat.* 20, 942 B); *Aug. C. D.* 1, 12) and thus are appropriately assigned to Carthaginian wearers; cf. 4, 75, n. (*opes*), above. Further, purple is through all antiquity a symbol of royalty (*G.* 2, 495:

*purpura regum*; *Aen.* 7, 814-815: *ut regius ostro / velet honos levis umeros*; e.g., *Il.* 3, 126; 8, 221; 9, 200; 10, 133; 22, 441; 24, 644-645; 24, 796; *Od.* 8, 84; 19, 225; 19, 242; *Aesch. Agam.* 910; 922; 946; 957; *Hdt.* 1, 50; *Eur. Hipp.* 126; *Theopomp. ap. [Longin.] De Sublim.* 43, 2; *Apoll. Rh.* 1, 722; *Polyb.* 10, 26, 1; 11, 18, 1; 16, 6, 7; *Cic. Pro Sest.* 57; *De Div.* 1, 119 (and my note); *De Sen.* 59; *Strab.* 14, 1, 3; *Hor. C.* 1, 35, 12: *purpurei . . . tyranni*; *Liv.* 33, 8, 8; 34, 7, 2-10; et al.; *Diod.* 20, 93; *Dion. Hal.* 3, 62-63; 4, 74; 10, 24; *Sen. Ep.* 94, 60; *Thyest.* 909; *Juv. Il.* 188; *Plin. N. H.* 9, 136; *Stat. De Bell. Germ.* 3 (*F. P. R.* p. 370 Baehrens); *Paus.* 2, 17, 6; 10, 25, 5; *App. B. C.* 1, 42; 2, 84; 4, 94; 8, 32; 8, 109; 12, 5; *Arr. Anab.* 6, 29, 8-9; *Plut. De Tranq. Anim.* 12; *Reg. et Imp. Apoph.*, Alexander; *De Alex. Mag. Fort.* 1, 10; 2, 3; 2, 8; *De Lib. educ.* 14; *An Seni.* 11; and often in the *Vitae*; *Lucian, Vit. Auct.* 12; *Vulc. Gall. Avid. Cass.* 3, 3; *Lamprid. Comm.* 15, 3; *Jul. Cap. Pert.* 8, 2; *Clod. Alb.* 2, 5; *Spart. Get.* 3, 2 (cf. *Lamprid. Sev.* 13, 1); *Lamprid. Diadum.* 3, 3; 4, 1; *Sev.* 14, 1; 51, 4; *Jul. Cap. Maxim.* 11, 3; 14, 2; 29, 6; 30, 1; *Gord.* 8, 3; *Max. et Balb.* 9, 4; *Treb. Poll. Gall.* 16, 4; *Tyr. trig.* 18, 3; 27, 1; 30, 14; 31, 12; *Vop. Aur.* 4, 5-7; 5, 3; 24, 1; 29, 1-3; *Tac.* 17, 1-3; *Prob.* 10, 5; *Firm.* 2, 1; 2, 3; 9, 3; 10, 1; *Carin.* 20, 4-5; *Ambr. Hexaem.* 5, 6; *Athen.* 12, 8; 12, 31; 12, 38; 12, 54-55; *Sulp. Sev. Dial.* 2, 6, 4; *Lact. Inst.* 4, 7, 6; *De Mort. Persec.* 19, 2; 19, 5; 25, 3; et al.; *Optat. De Schism. Donat.* 5, 7; *Mamert. Grat. Act.* 23; *Eunap. Vit. Philos.* p. 456 Boiss.; *Hier. Vit. Paul.* 18; *Chron. ann. Abr.* 2076; *Sidon. Ep.* 1, 9, 2; *Eutrop.* 9, 8, 1; 9, 9, 2; 9, 21, 1; 9, 26, 1; *Amm. Marc.* 14, 11, 10; 15, 5, 18; 15, 5, 27; et al.; *Boeth. Cons.* 4, poet. 2, 2; *Theodoret. Hist. eccl.* 5, 18; *Evagr. Hist. eccl.* 5, 1; *Procop.* 1, 24, 36; et al.; *Isid. Etym.* 7, 2, 2. Cf. also 1 *Macc.* 8, 14; 10, 62; 2 *Macc.* 4, 38; the purple robe of Jesus before the Crucifixion (*Mark*, 15, 17), and the later use of the color by the college of cardinals; *Steger, De Purpura sacrae Dignitatis Insigni* (1741), reprinted in *Dedekind, op. cit.*, 1, 261-328 (on its use by priests and rulers); *Blümner in Berl. Stud. f. cl. Philol. u. Arch.* 13, 3 (1892), 192-193; *Besnier, op. cit.*, 777-778; *Arm-*

strong, *Significance of certain Colors in Roman Ritual* (1917), 41.

Often purple, as a sign of wealth or power, is combined, as here, with gold; cf. *G.* 2, 506-507; *Aen.* 1, 639-640; 1, 697-700; 4, 139; 4, 262-264; 5, 111-112; 5, 132-133; 7, 277-279; 9, 163; 11, 72; 12, 126. Sometimes the combination is that of gold armor, crowns, ornaments, or equipment, with purple robes, as in 4, 139; also *Sappho*, 66, 8-9 Edmonds; *Hdt.* 1, 50; 3, 20; 9, 22; *Ar. Eq.* 967-969; *Xen. Cyrop.* 2, 4, 6; *Agas.* 2, 7; *Demetr. De Eloc.* 289; *Auct. ad Herenn.* 4, 60; *Cic. De Div.* 1, 119; *Varius, De Morte*, 2 (*F. P. R.* p. 337 Baehrens); *Dion. Hal.* 8, 62; *Liv.* 30, 17, 13; *Val. Max.* 5, 2, 1; *Plin. N. H.* 9, 127; 11, 186; *Plut. Coniug. Praec.* 26; *Timol.* 15, 6; et al.; *Stat. Theb.* 2, 406: *ostro dives et auro*; *App. B. C.* 8, 66; *Xen. Eph.* 1, 8; *Diog. L.* 8, 73; *Athen.* 5, 47; 11, 101; 12, 5; 12, 16; 12, 20; 12, 22; 12, 62; et al.; *Jul. Val.* 2, 36; et al.; *Aug. C. D.* 10, 18; *Isid. Etym.* 19, 24, 9; *Theodulfus, Carm.* 25, 101 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 1, 486); 41, 2, 3 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 1, 539); also *Dan.* 5, 29; 1 *Macc.* 10, 20; et al. Or the two colors may be combined in other ways or merely by indefinite mention; e.g., *Isocr. Panath.* 39; *Xen. Cyrop.* 6, 4, 2; 8, 3, 12-13; *Plaut. Aul.* 500; *Menaech.* 120 a; *Most.* 286; *Stich.* 376-377; *Truc.* 538-539; 946; *Polyb.* 31, 3; *Acc. Trag.* 517-518 Ribbeck; *Lucr.* 5, 1428; *Liv.* 9, 17, 16; 34, 3, 9; 45, 40, 6; et al.; *Ov. M.* 14, 393-395; *Diod.* 17, 70; *Val. Max.* 2, 1, 5; *Philo, De Vit. contempl.* 6; *Curt.* 3, 2, 12; 3, 3, 17; 3, 3, 12; et al.; *Sen. Phaedr.* 387-388; *Dial.* 3, 21; *Ep.* 94, 70; *Ael. V. H.* 9, 11; 12, 32; *Plut. De sera Num. Vind.* 9; *De Socr. Daem.* 14; *Quomodo Adulator*, 15; [*Clem.*] *Homil.* 8, 12; *Justin*, 12, 3, 9; 16, 5, 9; 18, 7, 10; *Luc. Menipp.* 12; *Syr. Dea*, 42; *Adv. Indoct.* 9; *Artemid.* 1, 77; 2, 30; *Suet. Iul.* 49; 84; *Ner.* 25; 32; *Domit.* 4; et al.; *Poll.* 4, 18, 116-119; *Dio Cass. ap. Zonar.* 7, 8; 73, 17; *Clem. Paed.* 2, 3; 2, 9; 2, 11; 3, 2; *Strom.* 5, 14; *Tert. De Idol.* 18; *Firm. Mat. De Err.* 18, 6; *Heliod. Aeth.* 3, 3-4; 7, 3; 7, 19; *Amm. Marc.* 16, 10, 7; 26, 6, 15; *Auson.* 27, 65 (p. 279 Peiper); *Macrobi. Sat.* 3, 7, 2; *Oros.* 7, 7, 3; *Claud. Carm. min.* 46 (72), 8; *Hier. Ep.* 107, 4, 6; *Comm. in Is.* 5, p. 229 Vall.; *Comm. in Zach.* 1, p. 811 Vall.;

## 135. stat sonipes ac frena ferox spumantia mandit.

mordet *cod. Hamb. alt.*

135. stat . . . mandit: *Anth. Lat. no. 11, 112 (1, p. 45 Riese)* — hac A —; *Prisc. Inst. 6, 57 (G. L. K. 2, 241)*; *Hrab. Maur. Exc. de Art. Prisc. (Patr. Lat. 111, 639)*. 135. ac . . . mandit: *Non. p. 304 M. (p. 473 L.)* — at (*ex ad Gen.*), a E<sup>1</sup>; frenat L<sup>1</sup>A<sup>a</sup> —; p. 425 M. (p. 688 L.) — et (*at cod. 304*); mandet *corr. A<sup>a</sup>* —. 135. spumantia frena: *Schol. Dan. Aen. 11, 195*.

2, p. 841 Vall.; *Sidon. Ep. 2, 13, 6*; *Paul. Nol. Carm. 25, 43*; 25, 75; *Venant. Fort. Misc. 8, 13, 1*; *Vit. S. Mart. 2, 89*; *C. I. L. XIV, 2215 (= Dessau 4423)*; also *Ecclesiasticus, 6, 30*; *Bede, Hist. eccl. 3, 11*; *Byron, Destruction of Sennacherib, 1-2*.

In view of the comparisons often made between Dido and Cleopatra it may be noted that purple and gold appear in accounts of the luxury of the latter and her admirers; e.g., *Intr.*, p. 25; *Flor. 2, 21, 11, 3*; *Socrat. Rhod. ap. Athen. 4, 29*; *Pacat. Paneg. Theodos. 33, 2*. For purple or gold or both on the trappings of horses or asses cf. 5, 817; 7, 277-279; *Dion. Hal. 8, 67*; *Sil. 7, 641-642: ostro ipse ac sonipes ostro totumque per agmen / purpura . . . micabat*; *Ael. V. H. 9, 3*; *Plut. Pomp. 19, 3*; *Apul. M. 10, 18*; *De Deo Socr. 23*; *Dionys. Perieg. 1060*. *Pollux, 5, 17*, warns against bright garments in hunting, lest they disclose the hunters to the game, but Virgil's fondness for color (cf. *Bellessort's* introduction to his edition of *Aen. I-VI* (n. d.), xxii) dwells gladly upon such spectacles, and, after all, the costumes of English fox-hunters furnish a parallel. On the whole subject cf. *Kroll, Stud. z. Verständnis d. röm. Lit. (1924), 178-180*; *Cartault, L'Art de Virgile dans l'Énéide, 1 (1926), 169-170*; *Walker in Cl. Journ. 24 (1929), 672-673*.

134. insignis: with the ablative, as in *G. 3, 7*; 3, 56: *maculis insignis et albo*; *Aen. 5, 310: equom phaleris insignem*; 6, 808; 11, 291; *Sedulius, Carm. 3, 6, 3 (Poet. Aevi Carol. 3, 236): insignis et auro*.

134. auro: typical of early wealth (*Graf, Ad aureae Aetatis Fabulam Symbola (1884), 16-17*; cf. *Kroll, Stud. z. Verständnis d. röm. Lit. (1924), 179*; *Saunders in Cl. Weekly, 20 (1926), 29*) and of rulers; note its presentation by the magi to the infant Jesus (*Is. 60,*

6; *Matt. 2, 11*) and patristic interpretations (e.g., *Iren. Cont. Haer. 3, 9, 2*; *Orig. Cont. Cels. 1, 60*; *Ambr. De Fid. Christ. 1, 31*). For the repeated emphasis (*auro . . . auro (138) . . . in aurum (138), and aurea (139)*) cf. 7, 278-279; 8, 655-661; 11, 488-490; 11, 774-776 (in 1, 640-741 it occurs 8 times and in 10, 116-171 six times); also *Il. 8, 42-44*; *Xen. Anab. 1, 2, 27*; *Callim. Hymn. 2, 32-34*; 4, 260-264; *Ov. Ars am. 2, 277-278*; *M. 2, 107*; *Prop. 3, 13, 48-50*; *Sil. 4, 155-156*; *Sulp. Sev. Vit. Mart. 24, 4*; *Avien. 3, 1259-1260*; *Dionys. Perieg. 1059-1061* (and *Eustathius ad loc.*); *Hier. Ep. 128, 5, 1*; *Ep. Alex. ad Arist. p. 193 Kuebler*; also 2 *Chron. 9, 13-20*; *DeWitt, The Dido Episode in the Aeneid of Virgil (1907), 46*. In 1, 448-449 mention of bronze is similarly repeated, and the *Schol. Dan. on Aen. 4, 138* remark: *et amat poeta iterare voces, vel pretiosas vel necessarias vel optabiles*, citing as instances 1, 448 and 7, 278 as *pretiosas*, 7, 219 as *necessarias*, and 3, 522-523 as *optabiles*. Incidentally Virgil's fondness for yellow as a color should be mentioned; cf. *Price in Am. Journ. of Philol. 4 (1883), 18*.

135. stat: with the whole line cf. *Sil. 5, 147: stat sonipes vexatque ferox humentia frena*; *Orestis Trag. 267-268 (Poet. Lat. min. 5, 231): concutit ora ferox spumantia dentis adunci / et perdit vacuos concilias morsibus ictus*; *Prud. Psych. 190-191: nec minus instabili sonipes feritate superbit / impatiens madidis frenariet ora lupatis*; *Sedul. Pasch. Carm. 4, 294-296: terga fremantis / ardua pressit equi, faleris qui pictus et ostro / ora cruentatum mandentia concutit aurum*; *Ekkehard, Waltharius, 328: stat sonipes ac frena ferox spumantia mandit*; *Albertus Stadensis, Troilus, 5, 187: stat sonipes ac frena ferox spumantia mordet*; *Vida, Christias, 3,*

## 136. tandem progreditur magna stipante catterva,

136. tandem progreditur: *Auson. Cento nupt.* 33, p. 211 *Peiper*. 136. stipante catterva: *Anth. Lat.* no. 18, 14 (1, p. 80 *Riese*) — *catterba A* —; *Gl. Ansil.* 538, 201 — *katerua* —.

794: *stans sonipes teres exercebat dentibus aurum*; Aonius Palearius, *De Anim. Immort.* 2, 373-374: *stat bellator equus domini iam lactus habenis, / iam patiens, iam frena ferox spumantia mandens*; also Aesch. *Agam.* 1066-1067; *Sept.* 393.

Servius remarks: *stat sonipes: adest, praesens est; nam si 'stat' simpliciter acceperis, vituperatio est; nam legimus (G. 3, 84) 'stare loco nescit.' denique sequentia dictum hoc explanat, ut 'ac frena ferox spumantia mandit.'* It is true that in Latin, particularly in later authors, *stare* approaches *esse* in meaning (cf. Rönisch, *Itala und Vulgata* (1875), 388; also the Italian *stare* and some forms of the French *être*). Here, however, its position implies that it is more than a mere copula. The steed (probably Dido's, though possibly generic) stands in his place, perhaps restrained there, and manifests by champing the impatience proper to a spirited horse.

For the initial position of *stat* cf. 4, 130, n. (ii); 4, 509, n. (*stant*, etc.). Of 19 cases of *stat* in the three major works of Virgil 8 begin their respective lines and 4 others their clauses; of 23 cases of *stant* 12 begin a line and 7 others a clause.

Note the alliteration: *s s, fre fer, manti mandi*.

135. *sonipes*: cf. 11, 599-600: *fremit aequare toto / insultans sonipes et pressis pugnat habenis*; 11, 638: *quo sonipes ictu furit arduos*. The word appears first in Acc. *Trag.* 602 Ribbeck: *quadripedantum sonipedum*; cf. Lucil. 507 Marx: *Campanus sonipes*; Catull. 63, 41; Cic. *De Or.* 3, 183; Grat. *Cyneg.* 43; Luc. 6, 399; Val. Fl. 3, 334; Stat. *Theb.* 5, 3; Sil. 1, 222: *Martius hinc campos sonipes hinnitibus implet*; C. I. L. II, 2660 (= *Carm. Lat. epig.* no. 1526 C, 4): *rectus feroci sonipede*; also Bonnet in *Mélanges Boissier* (1903), 71; and the use of *alipes* (e.g., 7, 277: *instratos ostro alipedes pictisque tapetis*; 12, 484), *cornipes* (6, 591; 7, 779), and *quadrupes* (*Ecl.* 5, 26; *Aen.* 3, 542; 7, 500; 10, 892; 11, 714; 11, 875).

With Dido's public appearance on horseback Guillemin (*L'Originalité de Virgile* (1931), 92) compares that of Cleopatra.

135. *ferox*: 'high-spirited' rather than 'fierce'; cf. Henry, *Aeneidea*, 1 (1873), 587-588.

135. *spumantia*: Serv.: *spumas moventia, ut 'naufragum mare,' quod naufragos facit*; cf. 5, 817-818: *iungit equos auro genitor spumantiaque addit / frena*; 12, 372-373: *spumantia frenis / ora ciliatorum dextra detorsit equorum*; also, for the participle applied to horses themselves, 6, 881; 11, 770; 12, 651 (in 1, 324 and 4, 158 of boars); cf. G. 3, 203; Ov. *M.* 6, 226: *spumantiaque ora coercent*; 8, 34: *spumantiaque ora regebat*; Luc. 6, 397-399: *Thessalicus sonipes . . . / exiluit, primus chalybem frenosque momordit / spumavitque novis . . . habenis*; Sulp. Sev. *Dial.* 1, 21, 4: *spumantibus equis superbus invehitur*; Sil. 12, 254-255: *spumantia saevo / frena cruentantem morsu*; 16, 358: *spumeus admorsu gauderet mandere ferrum*; Claud. *Paneg. Prob. et Olyb.* 5: *frenis spumantibus*; Quint. Smyrn. 4, 548-549: *οἱ δὲ χαλινὰ γενεῖαισιν ἀφρίζοντες / δάπτου*; Pierleoni in *Boll. di Filol. cl.* 36 (1930), 301-306, for similar expressions; Angilbertus, *Carm.* 6, 238 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 1, 372): *frena superbus equus spumantia dente volutat*; Naylor (in *Johns Hopkins Stud. in Rom. Lit. and Lang.* 18 (1930), 124) compares Chateaubriand, *Les Natchez*, 5, 230: *les coursiers qui blanchissaient le frein d'écume*. The Scholia Danielis on *Aen.* 11, 195 refer to the present phrase in the words *spumantia frena*.

135. *mandit*: cf. 7, 279: *fulvom mandunt sub dentibus aurum*; Sedul. *Pasch. Carm.* 4, 295-296: *equi, faleris qui pictus et ostro / ora cruentatum mandentia concutit aurum*; also, as a possible source, Apoll. Rh. 4, 1606-1608: *ὁ δ' ἐν' αὐχένι γαῦρος ἀερίβεις / ἔσπεται, ἀργυρόεντα δ' ἐνὶ στομάτεσσι χαλινὰ / ἀμφὶς ὀδοκτάζοντι παραβλήθην κροτούνται*. Ariosto imitates the phrase: *Orl. fur.* 27, 70, 1-2: *il destriero / facea, mordendo, il ricco fren spumoso*.

136. *tandem*, etc.: Schol. Dan.: *hoc ad*



## 137. Sidoniam picto chlamydem circumdata limbo;

clamydem *MR* (chlamydem *R*<sup>2</sup>), clamidem *cp.* limbo *M.*

137. Sidoniam . . . limbo: *Schol. Dan. Aen.* 2, 616; *Non. p.* 539 *M.* (*p.* 864 *L.*); *Lact. Plac. in Stat. Theb.* 6, 345; *Gl. Ansil.* 341, 295 — clamidem; circumdata —; *Isid. Etym.* 19, 33, 8 — sidonia *K*; pincto *T*; clamide (*ex* clamite) *K*; nimbo *BK* —. 137. Sidoniam chlamydem: *Gl. Abba*, 123, 47 — clamidem —. 137. limbo: *Gl. Ansil.* 341, 290; *q.v.*

*illum redditum 'reginam thalamo cunctantem.'*

With the rest of the line cf. 1, 497: *magna iuvenum stipante caterva* (= *Anth. Lat.* no. 18, 14 (1, p. 80 Riese)); 2, 40: *magna comitante caterva* (= 2, 370); 5, 76: *magna mediis comitante caterva*; 11, 478: *magna matrum regina caterva*; 11, 564: *magna propius iam urgente caterva*; *Symphos. Aenig.* 13, 2: *innumeris pariter comitum stipata catervis*; *Ambros. Hexaem.* 6, 8, 52: *serviliorum sequentium stipantur catervis*; *Sedul. Pasch. Carm.* 4, 236: *magna stipante caterva*; *Angilbertus, Carm.* 6, 168 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 1, 370): *egreditur tandem circum stipante caterva*; *Walahfridus Strabo, Vita S. Galli*, 1534 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 2, 467): *tanta stipante caterva*; *Flodoardus Remensis, De Christi Triumphis apud Italiam*, 2, 5: *stipante caterva*; *Vida, Christias*, 3, 780: *magna stipante caterva*; *Aonius Palearius, De Anim. Immort.* 3, 590: *stipante caterva*. It is proper that the monarch should be the last to appear, and Rütten, *De Vergilii Studiis Apollonianis* (1912), 68, compares *Apoll. Rh.* 3, 268: *Αἰήτης δὲ πάνστας ὤπρω θύραζε*.

137. *Sidoniam*: for the prosody and the use of the adjective cf. 4, 75, n. (*Sidonias*). With the description of Dido here given Eichhoff, *Études gr. sur Virgile*, 2 (1825), 247, compares descriptions in Tasso and Fénelon. The *Scholia Danielis* in a long note on this line attempt (as on 4, 103, and not very satisfactorily) to explain the garb of Dido as poetically typifying that of the Roman *flaminica*. The adjective may here imply color, for Poll. 7, 55 says that clothes were named from their color, some being called 'Phoenician' (i.e., purple); cf. *Hor. S.* 2, 4, 84: *Tyrias . . . vestis*; *Ov. M.* 5, 51: *chlamydem Tyriam*; 14, 345: *Poeniceam . . . chlamydem*; *Tib.* 4, 1, 122: *fulgentem Tyrio subtegmine vestem*; *Prop.* 2, 16, 55: *Sidonia vestis*;

4, 9, 47: *Sen. H. F.* 467: *fulsit . . . pictum veste Sidonia latus*; *Thy.* 345: *vestis Tyriae color*; *Sidon. Carm.* 2, 6: *Sarrana chlamys*; *Philostr. Imag.* 1, 18, 4 (of a *chlamys*): *τὸ μὲν χρῶμα ἕκ φοινικῆς ἀλουργίας, ἣν ἐπαινοῦσι Φοίνικες, κτλ.*

137. *picto*: cf. *G.* 2, 464: *inclusasque auro vestes*; *Aen.* 1, 711; 3, 483-484; 4, 264 (of a *laena* embroidered by Dido with gold); 5, 250; 7, 251-252; 8, 167; 8, 588: *chlamyde et pictis conspectus in armis*; 9, 26: *dives pictae vestis et auri*; 9, 582: *pictus acu chlamydem*; 9, 614; 11, 775-777; *Ov. M.* 2, 733-734: *chlamydemque, ut pendeat apte, collocat, ut limbus totumque appareat aurum*; 5, 51-52: *indulus chlamydem Tyriam, quam limbus obibat aureus*; *Sil.* 16, 163-166: *hinc iuveni dona insigne velamine picto / dat chlamydem stratumque ostro . . . / . . . / cornipedem*; *Suet. Calig.* 19: *aurea . . . chlamyde*; *Ariosto, Orf. fur.* 31, 38, 4: *fregiata intorno avea d'aurata lista*. Virgil may here attribute to Carthage arts of embroidery familiar at Rome, but in many respects the Carthaginians seem to have been a very inartistic people; cf. Carpenter, *The Greeks in Spain* (1925), 59-61. Kroll, however, *Stud. z. Verständnis d. röm. Lit.* (1924), 179-180, considers the whole thing an anachronism, since gold embroidery came into the knowledge of the Romans only after the Hellenistic period.

137. *chlamydem*: usually represented by Virgil as decorated with embroidery, an art which *Serv.* *Aen.* 3, 484 says was invented in Phrygia. For the nature, use, and development of the *chlamys* cf. Kunz, *Realien in Vergils Aeneis*, 1 (1894), 23, and, especially, Ameling in *P.-W.* 3 (1899), 2342-2346. For the accusative used with the passives of *induo*, *cingo*, *circumdo*, etc., employed in a middle sense, cf. Kühner-Stegmann, *Ausf. Gram. d. lat. Spr.* 2, 1, 2 ed. (1912), 288-289,

138. cui pharetra ex auro, crines nodantur in aurum,  
aurea purpuream subnectit fibula vestem.

purpuream γφ.

138-139. cui . . . vestem: *Prob. in Ecl.* 4, 58 — purpureum —. 138. cui . . . auro: *Schol. Dan. Aen.* 11, 10; *Isid. Etym.* 1, 34, 10; *Iulian. Tolet. De Vitiis et Figuris*, 3, 7. 138. crines . . . aurum: *Anth. Lat. no.* 18, 38 (1, p. 81 Riese). 138. nodantur: *Gl. Ansil.* 393, 65; q.v.

[138\*] 139. aurea fibula: *Gl. Ansil.* 74, 308.

Virgilian examples including 2, 275: *exuvias indutus*; 2, 510-511: *ferrum / cingitur*; 4, 493: *magicas . . . accingier artis*; 7, 640: *loricam induitur*; 7, 666-668: *tegimen . . . / . . . / indutus*; cf. also Lohmann, *De Graecismorum Usu Vergiliano* (1915), 17, n. 1.

137. circumdata: cf. *Ov. M.* 6, 127: *tenui circumdata limbo*; *Auson. Urbes*, 7, 9: *moeniaque in valli formam circumdata limbo*.

137. limbo: *Serv.*: *limbus est, sicut supra* (2, 616, where the best MSS read *nimbo*) *diximus, fascia quae ambii extremitatem vestium secundum antiquum ritum, ut* (5, 250-251) *'victori chlamydem auralam, quam plurima circum / purpura'*; and at 2, 616 he calls it *pars vestis extrema quae instila dicitur*; cf. *Non. p.* 541 *M.*: *limbus, ut adnotatum invenimus, muliebri vestimentum, quod purpuram in imo habet*; *Lact. Plac. ad Stat. Theb.* 6, 345: *limbus enim proprie fascia picta dicitur, quae imis assuitur vestibus*. Cf. also *Ov. M.* 2, 734 (quoted above); 5, 51: *indutus chlamydem Tyriam, quam limbus obibat / aureus*; 6, 127 (quoted above); *Stat. Achill.* 1, 330. Donatus here remarks: *limbus regibus deputatur et diis, qui eorum caput candido orbe circumdat*. *Poll.* 4, 116 mentions αλαμὸς διάχρονος, χρυσόπαστος, φοινίκης.

138. cui, etc.: *Isid. Etym.* 1, 34, 10, notes the eclipsis, or defectus dictionis, in quo necessaria verba desunt . . . deest enim 'erat.'

138. pharetra: especially associated either with men or with such masculine types of femininity as Diana (1, 500; 11, 859; cf. 1, 323; 1, 336) and the Amazons (5, 311; 7, 816; 11, 648-649; *Nonn.* 37, 117; *Roscher in Ausf. Lex.* 1 (1884), 271-272). Already (1, 498-504) Dido has been compared to Diana, and Virgil perhaps here, by this symbol, again suggests that likeness to match

the comparison just below (143-150) between Aeneas and Apollo (cf. *Cartault, L'Art de Virgile dans l'Énéide*, 1 (1926), 309). *Bell (The Latin Dual* (1923), 402) considers it a bad omen for the bride to set out for her nuptials arrayed like such a celibate goddess. In the same way *Apoll. Rh.* 1, 307-310 and 3, 1283 compares Jason to Apollo and Medea to Artemis (3, 876-885).

138. ex auro: cf. *Cic. 2 Verr.* 4, 62: *pocula ex auro*.

138. crines, etc.: *Schol. Dan.*: *veluti retiolum dicit, quod colligit comas; quae Graece κροβύλη dicitur*; cf. also 11, 576: *pro crinali auro* (and *Schol. Dan.*: *quo crines inligantur*); *Ov. Ep.* 20 (21), 89: *ipsa dedit gemmas digitis et crinibus aurum*; *Claud. In Rufin.* 1, 119: *nodavitque adamante comas*. *Ovid* in the *Ars am.* 3, 139-168 discusses feminine headdress, and lines 139-144 seem here in point: *exiguum summa nodum sibi fronte relinqui, / ut pateant aures, ora rotunda volunt; / alterius crines umero iacentur utroque; / talis es adsumpta, Phoebe canore, lyra; / altera succinctae religetur more Dianae, / ut solet, attonitas cum petit illa feras*; cf. *Steininger in P.-W.* 7 (1912), 2136.

138. in aurum: 'into (or 'on to') a gold fastening' — whether a hairpin or a fibula (cf. 7, 815-816: *ut fibula crinem / auro internectat*) is not clear; cf. 4, 148; *Kunz, Realien in Vergils Aeneis*, 1 (1894), 24.

139. aurea, etc.: cf. *Cir.* 127: *aurea . . . fibula*; *Claud. De Rapt. Pros.* 2, 17: *fibula purpureos gemma suspendit amictus*; *Blümner, Röm. Privataltertümer* (1911), 261 and nn. 6-7.

139. subnectit: cf. 1, 492: *aurea subnectens exsertae cingula mammae*; 5, 313: *tereti subnectit fibula gemma*; 7, 815-816: *ut*

140. nec non et Phrygii comites et laetus Iulus  
incedunt. ipse ante alios pulcherrimus omnis

prigii (*corr. in phrigii*) *b*, phrii (*corr. in phrigii*) *γ*, tyrii *R* (*cf.* 4, 162; *Sparrow, Half-lines and Repetitions in Virgil* (1931), 120).

pulcherrimus (*h in ras. vel eras.*) *R*. omnes *b*<sup>1</sup>.

141-144. ipse . . . deserit: *Sacerd. Art. gram.* 1 (*G. L. K.* 6, 465) — inter (*pro infert*) *B* —.

141. ipse . . . omnis: *Schol. Dan. Aen.* 3, 321; 5, 17.

*fibula crinem / auro internectat*; 10, 138: *molli subnectit circulus auro*; Kunz, *Realien in Vergils Aeneis*, 1 (1894), 24; Angilbertus, *Carm.* 6, 218 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 1, 371): *subnectit fibula amictum*; *Poet. Saxo, De Gest. Caroli Mag.* 5, 35, 1-2 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 4, 63): *auro textam nectebat fibula vestem / aurea*. The brooch fastens at the shoulder a tunic or perhaps a *chlamys* (though the injection of line 138 makes this awkward and less probable), or else, as others less plausibly suppose, is located on the girdle (*cf.* 1, 492). Through all this account Roman forms of dress are ascribed to Dido.

139. *fibula vestem*: *cf.* *Ov. M.* 2, 412-413: *fibula vestem, / villa coercuerat neglectos alba capillos*; 14, 345: *Poeniceam fulvo chlamydem contractus ab auro*.

140. *nec non et*: *cf.* *G.* 1, 212; 2, 53; 2, 451; 2, 452; 3, 72; *Aen.* 1, 707: *nec non et Tyrii* (which may have suggested the reading of *R* in our line, unless it was derived from 4, 162); 1, 748; 3, 352: *nec non et Teucri*; 5, 100; 6, 595; 7, 521; 8, 345; 8, 461.

140. *Phrygii comites*: *cf.* the *Tyrii comites* of 4, 162; also, for the use of *Phrygii*, 4, 103, n. (*Phrygio servire marito*).

140. *Iulus*: *cf.* 1, 267-268: *at puer Ascanius, cui nunc cognomen Iulo / additur — Ilus erat, dum res stetit Ilia regno*; where the *Schol. Dan.* comment: *et occiso Mezentio Ascanium, sicut I. Caesar scribit, Iulum coeptum vocari, vel quasi ἰοβόλον, id est, sagittandi peritum, vel a prima barbae lanugine, quam ἰούλον Graeci dicunt, quae ei tempore victoriae nascebatur. sciendum est autem hunc primo Ascanium dictum a Phrygiae flumine Ascanio . . . deinde Iulum dictum a rege Ilo, unde et Ilium, postea Iulum, occiso Mezentio . . . cognomen Iulo si proprie loqueretur agnomen diceret non cognomen, sed*

*magis ad familiam respexit, quia omnis gens Iulia inde originem ducit*; *cf.* *Aen.* 1, 288: *Iulius, a magno demissum nomen Iulo*.

141. *incedunt*: this verb and the noun *incessus* commonly denote dignified or formal advance (*cf.* *στειχω*, and 4, 68, n. (*vagatur*), above), as in a procession. The Trojans doubtless marched up from the ships and the Carthaginians came forth from the gates (4, 130; 4, 136). The whole passage should be compared with 1, 496-504, which Cartault, *L'Art de Virgile dans l'Énéide*, 1 (1926), 309, is inclined to think was written at about the same time as this. The likeness of the two similes has been noted by critics, beginning with Donat. ad *Aen.* 4, 150.

141. *ante alios*: *cf.* 4, 59, n. (*ante omnis*); also 1, 347: *ante alios immanior omnis*; 3, 321 (and *Schol. Dan.*); 7, 55-56: *ante alios pulcherrimus omnis / Turnus*; 11, 821. Servius says: *quia amatur ideo ei dat pulchritudinem, licet Ascanio magis congruat*.

141. *pulcherrimus*: *cf.* 4, 11, n. (*ore ferens*); *Apoll. Rh.* 3, 442-444: *οἱ δ' ἦσαν ἐκ μεγάροιο, / θεσπέσιον δ' ἐν πᾶσι μετέπρεπεν Αἰσωνος υἱὸς / κάλλει καὶ χαρίτεσσιν*. The *Scholia Danielis* remark: *pulcherrimus ex animo Didonis; hoc enim ei videbatur*. The matching of the beauty of Dido by that of Aeneas is intentional; *cf.* Cartault, *L'Art de Virgile dans l'Énéide*, 1 (1926), 346.

142. *infert se*: *cf.* 1, 439; 5, 622; 9, 53 (= *G.* 2, 145); 10, 66; 10, 575; 10, 768; 11, 36; 11, 742.

142. *agmina iungit*: *cf.* 2, 267: *agmina conscia iungunt*; 11, 145-146: *iungunt / agmina*; *Val. Fl.* 1, 520: *agmina iungere*; 3, 505: *agmina iungal*. Aeneas joins his line of retainers with that of Dido; *cf.* Page in *Cl. Rev.* 7 (1893), 416.

143. *qualis ubi*: *cf.* 4, 69, n. (*qualis*); and,

142. infert se socium Aeneas atque agmina iungit.  
qualis ubi hibernam Lyciam Xanthique fluenta

adque R. iunget M.

ubi *suprascr. c.* hybernā *b.* litiam *b.* xanti γbc.

[141\*]

[141] 143-144. qualis . . . Apollo: *Quintil. Inst.* 8, 3, 73 — aut *pro ac* —; *Donat. Aen.* 12, 515 — inuasit V —. 143-144. Xanthique . . . Apollo: [*Acro*] in *Hor. C.* 4, 6, 26 — delon —; *Iul. Vict. Ars rhet.* 22, p. 437 *Halm* — ut (*pro ubi*) C; et *pro ac* —. 143. qualis . . . fluenta: *Lact. Plac. in Stat. Theb.* 8, 199 — Xanthique fluenta *om. LMPa* —. 143. qualis . . . Lyciam: *Schol. Iuv.* 7, 221 (*ed. Heinrich*) — ob *pro ubi* —. 143. hibernam: *Gl. Ansil.* 286, 8; *q.v.* 143. Xanthi fluenta: *Gl. Ansil.* 599, 2 — Xancti —.

for *qualis ubi*, 2, 471; 8, 589; 9, 563; 11, 492; 11, 624; 12, 451; *Val. Fl.* 7, 111. For the simile cf. *Hornbostel, Die Gleichnisse bei Vergil* (1870), 8; 14-15; *Houben, De Comparationibus Vergilianis* (1876), 10; *Kopetsch, De Comparationibus Vergilianis* (1879), 14; *Schuhardt, Die Gleichnisse in Vergils Äneis* (1904), 12.

The comparison of a mortal to a god, especially in beauty, is a frequent conceit; e.g., *Od.* 2, 5; 4, 310; 8, 14; and the use of such adjectives as θεοειδής and θεοεικέλος; cf. *Donat.: ut Aeneae pulchritudo praefertur ceteris posset, deficientibus humanis exemplis Apollo inter deos solus inventus est qui Aeneae meruisset aequari.* The beauty of Apollo was generally recognized and even proverbial; cf. *Apoll. Rh.* 2, 674-677; *Mart.* 6, 29, 6; *Priap.* 38, 2; *Dracont. Carm. prof.* 2, 106; etc. The present passage seems especially suggested by *Apoll. Rh.* 1, 307-310: οἷος δ' ἐκ νηοῖο θυώδεος εἶσιεν Ἀπόλλων / Δῆλον ἄν' ἡγαθήν, ἥ ἐ Κλάρων, ἥ ὕγε Πυθῶ, / ἥ Λυκίην εὐρείαν, ἐπὶ Ξάνθοιο ῥοῆσιν, / τοῖος ἂνὰ πλῆθιν δῆμον κλέν; cf. *id.*, 3, 1283. *Serv.* on 4, 144 says: *Apollini Aeneam vel propter sagittas, quibus in venatu utebatur, comparat; vel certe propter futurum infelix matrimonium; ut enim et supra (4, 58) diximus, nuptiis est hoc numen infensum; Schol. Dan.: vel Apollini Aeneam, ut in primo (1, 498) Didonem Dianae; quomodo germanorum nuptiae esse non possunt.*

143. hibernam: *Serv.:* non asperam sed aptam hiemare cupientibus; sic enim se habet natura regionis. et bene aliud agens aliud ostendit; nam constat Apollinem sex mensibus hiemalibus apud Pataram, Lyciae civitatem,

dare responsa (unde Patareus Apollo dicitur) et sex aestivis apud Delum; while the Scholia Danielis add: ergo 'hibernam' utrum quod ibi hiemare soleat, an frigidam, an hieme temperatam, an quam hiberno tempore deserere soleat? Probably the first of these four views is to be accepted, the adjective meaning, not 'wintry,' but 'in use in the winter' (cf. *Ecl.* 10, 20: hiberna . . . glande; *Aen.* 4, 303: nocturnus . . . Cithaeron). Were Delos the winter residence of Apollo the rites described in lines 145-149 could hardly have enjoyed the attendance of Cretans, Dryopes, and especially the distant Agathyrsi, unless (as is unlikely) we are to imagine these foreigners not as members of religious embassies (θεωρίαι) but as resident aliens permanently attached to the shrine.

143. Xanthique fluenta: cf. *Apoll. Rh.* 1, 309: Ξάνθοιο ῥοῆσιν. Xanthus is the name of several rivers, perhaps bestowed because of the color of their muddy waters (ξανθός), but here used of the Eschén-Tschaï, near the mouth of which lay the town of Patara, closely associated with the cult of Apollo; cf. *Hdt.* 1, 182; *Lycophr.* 920 (the scholiast on which says ἐν Πατάρους γὰρ ὁ Ἀπόλλων ἐτιμᾶτο); *Hor. C.* 3, 4, 62-64: qui Lyciae tenet / dumeta natalemque silvam / Delius et Patareus Apollo (cf. [*Acro*] *ad loc.*); *Diod.* 5, 56: Ἀπόλλωνος Λυκίου ἱερὸν ἰδρύσασθαι παρὰ τὸν Ξάνθον ποταμόν; *Ov. M.* 1, 515-516: mihi (spoken by Apollo) Delphica tellus / et Claros et Tenedos Patareaque regia servit; *Stat. Theb.* 1, 696-697: Phoebi parens, seu te Lyciae Patarea nivosis / exercet dumeta iugis; *Paus.* 9, 41, 1; *Clem. Alex. Protr.* 4,

144. deserit ac Delum maternam invisit Apollo  
 instauratque choros, mixtique altaria circum

144-161: MRV. delon π (on corr. m. rec. ex um), Donat.  
 intaurat b. mixto c<sup>1</sup>.

[141, 143\*] 144. maternam: Gl. Ansil. 360, 881; q.v.

145. altaria circum: Gl. Ansil. 46, 297.

p. 41 P.; Schol. Dan. *Aen.* 4, 377; in *huius autem Lyciae regione Patara sacer olim lucus Apollini fuit, ubi Apollo responsa dedit; unde etiam Patareus appellatus est*; Wernicke in *P.-W.* 2 (1896), 63. Wilamowitz (in *Hermes*, 38 (1903), 578, n. 2) supposes, but with inadequate proof, that Virgil borrowed details of the present incident — Apollo, Agathyrsi, etc. — from some learned Hellenistic writer.

The word *fluentum* had been already used by Lucr. 5, 277; 5, 949; cf. G. 4, 369; *Aen.* 6, 327; 12, 35.

144. *deserit*: on Apollo's seasonal migrations cf. Wilamowitz in *Hermes*, 38 (1903), 578; also Hdt. 1, 182; and a fragment of Alcaeus embedded in Himer. *Or.* 14, 10-11.

144. *Delum*: the connection of Apollo with his birthplace Virgil recognizes also in 3, 162; 6, 12.

144. *maternam*: cf. G. 3, 6: *Lalonia Delos*; Schol. Dan. on our line: *quae Lalonia fugientem, dracone Pythone insequente, suscepit. et hoc ideo, quia, sicut dictum est, sex mensibus aestivis apud Delum responsa dat*; also, for *maternam*, 5, 72 (= G. 1, 428): *materna . . . myrto*; 6, 193: *maternas . . . aves*; Sen. *Agam.* 384: *maternam sistere Delon*; the phrase seems to mean 'sacred to' or 'associated with his mother.'

144. *invisit*: Schol. Dan.: *repetit; per quod ostendit relicta Delo ad Lyciam transire*.

145. *instauratque*: cf. 4, 63, n. (*instaurat-que*). The repetition of the rite is not, as in some instances of this word, because of any defect in its previous performance, but occurs at the return of the god for a new season at his shrine.

145. *mixti*: cf. 5, 293: *conveniunt Teucri mixtique Sicani*; 11, 134: *Teucri mixtique impune Latini*.

145. *altaria circum*: = *Ecl.* 8, 74; *Aen.* 2, 515; 8, 285; cf. 4, 517: *altaria iuxta*;

also *Apoll. Rh.* 1, 538-539: *φόρμιγγος ὑπαὶ περὶ βωμῶν ὁμαρτῇ / ἐμμελέως κραυγῶσι πέδον ῥήσσωσι πόδεςσιν*. For the position of *circum* cf. von Boltenstern, *Bemerk. ü. d. Wortstellung . . . in Vergils Aeneis* (1880), 13; Kühner-Stegmann, *Ausf. Gram. d. lat. Spr.* 2, 1, 2 ed. (1912), 586. Virgil is particularly fond of placing this preposition at the end of the verse following a dactylic neuter plural (*atria, compita, flumina, limina, litora, maria, omnia, Pergama, tempora, ubera*).

146. *Cretes*: Schol. Veron.: *Scaurus: 'Cretes,' quia responso accepto ex insula Creta profecti esse et ducem secuti Delphum Phocidam tenuisse dicuntur atque ab eo se Delphos nominasse, ut Philarchus ait*. But cf. 4, 143, n. (*hibernam*), above. For the coming of Cretans to worship Apollo cf. *Hom. Hymn. Apoll.* 393-395; *Tib.* 4, 1, 8-9: *Phoebo gratissima dona / Cres tulit*.

146. *-que*: for the lengthening of such short syllables cf. 4, 64, n. (*pectoribus*). More specifically in the case of *-que* it has been studied by Vollmer (*Sitz.-Ber. d. bayr. Akad., Philos.-philol.* Kl. (1917), 3, Abhandl. 15; cf. Kroll, *Stud. z. Verständnis d. röm. Lit.* (1924), 18; Miller in *Cl. Journ.* 25 (1930), 323). Housman (*Cl. Quart.* 21 (1927), 12, and n. 1) finds 17 cases in Virgil, 12 in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, and 5 in other poets, all in the second or fifth foot, 22 of these being followed, as here, by a double consonant or a mute + a liquid, and 12 not so followed. He further notes: "All are surrounded by severe restrictions: the preceding word must fill a whole foot, the following word must be a spondee or an anapaest, and a second *que* must be subjoined; and furthermore the lengthening is confined to a few authors." The feature is commonest in catalogues of proper names, and is doubtless based on such Greek instances as Hes. *Theog.* 218: *Κλωθὼ τε Λάχεσιν τε*; 227; 229; 248; 286; 707; 714; 854; cf. Christ, *Metrik d. Gr. u. Römer*

## 146. Cretesque Dryopesque fremunt pictique Agathyrsi;

c . . . tes (curetes ?) *c*<sup>1</sup>, curetes *cod. Hamb. prior.* driopes *γbc*, druopes *p.* pictis *M* (picti *M*<sup>1</sup>). agathirsi *c*, a. gathirsi *b.*

146. pictique Agathyrsi: *Serv. G. 2, 115; Brev. Expos. in G. 2, 115* — agathirsi —; *Schol. Veron. G. 2, 115.* 146. picti: *Gl. Ansil. 442, 43; q.v.*

(1879), 196. Housman does not cite the evidence for his figures, but among later poets may be mentioned Grat. *Cyneg.* 130; Germ. *Arat.* 262; *Sil.* 7, 618; cf. also Milton, *Sylvae*, *Epitaph. Dam.* 6.

146. *Dryopes*: a rude and predatory Greek tribe, sometimes localized in a part of Epirus later called *Dryopis*, but especially associated with the region of Mts. Oeta and Parnassus, from which they made settlements in Euboea, Cythnus, Argolis, Cyprus, and elsewhere; cf. Miller in *P.-W.* 5 (1905), 1747–1749. Their eponymous ancestor, King Dryops, Tzetzes (ad *Lycophr.* 480) calls a son of Apollo and Dia, daughter of Lycaon: ἡ δὲ τεκοῦσα τὸ βρέφος ἔκρυπτε δρυὸς στελέχει, ὅθεν καὶ Δρύοψ ἐκλήθη, καὶ ἐξ αὐτοῦ Δρύοπες οἱ περὶ Παρνασσόν, κτλ. Other traditions, however, are found, and according to one (*Ant. Lib.* 32) a temple of Apollo near Mt. Oeta was founded by Amphissus, because his mother, Dryope, daughter of Dryops, had been beloved by Apollo; cf. Frazer on *Paus.* 4, 34, 11; Escher in *P.-W.* 5 (1905), 1746–1747; 1749–1750.

146. *fremunt*: a word used 41 times by Virgil, a fairly close parallel to the present case being 7, 389: *'euhoe Bacche' fremens.*

146. *pictique Agathyrsi*: a non-indo-European tribe (cf. Ridgeway, *Early Age of Greece*, 2 (1931), 27), possibly Thracian, connected by Herodotus, 4, 49 and 4, 100 (cf. 4, 104), with the region of the Maris River in Transylvania. Their eponymous ancestor Agathyrsus, son of Heracles, was a brother of Gelonus (cf. *Hdt.* 4, 10; *Hippol. Philos.* 5, 20; *Steph. Byz.* and *Suid. s.v. 'Αγαθήρσοι*; *Eustath. ad Dionys. Perieg.* 310), from whom the neighboring tribe of Geloni (cf. *G. 2, 115: pictosque Gelonos*; 3, 461; *Aen.* 8, 725) traced their descent; cf. Tomaszek in *P.-W.* 1 (1894), 764–765; Patsch, *Die Völkerschaft d. Agathyrsen (Wien. Akad. d. Wiss.* 62 Jahrg. (1925), xii a, 69–77). They are several times coupled with the Geloni; e.g., *Amm. Marc.*

22, 8, 31; 31, 2, 14: *Gelonis Agathyrsi conli-milant*; *Solin.* 15, 3; *Dionys. Perieg.* 310; *Anon. Orb. Descr.* 863–864 (*Geogr. Gr. min.* 1, p. 232 Müller). They were ἀβρότατοι ἄνδρες, according to *Hdt.* 4, 104, but *inmanes*, according to *Juv.* 15, 125. Their connection with Dionysus is suggested by *Steph. Byz. l. c.*: κέκληνται δὲ Ἀγαθήρσου τοῦ Ἡρακλέους, ἢ, ὡς Πείσανδρος, ἀπὸ τῶν θύρσων τοῦ Διονύσου (perhaps cf. *Val. Fl.* 6, 135: *Thyrsagetes*), but why Virgil should introduce them into the worship of Apollo is not clear, unless to indicate the distances from which worshippers came to Delos. *Servius* says: *populi sunt Scythiae* (cf. *Vib. Seq. in Geogr. Lat. min.* p. 157 Riese), *colentes Apollinem hyperboreum, cuius logia feruntur*; *Schol. Dan.*: *hos Melissus ab Homero ἸΑχάβας appellari ait; qui propter scientiam sagittarum Apollini sunt gregales, sicut Cretes.* *Callim. Hymn.* 4, 278–282 describes the diversified nature of the visitors to Delos: ἀλλὰ τοὶ ἀμφιετίεις δεκα-τηφόροι αἰὲν ἀπαρχαὶ / πέμπονται, πᾶσαι δὲ χοροῖς ἀνάγουσι πόλεις, / αἶ τε πρὸς ἡοῖν αἶ θ' ἔσπερον αἶ τ' ἀνὰ μέσσην / κλήρους ἐστή-σαντο, καὶ οἱ καθίπερθε βορείης / οἰκία θινὸς ἔχουσι, κτλ.

According to some, *picti* here refers to the coloring of the hair (*Plin. N. H.* 4, 88: *caeruleo capillo Agathyrsi*; *Solin.* 15, 3 (see below); *Serv.*: *'picti' autem non stigmata habentes* (the *Schol. Dan.* add: *sicut gens in Britannia) sed pulchri, hoc est cyanea coma placentes*), or of the body (thus *Plin. N. H.* 33, 111–112 describes coloring the face of a statue of Jupiter, the persons of triumphing generals, and the bodies of certain Ethiopian leaders, with *minium*); others would understand it of colored garments (*Schol. Veron. G. 2, 115: (nonnulli autem) de versicoloribus eorum vestibus 'pictos' pulant dictos*; *Avien.* 3, 446–447: *celerisque Geloni, / praecinctique sagis semper pictis Agathyrsi*); but more probably it refers to tattooing, a practice found among various Thracian tribes; cf.

## 147. ipse iugis Cynthi graditur mollique fluentem

cynti (n ex corr.) b, cinthi c. mollibus R. flu. entem c.

147-148. fluentem crinem: *Gl. Ansil.* 249, 263 — crimen —.

Hdt. 5, 6 (of the Thracians): τὸ μὲν ἐστὶχθαι εὐγενὲς κέκριται, τὸ δ' ἄστικτον ἀγεννές; Cic. *De Off.* 2, 25: *barbarum et . . . compunctum notis Thraeciis*; G. 2, 115: *pictos . . . Gelonos*; Strab. 7, 5, 4 (of the Iapodes): κατὰστικτοὶ δ' ὁμοίως τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἰαλλυρικοῖς καὶ Θραξί; Plin. *N. H.* 22, 2: *inlinunt certe alii aliae faciem in populis barbarorum feminae maresque etiam apud Dacos et Sarmatas corpora sua inscribunt*; Plut. *De sera Num. Vind.* 12: οὐδὲ γὰρ Θραῖκας ἐπαινοῦμεν ὅτι στίζουσιν ἄχρι νῦν, τιμωροῦντες Ὀρφεῖ, τὰς αὐτῶν γυναῖκας; Mela, 2, 1, 10: *Agathyrsi ora artusque pingunt, ut quique maioribus praestant ilis magis aut minus; celerum isdem omnes notis et sic ut ablui nequeant*; Val. Fl. 2, 150 (of a Thracian woman): *picta manus*; Solin. 15, 3: *Gelonis Agathyrsi conlimitantur, caeruleo picti, fucatis in caeruleum crinibus, nec hoc sine differentia: nam quanto quis anteit, tanto propensiore nota tinguitur, ut sit indicium humilitatis minus pingi*; Athen. 12, 27: αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες αὐτῶν τὰς Θρακῶν τῶν πρὸς ἐσπέραν καὶ ἄρκτον τῶν περιόικων γυναῖκας ἐποικίλλον τὰ σώματα, περόναις γραφὴν ἐνεῖσαι; Sext. Emp. *Pyrrh.* 3, 202: ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ἐστὶχθαι παρ' ἡμῖν μὲν αἰσχρὸν καὶ ἔτιμον εἶναι δοκεῖ, πολλοὶ δὲ Αἰθιοπῶν καὶ Σαρματῶν στίζουσι τὰ γεννώμενα; Claud. *In Rufin.* 1, 313: *membraque qui ferro gaudet pinxisse Gelonus*; Vib. *Seq. l. c.*: *Geloni Thraciae picti corporis parte*; Amm. Marc. 31, 2, 14: *Gelonis Agathyrsi conlimitant, interstincti colore caeruleo corpora simul et crines, et humiles quidem minutis atque raris, nobiles vero latius fucatis et densioribus notis*; Serv. G. 2, 115: *Gelonos stigmata habentes; populi Scythiae, ut 'pictique Agathyrsi'*; Schol. Veron. G. 2, 115: *Thracas corporibus interlitiis; in lu (to enim tingunt) membra; sic et alibi, 'pictique Agathyrsi'*; Aen. 4, 146: *Asper: 'pictos' stigmatos, ut 'pictosque Gelonos'*; Ridgeway, *op. cit.*, 1 (1901), 346; 2 (1931), 146-147.

Tattooing was also known among the Britons; cf. Caes. *B. G.* 5, 14, 2: *omnes vero se Britanni vitro inficiunt, quod caeruleum*

*efficit colorem, atque hoc horridiores sunt in pugna aspectu*; Opp. *Cyng.* 1, 470: Βρετανῶν αἰολονώτων; Herodian, 3, 14, 7 (of Britons): τὰ δὲ σώματα στίζονται γραφαῖς ποικίλαις καὶ ζῶων παντοδαπῶν εἰκόσιν· ὅθεν οἷδ' ἀμφιέννυνται, ἵνα μὴ σκέπωσι τοῦ σώματος τὰς γραφάς; Tert. *De Virginibus velandis*, 10: *stigmata Britonum*; Claud. *De Bell. Goth.* 417-418: (*legio*) *quae Scotto dat frena truci ferroque notatas / perlegit exanimis Picto moriente figuras*; Schol. Dan. *Aen.* 4, 146: *stigmata habentes sicut gens in Britannia*; Isid. *Etym.* 9, 2, 103: *Scotti propria lingua nomen habent a picto corpore, eo quod aculeis ferreis cum atramento variarum figurarum stigmata adnolentur*; 19, 23, 7: *gens Pictorum, nomen a corpore, quod minutis opifex acus punctis et expressus nativi graminis succus inludit, ut has ad sui specimen cicatrices ferat, pictis artibus maculosa nobilitas* (the name of the Picts is by some scholars associated with those of the *Pictones* and *Pictavi*, yet cf. Ridgeway, *op. cit.*, 2, 39); Holmes, *Anc. Britain and the Invasion of Julius Caesar* (1907), 418-420; Hambly, *Hist. of Tattooing* (1925), 285-286; Ridgeway, *op. cit.*, 2, 39-42. Sext. Emp. 1, 148 ascribes the custom to the Ethiopians (cf. Lassally in *Archiv f. Religionswiss.* 29 (1931), 130-138; Ridgeway, *op. cit.*, 2, 488, for Egypt); possibly Mela, 1, 106, to the Mossyni; Ridgeway, *op. cit.*, 2, 487-496 discusses its occurrence among other Mediterranean peoples, including Mycenaean and pre-Mycenaean Greece; and among savage races there is much evidence for it. For its possibly magic origin cf. Eitrem, *Papyri Osloenses*, 1 (1925), 39, and works there cited.

147. ipse: cf. *ipse* at the beginning of the description of Aeneas (4, 141). For the change in this simile, from a relative to an independent clause, cf. Weissenborn, *Untersuch. ü. d. Satz- u. Periodenbau in Vergils Äneide* (1879), 14-15.

147. iugis Cynthi: cf. 1, 498: *per iuga Cynthi*. For this principal hill in the island

148. fronde premit crinem fingens atque implicat auro,  
tela sonant umeris; haud illo segnior ibat

fronte *M*, *Donat.* f. *fingens c.* adque *R*, at *V.* implicat *Mbp.* aura *p.*  
telam *M* (tela *M²*). aut *M* (haut *M²*) *Rp*, haut *V*, *Donat.*, haud *bc*, *Serv.* illos *R*.

[147\*] 148. crinem fingens: [*Acro*] in *Hor. C.* 3, 4, 62 — *fū* fingens *A* —.

149–150. haud . . . ore: *Sacerd. Art. gram.* 1 (*G. L. K.* 6, 465) — haud (aut *B*) —. 149–  
150. haud . . . Aeneas: *Non. p.* 387 *M.* (*p.* 618 *L.*) — haut —; *Schol. Lucan.* 7, 1.

of Delos (118 m. high) cf. *Ov. M.* 2, 221 (who mentions it with the loftier Aetna, Parnassus, Rhodope, etc.); 6, 204; *Stat. Theb.* 2, 239; *Plin. N. H.* 4, 66; *Claud. De IV Cons. Hon.* 137; *De Cons. Stil.* 3, 259; *De Rapit. Pros.* 2, 245; *Carm. min.* 53, 120. On it Apollo and Diana were born, and *Ecl.* 6, 3; *G.* 3, 36; *Catal.* 9, 60; *Hor. C.* 1, 21, 2 refer to Apollo as *Cynthius*. For Virgil's interest in mountains cf. Fairclough, *Love of Nature among the Greeks and Romans* (1930), 220–226; also, below, 4, 246–251; 4, 393.

147. *graditur*: in 1, 501 the same verb is used of his sister Diana in her rites on Cynthus.

147. *molli*, etc.: cf. 5, 134: *populea velatur fronde iuventus*; 7, 751; 8, 274: *cingite fronde comas*.

147. *fluentem*: cf. *Prop.* 2, 3, 12: *comae per levia colla fluentes*; *Prud. Cath.* 7, 150: *crinem fluentem*; *Schol. Dan.*: *unguentatum et odoribus abundantem; aut prolixum et effusum, ut τὸν ἀκερσικὸμην* (cf. *Il.* 20, 39; etc.) *significet* (the second must here be the correct view); also *Aen.* 9, 638: *crinitus Apollo* (cf. *Enn. Sc.* 31 Vahlen); *Hor. C.* 3, 4, 62: *crines solutus* (of Apollo); *Prop.* 4, 6, 31: *crines in colla solutos*; *Apoll. Rh.* 2, 676–677 describes Apollo: *χρῦσει δὲ παρειῶν ἐκάτερθεν / πλοχμοὶ βοτρύνοντες ἐπερρώοντο κίοντι*. For artistic representations compare, for example, Reinach, *Recueil de Têtes antiques* (1903), plates 80 (Apollo from the Tiber, now in the Museo delle Terme at Rome), 241 (Apollo of the Belvedere), and 253 (in the Barracco collection at Rome).

148. *premit*: cf. 5, 556: *lonsa coma pressa corona est*; 9, 612: *canitiem galea premimus*; *Ov. F.* 4, 517–518: *mitraque capillos / presserat*; the opposite is *solvere* (3, 65; 11, 35; 12, 870) or *effundere* (4, 509).

With the combination of locks in general flowing yet gathered at one point (perhaps by a diadema) cf. 1, 320: *nodoque sinus collecta fluentis*.

148. *crinem*: Aeneas's hair is described by this indirect comparison with that of Apollo, which corresponds, however, with the reference in 4, 138 to Dido's locks: *crines nodantur in aurum*.

148. *fingens*: cf. 6, 80: *fingitque premendo*; *Ov. Ars am.* 1, 306: *positas . . . fingis comas*; *Rem. Am.* 341; *Phaedr.* 2, 2, 8; *Claud. Epith. de Nupt. Hon.* 99–100: *caesariem . . . / fingeat*; *Serv.*: *conponens, ut* (8, 634) '*corpora fingere*.'

148. *implicat auro*: cf. 2, 552: *implicuitque comam laeva*; 7, 135–136; *Ov. F.* 5, 219–220: *nectuntque coronas / sertaque caelestes implicitura comas*; *Schol. Dan.*: *non frontem sed crinem, qui est illi retrorsum in nodum collectus*. On the golden dress and decorations of Apollo La Cerda compares *Pind. Ol.* 14, 9–10: *χρυσότοξον . . . / Ἀπόλλωνα*; *Pyth.* 2, 16: *χρυσοχαῖτα . . . Ἀπόλλων*; 5, 97: *χρυσάορα Φοῖβον*; *Nem.* 5, 43: *Ἀπόλλων . . . χρυσέφ πλακτρῶ*; *Callim. Hymn.* 2, 32–34: *χρύσεια τῶ πόλλωνι τό τ' ἐνδυτὸν ἦ τ' ἐπιπορπίς / ἦ τε λύρη τό τ' ἄεμμα τὸ Λύκτιον ἦ τε φάρετρη, / χρύσεια καὶ τὰ πέδιλα πολύχρυσος γὰρ Ἀπόλλων*; *Nonn.* 4, 106: *ὅτι Φοῖβος ἔχει χρυσαυγέα μίτρην*. This richness of dress is perhaps considered as in keeping with the richness of his Delphic shrine; cf. *Pind. Pyth.* 6, 8–9; *Soph. O. T.* 151–152 (and other parallels in Jebb's note). It is noteworthy that Aeneas himself was the son of a goddess often described as golden or decorated with gold; e.g., *Sapph.* 9, 1 Bergk: *χρυσοστέφαν'* Ἀφροδίτα; *Diod.* 4, 26, 2.

149. *tela*, etc.: *Serv.*: *ut in nono* (660) '*pharetramque fuga sensere sonantem*'; cf. 7,



150. Aeneas, tantum egregio decus enitet ore.  
postquam altos ventum in montis atque invia lustra,

aegregio *M* (egregio *M*<sup>1</sup>). tecus (*corr. in decus*) *p*. hore *b*<sup>1</sup>.  
altus *γ*<sup>1</sup>. montis (?) *V*, montes *Mγ*<sup>2b</sup>. adque *R*, atq. *sup.* et (*et in ras.*) *b*. lotra *V* (lustra *V*<sup>1</sup>).

[149] 150. tantum . . . ore: *Anth. Lat. no. 11, 44* (1, *p. 42 Riese*); *no. 18, 36* (1, *p. 81 Riese*) — quantum; initet (*corr. in enitet*) *A* —. 150. decus . . . ore: *Anth. Lat. no. 10, 25* (1, *p. 40 Riese*).

151. postquam . . . montis: *Cento Probae, 463* — montes —.

686; 7, 722; 9, 660; 9, 732; 11, 652: aureus ex umero sonat arcus et arma Dianae; *Ov. Rem. Am. 705*: Phoebus adest; sonuere lyrae, sonuere pharetrae; *Val. Fl. 2, 511*: pulsantque graves ut terga pharetrae. Our passage is perhaps based on *Il. 1, 46-47*: ἐκλαγξαν δ' ἄρ' ἑσπέρησιν ὤμων χωμένοιο / αὐτοῦ κινηθέντος.

149. umeris: *Schol. Dan.*: aut 'in umeris' aut 'ex umeris.' Both ideas are found in the *Aeneid*; cf. 1, 318; 1, 501; 5, 558; 10, 701; and, for ex umeris, 4, 263; 5, 421; 6, 301; 11, 575; 11, 652; 11, 774; 11, 874; also Roiron, *Étude sur l'Imagination auditive de Virgile* (1908), 350.

149. haud illo segnior: *Serv.*: id est, non illo deformior; nam plerumque virtus et pulchritudo pro se invicem ponuntur, etc.; cf. *G. 2, 275*; *Aen. 7, 383*; 8, 414; 10, 657. *Priscian, Inst. 18* (*G. L. K. 3, 339*), ascribes to the fourth book the phrase non segnior.

149. ibat: the shift of tense to enitet in the next line is a little awkward; enitebat, however, would be metrically impossible; and cf. 3, 1-3; 4, 200, n. (*posuit . . . sacra-verat*).

150. tantum: the comparison with Apollo is on grounds both of carriage and of beauty.

150. egregio: cf. 6, 861 (= 12, 275): egregium forma iuvenem; 7, 473: decus egregium formae; 10, 435: egregii forma; *Stat. Silv. 1, 2, 107-108*: formae / egregium mirata decus (cf. *Achill. 1, 290*). *Wege* (in *Conf. Virgiliane tenute alla Univ. catt. (Milan, 1931)*, 98) detects here a likeness to the ivory face of a statue, and thinks Virgil may have been influenced by a work of plastic art.

150. decus: cf. *Ov. M. 3, 422-423*:

decusque / oris; *Stat. Silv. 3, 3, 113*; *Paul. Nol. Carm. 25, 210*: splendet in ore decus.

150. enitet: cf. *Hor. C. 2, 8, 6-7*: enitescis / pulchrior multo; also *C. 2, 5, 18*: albo sic umero nitens; and the noun nitior, as in *C. 1, 19, 5*; 3, 12, 2.

151. postquam, etc.: for the omission of the copula in a subordinate clause cf. 4, 53, n. (*dum, etc.*); 8, 362. With the hunting scene which follows Eichhoff, *Études grecques sur Virgile*, 2 (1825), 249, compares *Od. 19, 433-458*; *Fénelon, Télémaque*, Book VII; *Voltaire, Henriade*, 9, 130. For a late mosaic found at Halicarnassus (a companion-piece to one showing Meleager and Atalanta at the Calydonian Hunt), depicting Aeneas and Dido, definitely labelled, the former hunting a tiger and the latter, on horseback, another wild animal, cf. *Newton, Hist. of Discoveries at Halicarnassus, Cnidus, and Branchidae* (1862), 283-284; *Heydemann in Arch. Zeitung*, 29 (1872), 123; *Cauer in Jahrb. f. cl. Philol.* 15 Supplbd. (1886), 181 (who thinks this perhaps one of the works noted by *Macrobius Sat. 5, 17, 5*: quod ita elegantius auctore digessit ut fabula lascivientis Didonis, quam falsam novit universitas, per tot tamen saecula speciem veritatis obtineat, et ita pro vero per ora omnium volitet ut pictores fictoresque et qui figmentis liciorum contextas imitantur effigies hac materia vel maxime in effigiandis simulacris tamquam unico argumento decoris ulantur); *Roszbach in P.-W. 5* (1905), 431. *Heydemann (op. cit., 122)* will not admit that this scene is also shown in the *Diptychon Quirinianum* at Brescia, as *Michaelis* (in *Arch. Zeitung*, 26 (1868), 101-102) had thought.

152. ecce ferae saxi deiectae vertice caprae  
decurrere iugis; alia de parte patentis

fere *M* (ferae *M*<sup>1</sup>).

decurrere *V*, decurre (*corr. in* decurrere) *γ*. d *V* (de *V*). patentis (?) *V*, patentēs *MRb<sup>1</sup>cp*.

152. saxi de [*sic*] vertice: *Gl. Ansil.* 510, 608.

153-154. decurrere . . . campos: *Prisc. Inst.* 10, 43 (*G. L. K.* 2, 533) — decurrere (*corr. in* decurrere) *Rr*, decurre *K Ver.*; patentēs (*corr. in* patentis) *Dd*, patentis *Rom.* (*Ver.* ?) —.

153-154. alia . . . campos: [*Acro*] in *Hor. C.* 3, 12, 10 — patentēs —.

151. altos . . . montis: commonly coupled; e.g., *Ecl.* 1, 83; 7, 66; *G.* 1, 357-358; 3, 535; 4, 112; *Aen.* 1, 61; 2, 635-636; 3, 644; 3, 675; 7, 563; 8, 321; 8, 692; 10, 707; 11, 810; 11, 849; 12, 523; *Dirae*, 76; *Hor. C.* 1, 2, 7-8; *Epod.* 10, 7; 16, 47; etc. It is likely that the epithet is here a stock one rather than an attempt to describe Carthaginian topography, for which cf. 1, 130, n. (ii), above.

151. ventum: used impersonally in *G.* 3, 98; *Aen.* 6, 45; 8, 362; 10, 710: *postquam inter retia ventum est*; 12, 739: *postquam arma dei ad Volcania ventum est*; 12, 803.

151. invia: cf. 1, 537: *perque invia saxa*; etc.; Walahfridus Strabo, *De Carn. Pet.* 5, 5 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 2, 360): *lustra per avia*.

151. lustra: cf. *G.* 2, 471: *saltus ac lustra ferarum*; *Aen.* 3, 646-647: *inter deserta ferarum / lustra*; 11, 570: *interque horrentia lustra*; *Val. Fl.* 3, 593; 4, 370: *monstris horrida lustra*; *Schol. Dan.*: *latibula ferarum vel luporum*; *unde et lupanaria meretricum lustra dicuntur*.

152. ecce: *Schol. Dan.*: *adverbium demonstrationis est, ut ostenderet velociter factum. et bene hac particula utitur; facit enim nos ita intentos ut quae dicuntur putemus videre. ita enim caprae suspensionis super saxa currunt ut putes cadere illas cum exiliunt*; also the lengthy discussion of *ecce* by *Donat.* *Aen.* 11, 225; *Heinze*, *Virgils epische Technik*, 3 ed. (1915), 374.

152. ferae, etc.: cf. 12, 414: *feris . . . capris*. *Aristotle* (*H. A.* 8, 28, p. 606a 6-7) says: *ἐν δὲ Λιβύῃ πάση οὕτε σὺς ἀγρίος ἔστιν οὗτ' ἐλαφος οὗτ' αἰξ ἀγρία*. *Pliny* (*N. H.* 8, 203) speaks of *caprae* near the Syrtēs, though stating (8, 228) that *caprae* are not found in Africa. *Servius* here identifies the two

words: *ferae caprae, hoc est, capreae. et bene apud descriptionem ad species, ut cervis campos capreis saxa permittat*; *Schol. Dan.* *caprae quas Graeci αἰγάριον vocant*; *Donat.*: *ferae, inquit, caprae, hoc est, agresles quas capreas dicimus. mansuetae sunt enim quae sunt in gregibus nostris et quae non metuant hominum conspectum, agresles vero timidae, leves ad cursum, quo fiebat ut saxi de vertice et iugis praecipitarentur*; *Ermoldus, In Hon. Hludowici*, 2, 592 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 2, 41): *ferisque capris*. For goat-hunting and the weapons used cf. *Orth in P.-W.* 9 (1916), 591-592.

152. saxi: *Schol. Dan.*: *pro 'montis,' ut (2, 308) 'accipiens sonitum saxi de vertice pastor'*; *Varr. R. R.* 2, 3, 3: *caprile (sc. semen) mobilius esse, de quarum velocitate in Originum libro Cato scribit haec: 'in Sauracti et Fiscello caprae ferae sunt quae saliant et saxo pedes plus sexagenos.'*

152. deiectae: driven down by hunters; on the analogy of military expressions for dislodging a hostile force; cf. 10, 707-708: *canum morsu de montibus altis / actus aper*. The attempt of *Wagner, Forbiger*, and others to explain this in a middle sense ('*quae se deiecerant, quae desiluerant*') gives a repetitious and less satisfactory meaning; cf. *Kasi, Bibliogr. Virgil.* 1910-1911 (1913), 33.

153. decurrere: *Serv.*: *bene praeterito usus est tempore ad exprimendam nimiam celeritatem*; and the *Schol. Dan.* add: *ostendit enim iam factum. sane 'decurrere' iuxta analogiam dixit, non, ut imperiti putant decurrerunt*. *Decurrerunt* is, of course, metrically troublesome, and *decurrere* appears also in 11, 189.

153. patentis . . . campos: cf. *G.* 4, 77: *camposque patentis*; *Aen.* 5, 552: *campos iubet esse patentis*; *Sall. Iug.* 101, 11: *in*

154. transmittunt cursu campos atque agmina cervi  
pulverulenta fuga glomerant montisque relinquunt.

transmittunt V (transmittunt V<sup>1</sup>). adque R.

fugae R. montes MRV, montis γbc. relinquunt Mb, relinquunt RVp, relinq. unt c, relin-  
quont γ.

[153] 154-155. transmittunt . . . glomerant: *Macrob. Sat.* 6, 4, 9. 154-155. agmina  
pulverulenta: *Gl. Ansil.* 41, 131. 154. transmittunt: *Gl. Ansil.* 569, 151; q.v.

[154]

*campis patentibus*; 105, 3; *Luc.* 4, 19: *campos effusa patentis*; *Hier. Vit. Paul.* 7: *patentes campos volucris transmittens fuga*.

154. transmittunt: *Schol. Dan.*: *celeriter transeunt; praecipue 'transmittere' est de loco ad locum transitio*; cf. *Lucr.* 2, 330: *transmittunt valido quatientes impete campos* (sc. *equites*), a line which influenced *Aen.* 8, 596 (cf. *Pease in Cl. Journ.* 21 (1926), 625-628; also *Norden* 2 ed. of *Book VI* (1916), 420-421); *Sil.* 8, 552-553: *transmittere salu / muralis fossas*; 10, 471: *transigeret cursu sonipes certamina campi*; *Boeth. Cons.* 5, poet. 5, 7: *virides campos transmittere*; *Fracastoro, Alcon*, 10: *sed te pulvereum cursu transmittere campum*. In *Aen.* 6, 313 we have a different construction: *orantes primi transmittere cursum*. *Henry (Aeneidea, 2 (1878), 642-643)* explains the word as meaning, literally, to send an object past one's self rather than one's self past the object.

154. cervi: cf. 1, 184-185: *tris litore cervos / prospicit errantis* (sc. *Aeneas*), on which *Servius* remarks: *sed cervi non sunt in provincia proconsulari ad quam venit Aeneas. aut fictum ergo est secundum poeticum morem aut ob hoc dictum quia heroicis temporibus ubique omnia nascebantur, ut ipse (Ecl. 4, 39) 'omnis feret omnia tellus'*; *Schol. Dan.*: *aut possunt tunc fuisse, sed ut multis aliis locis variae mutationes factae; licet quidam cervos pro quacumque fera dictos accipiant*. The tradition seems to begin with *Hdt.* 4, 192: ταῦτά τε δὴ αὐτόθι ἐστὶ θηρία, καὶ ἄπερ τῇ ἄλλῃ, πλὴν ἐλάφου τε καὶ ὄως ἀγρίου· ἐλάφος δὲ καὶ ὡς ἄγριος ἐν Λιβύῃ πάντων οὐκ ἔστι (repeated, in large part, by *Eustath.* in *Dionys. Perieg.* 175 (*Geogr. Gr. min.* 2, 248)); cf. *Arist. H. A.* 8, 28, p. 606 a 6-7 (quoted

on 4, 152, n. (*ferae, etc.*), above); *Ael. N. A.* 17, 10: ἐν δὲ Λιβύῃ συνὼν ἀγρίων ἀπορία ἐστὶ καὶ ἐλάφων; *Plin. N. H.* 8, 120: *cervos Africa propemodum sola non gignit*; 8, 228: *in Africa autem nec apros nec cervos nec capreas nec ursos* (sc. *esse*). Later writers attacked or defended Virgil for ascribing deer to Africa; cf. *Zabughin, Vergilio nel Rinascimento ital.* 2 (1923), 105; 107; 109; 111; *Webbe, A Discourse of English Poetrie* (1586), ap. *Smith, Elizabethan crit. Essays*, 1 (1904), 296. But *Oppian, Cynege.* 2, 253-290, describes African stags in conflict with snakes, and *Keller* has noted (*Tiere d. cl. Alt. in culturgesch. Beziehung* (1887), 82) a mosaic from *Utica* showing a form of deer (*Cervus barbarus* *Benn.*) which still occurs in North Africa; cf. *Reinach, Répert. de Peintures Gr. et Rom.* (1922), 302, no. 1; 303, no. 4; 305, no. 5; also *Orth in P.-W.* 8 (1913), 1938; and, for the methods of hunting deer (ἐλαφῆ-βολία, *id.* in *P.-W.* 9 (1916), 586-588. See further 4, 249, n. (*piniferum*), below.

155. pulverulenta: *Schol. Dan.*: *num 'cervorum pulverulenta agmina,' quae pulverem faciunt, ut (G. 1, 66) 'pulverulenta coquat maturis solibus aestas'?* Cf. *Aen.* 12, 463: *pulverulenta fuga*; also 7, 624-625: *pars arduos altis / pulverulentus equis furit*. *Donatus* considers that the adjective logically belongs with *fuga* rather than with *agmina*; yet the dust is not only in the air (as caused by the deer in their course) but also over their bodies. The onomatopoetic effect of the line should be noted, the initial five-syllable word contributing not a little to this; cf. *Maxa in Wiener Stud.* 19 (1897), 84; *Pease in Cl. Journ.* 21 (1926), 625-628.

155. glomerant: *Schol. Dan.*: *pro 'involvunt.' alias pro 'in unum contrahunt,' ut*

156. at puer Ascanius mediis in vallibus acri  
gaudet equo, iamque hos cursu, iam praeterit illos,

aschanius γ.

gaut (*corr. in gaudet*) c. equon R. cursum c<sup>l</sup>. iamque praeterit c.

156-157. at ... equo: *Non. p. 240 M. (p. 360 L.)*. 156-157. acri equo: *Gl. Ansil. 23, 274*.

[156] 157. iamque hos ... illos: *Serv. Aen. 10, 162*.

(9, 440) 'quem circum glomerati hostes'; vel glomerati eunt. In 9, 538-539 we read: *frustra-que malorum / velle fugam. dum se glomerant retroque residunt*; see 1, 500: *hinc atque hinc glomerantur Oreades* (cf. 2, 727; 6, 311; 9, 689); 2, 315-316: *sed glomerare manum bello et concurrere in arcem / cum sociis ardent animi* (cf. 9, 792). The word is also used of the gathering of clouds in the sky (G. 1, 323; 2, 311; *Aen.* 8, 254; 9, 33), as here *agmina ... pulverulenta ... glomerant* suggests that of a cloud of dust.

155. *montisque*: for the repetition of *mons* (lines 151, 155, and 159) cf. 4, 134, n. (*auro*). The explanatory use of *-que* is compared by Page (*ad loc.*) with that in 6, 361, and in *Cl. Rev.* 8 (1894), 203-204 he well points out that many such cases of apparent *hysteron proteron* are more correctly interpreted as explanatory clauses added to main clauses. La Cerda thinks the fact that the deer are in the mountains (coupled with the thunderstorm which follows) is an indication that this is not winter, for Dio Chrys. *Orat.* 6, 33 says: τὰς δὲ ἐλάφους καὶ τοὺς λαγῶς τοῦ μὲν ψύχους εἰς τὰ πεδία καὶ τὰ κοῖλα καταβαίνειν ἐκ τῶν ὄρων, κἀνταῦθα ὑποστέλλειν τοῖς ἀπηνέμοις καὶ προσηνέσι, τοῦ δὲ καίματος εἰς τὴν ὕλην ἀποχωρεῖν καὶ τὰ βορείότατα τῶν χωρίων. But his view is hardly consistent with the indications of winter in 4, 52-53 and 4, 309-310.

156. *at puer Ascanius*: = 1, 267; 10, 236; cf. 2, 598; 3, 339; 4, 354; 5, 74; 10, 605; and, on the age of Ascanius, 4, 84, n. (*gremio*). For *at* cf. 4, 1, n. (*at*).

The boyish interest of Ascanius in hunting (illustrated also in 7, 477-478; 7, 493-499; 9, 590-592; cf. *Stat. Silv.* 5, 2, 118-120: *Gaetulo sic pulcher equo Troianaque quassans / tela novercales ibat venator in agros / Ascanius*

*miseramque patri flagrabat Elissam*; Moseley, *Characters and Epithets* (1926), 51-52) forms a bright and happy contrast to the gathering tragedy of the story; cf. Conway, *The Vergilian Age* (1928), 106-107. Donatus remarks: *Ascanius quoque pro aetate laudatur. nam etiam ea quae levia maioribus natu videntur laudantur in pueris; in his enim futuri temporis spes praesentium factorum coniectura colligitur*. For an excellent biography of Ascanius cf. Fowler, *Death of Turnus* (1927), 87-92.

156. *acri ... equo*: cf. 1, 444: *caput acris equi*; 8, 3: *acris ... equos*; Varr. *R. R.* 2, 7, 15; Lucr. 4, 420: *ecus acer*; Ov. *M.* 3, 704; 7, 542; 14, 344; *Tr.* 5, 9, 29-30; *Ex Pont.* 2, 11, 21-22; *Stat. Theb.* 5, 3; Angilbertus, *Carm.* 6, 261 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 1, 372): *acri fertur equo*; Vida, *Bombycum*, 2, 12-13: *iam fervidus acri / gaudet equo*. Donatus says: *praetermisit poeta datos equos Troianis ad venandum, quoniam proprios non habebant, utpote qui a navibus venerant; an ideo, quia in tertio libro (470) dixit inter cetera munera Helenum et equos dedisse: 'addit equos additque duces'?* The horse of Ascanius was perhaps that described in 5, 570-572: *extremus formaque ante omnis pulcher Iulus / Sidonio est invectus equo, quem candida Dido / esse sui dederat monumentum et pignus amoris*; 5, 667-668: *Ascanius ... / ... acer equo*, etc.

157. *gaudet equo*: cf. Hor. *S.* 2, 1, 26: *Castor gaudet equis*; *A. P.* 161-162: *imberbis iuvenis tandem custode remoto, / gaudet equis canibusque et aprici gramine campi*; Angilbertus, *Carm.* 6, 194 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 1, 371): *gaudet equo*.

157. *iam*: = *modo*, as noted by Servius, who compares 6, 647, while Forbiger cites Hor. *S.* 2, 7, 20; Liv. 30, 30, 10; Flor. 1, 33,

158. spumantemque dari pecora inter inertia votis  
optat aprum aut fulvom descendere monte leonem.

fuluum *MRybcp.* descendere (c *pr. ex corr.*) γ, descendere c<sup>1</sup>. mone V (monte V<sup>1</sup>).

158-159. spumantemque . . . leonem: *Sen. Ep.* 64, 4 — spumantem quo *p*; pecora *corr. in pateram L*<sup>2</sup>; obtat *p*; fuluum —. 158-159. spumantem . . . aprum: *Schol. Dan. G.* 4, 25. 158-159. pecora . . . aprum: *Serv. Aen.* 2, 364 — *om. C*; inter . . . aprum *om. M*; peccora *L*; o. p. (*pro optat aprum*) *L*, optata pruina *H* —.

[158\*] 159. optat . . . leonem: *Anth. Lat. no.* 15, 17 (1, p. 51 Riese) — fulbum *A* —. 159. fulvom leonem: *cf. Gell.* 2, 26, 11 (*in explic. citatum*); *Gl. Ansil.* 258, 125 — fulvum leonis —.

8; Vell. 2, 114, 2; *cf. also Il. Lat.* 812: *et nunc hos cursu nunc illos praeterit ardens.*

157. *cursu*: *cursu* and *praeterit*, applying to both clauses, are distributed between the two.

157. *iam praeterit*: = *G.* 2, 322.

158. *spumantem*: a stock epithet of wild boars; *cf.* 1, 324: *spumantis apri cursum* (= *Auson. Ep.* 14, 30); *Eur. Phoen.* 1380-1381: κάπροι δ' ὅπως θήγοντες ἀγρίαν γένυν / ἔκνῃσαν, ἀφρῶ διάβροχοι γενεάδας; *Apoll. Rh.* 3, 1351-1353: μαίμων συν εἰκелος, ὅς ῥά τ' ὀδόντας / θήγει θηρευτῆσιν ἐπ' ἀνδράσιν, ἀμφὶ δὲ πολλὸς / ἀφρὸς ἀπὸ στόματος χαμάδις ῥεῖ χωομένοιο; *Lucr.* 5, 985: *spumigeri suis adventu validique leonis*; *Ov. M.* 8, 287-288: *per armos / spuma fluit*; *Sen. Phaedr.* 346-347: *vulnificos acuit dentes / aper et toto est spumeus ore*; *De Ira*, 1, 1, 6: *spumant apris ora*; *Juv.* 5, 116: *spumat aper*; *Mart.* 11, 69, 9: *spumantis apri*; 14, 221, 2: *spumeus in longa cuspide fumet aper*; *M. Aurel.* 3, 2: ὁ τῶν συν ἐκ τοῦ στόματος ῥέων ἀφρὸς; *Apul. M.* 8, 4: *aper immanis . . . dentibus attritu sonaci spumeus*; *Opp. Cynege.* 3, 370: ἀφρὸν ἀποσταλάει δὲ κατὰ χθονός; *Claud. De Rapt. Pros.* 2, 243: *spumet aper*; *Carm. min. Append.* 2, 115; *Dracont. De Laud. Dei*, 1, 283: *aut aper alter eal spumantia bella movere*; *Licertius, Ad Augustin.* 20 (*F. P. R.* p. 414 Baehre:s): *spumat aper*; *Boeth. Cons.* 4, poet. 7, 28: *saeliger spumis umeros notavit*; *Anth. Lat. no.* 15, 9 (1, p. 50 Riese) and no. 304, 17 (1, p. 256 Riese): *spumantis apri*; no. 384, 3 (1, p. 294 Riese): *spumantis (sc. apri) adhuc morsum*; *Ermoldus, Ad Pip-pinum*, 1, 102 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 2, 82): *spumosus aper*; *Fkketard, Waltharius*, 899:

*spumantis apri*; *Andrelinus, Bucol.* 4, 108: *spumantesque apros*; *Cayado, Ecl.* 4, 97: *spumantibus apris*. On boar-hunting, often described, from *Od.* 19, 428-458 on, *cf. Orth in P.-W.* 9 (1916), 588-591.

158. *dari*: perhaps by *Diana*, to whom votive offerings for success in hunting were commonly given; e.g., *Ecl.* 7, 29: *saelosi caput hoc apri tibi, Delia*, etc.; *C. I. L.* II, 2660 (= *Dessau* 3259).

158. *pecora inter inertia*: *cf.* 9, 730: *veluti pecora inter inertia tigrim*; *Schol. Dan.*: *bene per contemptum 'pecora,' cum ea sint pecora quae non silvestri sed humano usui aluntur. 'inertia' autem pro ignavis et innocuis posuit, et hoc ad capreas et cervos retulit, ut in georgicis (3, 265) 'inbelles' (of cervi); nam 'iners' proprie quid sit Lucilius declarat 'ut perhibetur iners, ars in quo non erit ulla.'*

158. *votis*: probably to be construed with *optat* rather than with *dari*, *votis optare* being, as noted by Klouček (*Vergiliana* (1883), 4-5), a formulaic expression; *cf.* 10, 279: *quod votis optastis*; 12, 259: *'hoc erat, hoc votis,' inquit, quod saepe petivi*; *Tib.* 1, 8, 78: *quam cupies votis*; 2, 5, 102; *Sil.* 2, 167: *poscebat votis*; 9, 638: *per vota petendum*; *Aug. De Unit. Eccl.* 4: *votis . . . exoptant*. The lemma in the Verona scholia (*votis optat aprum*) implies this construction; *cf. Kern, Zum Gebrauch des Abl. bei Vergil* (1881), 42-43, who observes that an indirect object *sibi* is easily supplied, as in *Sil.* 3, 150: *dent modo se superi (sc. tibi)*. For the opposite view *cf. Kvifala, Neue Beitr. z. Erkl. d. Aeneis* (1881), 84-85, who compares, among other passages, 2, 145: *his lacrimis vitam damus*.

159. *aprum*: *Hdt.* 4, 192 (quoted at 4,

## 160. Interea magno misceri murmure caelum

(*intere*)a V. turbari (*pro* misceri) π. murmure (*corr. in* murmure) γ. celum γ.

160-161. *interea* . . . incipit: *Cento Probae*, 625-626 — murmure P —.

154, n. (*cervi*), supra) denies this animal to Africa; cf. Arist. *H. A.* 8, 28, p. 606 a 6-7 (quoted at 4, 152, n. (*ferae*, etc.)); Ael. *N. A.* 17, 10, and Plin. *N. H.* 8, 228 (both quoted at 4, 154, n. (*cervi*)). *Sus scrofa* L., however, the European Wild Boar, at present includes in its range North Africa; cf. Lydekker in *Encycl. Brit.* 11 ed., 16 (1916), 236; also the North African mosaics showing boars noted in Reinach, *Répert. de Peintures Gr. et Rom.* (1922), 301, no. 3; 304, no. 5. For Virgil's possible familiarity with wild boars in the country of his boyhood cf. Zwicker, *De Vocabulis et Rebus Gallicis sive Transpadanis apud Vergilium* (1905), 85-86. Did the Semitic taboo upon the flesh of swine arise from veneration for the animal, as suggested by Robinson (*Mind in the Making*, 16 ed. (1925), 91), and if so did Semitic races hunt the boar? In any event, however, this boar is one desired by Ascanius rather than sought by Dido and her party.

159. *fulvom*: a stock epithet of the lion; cf. *G.* 4, 408: *fulva cervice leaena*; *Aen.* 2, 722: *fulvi . . . leonis*; 8, 552-553: *fulva leonis / pellis*; also *Lucr.* 5, 901: *corpora fulva leonum*; *Hor. C.* 4, 4, 14-15: *fulvae matris ab ubere / iam lacte depulsum leonem*; *Ov. H.* 10, 85; cf. *M.* 1, 304: *fulvos . . . leones*; *Sen. Oed.* 919-920: *qualis per arva Libycus insanit leo, / fulvam minaci fronte concutiens iubam*; *Gell.* 2, 26, 11 (of our passage); *sic poeta verborum diligentissimus . . . fulvum leonem . . . dixit*; *Sedulius, Carm.* 1, 4, 3 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 3, 155): *fulvum superat virtute leonem*; *Paul. Diac. Carm.* 17, 4: *fulvos . . . leones*; *Fracastoro, Alcon*, 17-18: *quorum ope veloces poteris praevertere cervos, / aut aprum ingentem, aut fulvum superare leonem*; *Cayado, Ecl.* 4, 54: *fulvi . . . leonis*. The adjective seems to represent the Greek *αἰθων*, *δαφωνός*, and *ξαρθός* (all used of lions); cf. *Storch, Das Epitheton ornans* (1858), 15.

159. *descendere monte*: wild boars were very often associated with mountains, as in

the case of the Erymanthian boar; cf. 10, 707-708: *ac velut ille canum morsu de montibus altis / actus aper*; *Il.* 12, 146; 13, 471; 16, 823-824; 17, 281-283; *Od.* 6, 102-104; 19, 393-394; 19, 428-458; *Plin. N. H.* 11, 280; *Paus.* 9, 23, 7; *Opp. Halieut.* 1, 12; *Anth. Pal.* 6, 240, 6: *κάπρον ὀρεινόμον*. Similarly lions; e.g., *Il.* 12, 299: *λέων ὄρεσι-τροφος* (cf. *Od.* 6, 130); *Xen. Cyneg.* 11, 1; *Apoll. Rh.* 2, 26-27: *ὥστε λέων ὑπ' ἄκοντι τετυμμένος, δυν' ἐν ὄρεσσιν / ἄνδρες ἀμφιπέπονται*; *Cornut.* 6: *τὰ γενναῖότατα τῶν ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσι γινομένων ζῴων, τοὺς λέοντας*; *Poll.* 5, 14: *τῶν δὲ θηρίων τὰ μὲν εἰσιν ὄρεα ἐπιπλείστον, ὡς οἱ λέοντες, τὰ δὲ ἔλαια, ὡς οἱ σῖες*.

For the infinitive with *opto* cf. 7, 272-273; *Krause, De Vergilii Usurpatione Infinitivi* (1878), 47.

159. *leonem*: on African lions cf. *Ecl.* 5, 27: *Poenos . . . leones* (cf. *Cir.* 135); *Aen.* 5, 351: *Gaetuli . . . leonis*; *Polyb.* 12, 3, 5; *Sen. Oed.* 919 (quoted in note on *fulvom*, above); *Plin. N. H.* 8, 45; 8, 47-48; *Solin.* 27, 12. *Servius* discusses the wish of Ascanius *per transitum tangit historiam; nam Ascanius praeter Iulum et Ilum, quae habuit nomina, etiam Dardanum et Leontodamas dictus est, ad extinctorum fratrum solacium; ideo nunc eum dicit optare adventum leonis, paulo post* (163) *'Dardaniusque nepos Veneris.'* *Henry (Aeneidea*, 2 (1878), 643) well remarks: "The son of a hero cannot begin too soon to show his heroic proclivities," and compares the killing of wild boars and lions by the six year old Achilles (*Pind. Nem.* 3, 75-85) and of serpents by the infant Heracles. It may be noted that Aeneas at times wears a lion's skin (2, 722; 8, 552-553).

160. *interea*: cf. 1, 124: *interea magno misceri murmure pontum*; *Lejay* (on *Hor. S.* 2, 8, 54) observes that the word often introduces a peripeteia. A parody of this passage seems to be furnished by *Stat. Silv.* 3, 1, 73-76 (describing a sudden storm): *qualem Libyae Saturnia nimbum / attulit, Iliaci dum*

161. incipit, insequitur commixta grandine nimbus,  
et Tyrii comites passim et Troiana iuventus

(inc)ipit V. nimbū M (nimbus M<sup>2</sup>), nimbū (corr. in nimbus) π.

162-166: MPRV. et (t m. rec.) c. passim (s pr. ex corr.) γ. iuventus (corr. in iuventus m. rec.) R.

[160] 161. insequitur . . . nimbus: Schol. Dan. Aen. 4, 339.

162. Tyrii comites: Gl. Ansil. 563, 182.

*dives Elissa marito / donatur testesque ululant per devia nymphae. / diffugimus*, etc.; cf. Kroll, *Stud. z. Verständn. d. röm. Lit.* (1924), 171. Such weather would hardly have been chosen for a Roman wedding, and Phaedrus (*Append.* 14, 15-20) describes the confusion of a wedding party at a sudden thunderstorm. Miss Harrison (*Themis* (1912), 168, n. 2) compares Dido with other 'thunder brides,' such as Semele and Alcmena, and thinks (180, n. 2) that here the "elemental wedding of earth and sky is manifest," while Henry (*Aeneidea*, 2 (1878), 644) has apparently a similar idea: "There is a union taking place at the same time between Dido and Aeneas and between the air and the earth," comparing *G.* 2, 325-327; *Stat. Silv.* 1, 2, 185-186; *Pervig. Ven.* 59-62 (to which many other parallels might be added; cf. Dieterich-Fehrle, *Mutter Erde*, 3 ed. (1925), 40-41; 43, n. 1; 45; Crawley and Besterman, *Mystic Rose*, 2 ed., 2 (1927), 31; Fischer, *Het heilig Huwelik van Hemel en Aarde* (1929)). If, however, Virgil had such an idea it is very obscurely expressed, for Tellus and Juno are both feminine, and neither Jupiter nor Aether (the usual bridegrooms in such pictures) receives emphasis. I should explain the situation as a mortal marriage attended by elemental witnesses (cf. 4, 166, n. (*Tellus*), below), of whom *aether* (hardly personified in line 167) is one.

Boccaccio, *Decam.* 5, 7, represents Teodoro and Violante as driven by a storm of thunder and hail to a deserted hut, where they make love, as Dido and Aeneas here. Fairclough (*Love of Nature among the Greeks and Romans* (1930), 217-218) thinks that this passage inspired Milton in *P. L.* 9, 1000-1004; while Mustard (*Classical Echoes in Tennyson* (1904), 95) compares the situa-

tion at the end of *Merlin and Vivien* — storm, shelter, and seduction; and Naylor (in *Johns Hopkins Stud. in Rom. Lit. and Lang.* 18 (1930), 140) cites Chateaubriand, *Atala*, 46, for *Atala* and Chactas in the storm. The background of storm (with which cf. Shakesp. *King Lear*, Act 3, Sc. 2) furnishes a dramatic setting for the alleged nuptials of Aeneas and Dido; cf. Pease in *Cl. Journ.* 22 (1927), 650.

160. *magno*, etc.: the heaviness of the line is doubtless intentional onomatopoeia suggestive of the storm; cf. Anderson, *A Study of Virgil's Descriptions of Nature* (1916), 190; 191; Cartault, *L'Art de Virgile dans l'Énéide*, 1 (1926), 146, who thinks the triple alliteration may indicate imitation by Virgil of some early Latin poet; cf. also Maxa in *Wiener Stud.* 19 (1897), 113.

160. *miseric*: a favorite word with Virgil, with the idea of confusion; cf. 1, 124; 2, 298; 2, 486-487; 4, 210; 4, 411; 12, 445.

160. *murmure caelum*: cf. *Lucr.* 1, 68-69; 5, 1220-1221: *fulminis horribili cum plaga torrida tellus / contremil et magnum percurrunt murmura caelum* (in 5, 1193 he has a similar heavy effect: *murmura magna minarum*); 6, 287-288; *Juv.* 13, 224: *primo quoque murmure caeli*; *Andrelinus, Bucol.* 12, 30-31: *interea magno nigrum cum murmure caelum / intonet*. The Schol. Dan. remark: *murmur autem caeli ad infaustum omen pertinet, quia tonitru dirimuntur auspicia* — a statement which Henry rather unsuccessfully attempts to refute.

161. *insequitur*: cf. 1, 87; 7, 793: *insequitur nimbus peditum*.

161. *commixta*, etc.: cf. 4, 120: *commixta grandine nimbū*, and the notes on that phrase; 9, 669-670. For the repetitions due to the fulfilment of what had been predicted

163. Dardaniusque nepos Veneris diversa per agros  
tecta metu petiere; ruunt de montibus amnes.  
speluncam Dido dux et Troianus eandem

uenerds *P* (ueneris *P*<sup>1</sup>).

(*tec*)ta *V*.

spelunca *M* (speluncam *M*<sup>2</sup>), speruncam *P* (speluncham *P*<sup>1</sup>). euandem *M* (eandem *M*<sup>1</sup>).

163-164. diversa tecta: *Gl. Ansil.* 185, 1231. 163. Dardaniusque . . . Veneris: *Serv.* *Aen.* 4, 159. 163. Dardanius nepos: *Gl. Ansil.* 160, 125 — nepus —.

[163] 164. ruunt amnes: *Gl. Ansil.* 503, 246.

cf. Sparrow, *Half-lines and Repetitions in Virgil* (1931), 67.

162. *Tyrrii comites*: cf. 4, 140: *Phrygii comiles* (where *R* reads *Tyrrii*).

162. *passim*: literally, "in a scattered manner," as in 2, 364; 3, 510. Cf. Ioann. Saresb. *Poligr.* 1, p. 391 a: *dum Maro Cartaginis aliae iocaretur hospitium, amantium vota conciliare nesciuit, nisi eis ab opportunitate venandi dilapsu comitum, silvarum latebras reseraret*, etc.

162. *Troiana iuventus*: = 1, 467; 1, 699; 2, 63; 8, 182; 8, 545; cf. Sparrow, *Half-lines and Repetitions in Virgil* (1931), 71; and for similar phrases Braumüller, *Über Tropen u. Figuren in Vergils Aeneis*, 2 (1882), 15; Gladow, *De Vergilio ipsius Imitatore* (1921), 16.

163. *Dardaniusque nepos*: cf. 10, 132-133: *ipse inter medios Veneris iustissima cura / Dardanius caput ecce puer detectus honestum*; Auson. *Ep.* 15, 13, p. 250 Peiper: *Dardaniusque nepos*. La Cerda suggests that the form of expression indicates that at this crisis Venus could not fail her grandson. The adjective is used also of Anchises (e.g., 1, 617; 9, 647), Aeneas (e.g., 1, 494; 6, 169; 11, 472; 12, 613; cf. 4, 224; 4, 640), Acestes (e.g., 5, 30; 5, 711), and in more general connections; cf. Braumüller, *op. cit.*, 2 (1882), 14-15.

163. *diversa*: Donat.: *ideo quod dispersae rusticae domus tantam multitudinem adunatam ferre non possent, vel quod unusquisque usus in tanta necessitate compendio non pulchrum suffugium tecti sed proximum quaesivisset*.

163. *per agros*: a frequent verse-tag; e.g., *G.* 1, 81; 2, 54; 2, 346; 4, 522; *Aen.* 7, 551;

12, 463; *Lucr.* 5, 973; 5, 1104; 5, 1366; 6, 642.

164. *petiere*: the perfect, interjected between presents, is thought by Ley (*Vergil. Quaest.* 1 (1877), 11) to be parenthetical, but more probably indicates rapidity of action, as *fulsere* in line 167; cf. 5, 140: *prosiluere* (where Page compares 1, 84; 1, 90; 5, 145; 5, 147; 5, 243). This line shows resemblances (-*tu pe*-, -*tibus amnes*) to *G.* 3, 554, being one of many indications that a lilt would unconsciously linger in the poet's mind long after he had once used it.

164. *tecta*: not 'houses' but 'cover,' or 'places of shelter'; cf. *Lucr.* 5, 984: *electique domo fugiebant saxea tecta*, etc.

164. *ruunt*: other instances of this verb used of rivers are collected in *Thes. Ling. Lat.* 1 (1900), 22-24; cf. *Ov. M.* 1, 285: *expatiata ruunt per apertos flumina campos*.

164. *de montibus amnes*: *Serv.*: *ne vel investigare Tyrrii possent reginam*; cf. *G.* 2, 187: *summis liquuntur rupibus amnes*; *Hor.* *C.* 4, 2, 5-6: *monte decurrens velut amnis imbres / quem super notas aluere ripas*; *Stat. Theb.* 8, 460-461: *qualiter hiberni summis duo montibus amnes / franguntur*; *Boeth. Cons.* 1, poet. 7, 14-16: *quique vagatur / montibus altis / defluus amnis*; Conington (*ad loc.*) cites Thomson's *Autumn*: "Red, from the hills, innumerable streams / Tumultuous roar."

165. *speluncam*, etc.: this line = 4, 124. The contrast of Aeneas gallantly remaining with the queen when even her own attendants had scattered and left her, is noted by Cartault, *L'Art de Virgile dans l'Énéide*, 1 (1926), 310. Ancey (in *Rev. arch.* 19 (1912), 155-156) tries to identify the approximate



## 166. deveniunt. prima et Tellus et pronuba Iuno

prima et (et in ras.) c, prima (om. et) b<sup>n</sup>, del.

166. pronuba Iuno: *Gl. Ansil.* 468, 2494.

site of this cave; cf. 4, 130, n. (it), supra. Saintyves (pseudonym for Nourry), in an essay added to Trabucco's French translation (1918) of Porphyry. *De Antro Nympharum*, 35-262, discusses the traditions associated with sacred grottos as places of birth, marriage, initiation, etc. (cf. Hünnerkopf in Hoffmann-Krayer, *Handwörterbuch d. deutsch. Aberglaubens*, 4 (1932), 175-183), in various rites, pagan and Christian, but does not attempt to connect this incident with such. These caves are very important, however, in Palestine (including Phoenicia), and the union of Adonis and Astarte may have occurred in one (*op. cit.*, 171; 247-248).

165. dux . . . Troianus: cf. Steele, *Tatler*, no. 6 (an idea which Addison had communicated to Steele, and (according to Holdsworth, *Remarks and Dissertations on Virgil* (1768), 250-251) the statement of which in this early number revealed who was the author of the *Tatler*, enlisted Addison's co-operation, and thus occasioned the development of the *Spectator*); the thought being expressed also in the following lines by James Smith (*Memoirs, Letters, and comic Misc.* 2 (1840), 193): "Virgil, whose epic song enthral, / (And who in song is greater?) / Throughout, his Trojan hero calls / Now 'pius' and now 'pater.' / But when, the worst intent to brave, / With sentiments that pain us, / Queen Dido meets him in the cave, / He dubs him 'Dux Troianus.' / And well he alters there the word, / For, in this station, sure, / 'Pius' Aeneas were absurd, / And 'Pater' premature"; cf. *Camb. Hist. of Engl. Lit.* 9 (1913), 45, n. 1.

Chaucer (*Legend of good Women, Dido*, 300-303) remarks: "She fled hire selfe into a lytel cave, / And with hire wente this Eneas alsoo. / I not with hem yf there went any moo; / The auctour maketh of hit no mencioniun."

166. deveniunt: Serv.: bene subprimit rem pudendam; Donat.: Dido et Aeneas in

unam speluncam devenerunt, hoc est, male venerunt, quia personis regum non conveniebat speluncae depressio. dedit igitur occasionem coniunctioni perficiendae locus secretus, dedit tempus quo periculi vitandi causa nullus audebat exire de suffugio, dedit solitudo, quia soli fuerant duo, dedit persona, quia uterque in prima aetate, uterque formosi. factum autem intellegi voluit poeta, non dici; cf. Kroll in *Neue Jahrbücher f. d. kl. Alt.* 21 (1908), 522 (on Virgil's delicately allusive manner); Heinze, *Virgils epische Technik*, 3 ed. (1915), 361; Cartault, *L'Ari de Virgile dans l'Énéide*, 1 (1926), 310; Albini in *Conferenze Virgiliane tenute alla Univ. catt. del Sacro Cuore* (1931), 8. But it may well be that all these critics assume here more than did Virgil himself; cf. Introduction, nn. 327-331.

The source of this cave scene is commonly found in Apollonius Rhodius, who describes the private yet legitimate nuptials of Jason and Medea in a cave in Corcyra; cf. esp. 4, 1130-1132: αὐτονυχὶ κοῦρῃ θαλαμῶν ἐντυνον εὐνήν / ἄντρῳ ἐν ἡγαθέῳ, τόθι δὴ ποτὲ Μάκρῃς ἔβαιεν, / κοῦρῃ Ἀρισταίῳ μελίστροφος; 4, 1139-1145: ἡ δ' ἄρα Φαίηκων ἱερῶ ἐνὶ τηλόθεν ἄντρῳ / νάσσατο, καὶ πόρεν ὄλβον ἀθέσφατον ἐν-ναέτησιν. / ἔθα τότ' ἐστόρεσαν λέκτρον μέγα· τοῖο δ' ὑπερθεν / χρύσεον αἰγλήεν κῶας βάλλον, ὄφρα πέλοιτο / τιμῆς τε γάμος καὶ αἰδοίμος. ἄνθεα δὲ σφιν / νύμφαι ἀμεργόμεναι λευκοῖς ἐνὶ ποικίλῃ κόλποις / ἐνφόρεον· πάσας δὲ πυρὸς ὥς ἀμφεπεν αἰγλή; 4, 1149-1155: αἱ μὲν τ' Αἰγαίου ποταμοῦ καλέοντο θυγατρὲς· αἱ δ' ὄρεος κορυφὰς Μελιτιῆι ἀμφεμένοντο· αἱ δ' ἔσαν ἐκ πεδίων ἀλσῆϊδες. ὥρσε γὰρ αὐτὴ / Ἥρῃ Ζηνὸς ἄκοιτις, Ἥρῃσιν αὖθις κταμένη. / καὶ εἰσέτι νῦν ἱερὸν κληίζεται ἄντρον / Μηδείης, ὅθι τόσγε σὺν ἀλλήλοισιν ἔμειν / τεινόμεναι ἑανοῖς εὐώδεας. For comparisons of the treatment in Apollonius and in Virgil cf. De la Ville de Mirmont, *Apollonios de Rhodes et Virgile* (1894), 47-48; DeWitt, *The Dido Episode in the Aeneid of Virgil* (1907), 61-62 (who notes that in Apollonius

the situation is romantic, in Virgil terrible); Conway in *Proc. Camb. philol. Soc.* 88-90 (1911), 11-12; *id.*, *New Studies of a great Inheritance* (1921), 146 (who compares a scene in Zola and also (p. 153) Shakespeare's *Tempest*); Prescott, *The Development of Virgil's Art* (1927), 244-245.

To Virgil's description *Ov. H.* 7, 93-96 refers: *illa dies nocuit, qua nos declive sub antrum / caeruleus subitis compulit imber aquis. / audieram vocem; nymphas ululasse putavi; / Eumenides fatis signa dedere meis*; cf. *Sil.* 2, 416-419: *hinc et speluncam furtimque foedera amantum / Callaicae fecere manus; it clamor ad auras / latratusque canum, subiloque exterrita nimbo / occultant alae venantum corpora silvis*; *Hier. Vit. Malch.* 6: *duco (sc. mulierem) in speluncam semirutam, novam coniugem, et pronubante nobis maestitia*, etc.; *Politian, Manto*, 224-227: *venatu tandem in medio Saturnia nimbum / pronuba diffundet, soloque Hymenaeus in antro / affuerit, nullasque faces moestum afferet omen, / fulgoresque dabit nymphis ululantibus aether*; *Andrelinus, Bucol.* 7, 5: *speluncam celeri cursu devenit eandem*; *Ariosto, Orl. fur.* 19, 35, 5-8: *nel mezzo giorno un antro li copriva, / forse non men di quel comodo e grato, / ch' ebber, fuggendo l'acque, Enea e Dido, / de' lor secreti testimonio fido*; *Zabughin, Vergilio nel Rinascimento ital.* 2 (1923), 276 (for Guarini); *Shakesp. Tit. Andron.* Act 2, Sc. 3: "And after conflict such as was supposed / The wandering prince and Dido once enjoy'd, / When with a happy storm they were surprised, / And curtain'd with a counsel-keeping cave, / We may, each wreathed in the other's arms, / Our pastimes done, possess a golden slumber"; *Jonson, The Poetaster*, Act 5, Sc. 1 (cf. *Nitchie, Master Vergil* (1930), 9-10); also *Achill. Tat.* 8, 12, where Euthynicus and Rhodopis are brought by Aphrodite into a cave, *ἔθα τὴν παρθενίαν ἔλυσε*. A possible representation of Aeneas and Dido in the cave is shown in a Pompeian wall-painting; cf. *Notiz. degli Scavi*, (1897), 32, fig. 4; *Pascal, ed. of Book IV* (n. d.), vi-vii.

**166. prima:** for the primacy of Earth *Henry, Aeneidea*, 2 (1878), 646-648, cites 7, 136-137: *primamque deorum / Tellurem nymphasque*; cf. *G.* 1, 12-13: *prima frementem /*

*fudit equom . . . tellus*; also *Hesiod, Theog.* 44-46; *Aesch. Eum.* 2: *τὴν πρωτόμαντιν Γαίαν*; *Bouvier, Die Götter in der Aeneide des Vergil* (1890), 1; *Dieterich-Fehrle, Mutter Erde*, 3 ed. (1925), 11; 38-44; 47 (for instances of the prolific character of earth compared with that of the human mother); *Roszbach, Untersuch. u. d. röm. Ehe* (1853), 305. Others, less probably, explain *prima* of the order of action: first Earth and Juno give the signal, then the nymphs, etc.

**166. Tellus:** the elements are all witnesses at this 'wedding'; Earth, Juno (representing the air, with which Hera is often etymologically associated; cf. *Plat. Cratyl.* p. 404 C; *Cic. N. D.* 2, 66, and Mayor's note for other passages), fire, aether (these may in line 167 be reduced by hendiadys to one), and the nymphs as representing water (*nympha: lympha*), unless the *amnes* are considered in that function; cf. 4, 160, n. (*interea*); 4, 607, n. (*Sol*); *Aesch. Prom.* 1080-1093. *Harrison (Themis)* (1912), 180, n. 2; cf. 4, 160, n. (*interea*), above notes the "background of the elemental wedding of earth and sky," and compares (168, n. 2) *Alcmene*, as another 'thunder-bride' — though the parallel there seems unsatisfactory. In *Milton, P. L.* 8, 510, when Adam leads Eve to the nuptial bower, Earth and the powers of nature "gave signs of gratulation," and *Addison (Spectator*, no. 351) compares the action of the elements in *P. L.* 9, 780-784; 9, 997-1003, when Eve and then Adam eat the forbidden fruit.

*Servius* remarks: *secundum Etruscam disciplinam nihil tam incongruum nubentibus quam terrae motus vel caeli*. It is perhaps not necessary to assume here an actual earthquake — and *Henry (op. cit.*, 2, 645-648) argues at length against the assumption —, but, rather, that the sound of the thunder so echoes from the hills (and in the cavern) as to seem like a sign given by Earth herself, no actual theophany being thought of, though *Henry* seems to suppose one. Had there been a theophany there could have been no doubt of the legitimacy of the marriage; cf. *Cartault, op. cit.*, 1, 346. The *Scholia Danielis* add: *quidam sane etiam Tellurem praeesse nuptiis tradunt; nam et in auspiciis nuptiarum invocatur; cui etiam virgines, vel cum ire ad domum mariti coeperint*

## 167. dant signum; fulsere ignes et conscius aether

aeter (corr. in aether) γ.

167-168. dant . . . conubiis: *Anth. Lat. no. 18, 16-17 (1, p. 80 Riese)* — aeter A; conubii A —. 167-168. et . . . conubiis: *Schol. Lucan. 2, 353* — conubii (conubiis W, conub; c) —.

vel iam ibi posilae, diversis nominibus vel ritu sacrificanti.

166. pronuba Iuno: cf. 4, 45, n. (*Iunone secunda*); 4, 59, n. (*vincla, etc.*); *Ov. H. 6, 43-44: pronuba Iuno / adfuit et sertis tempora vinctus Hymen*; *M. 6, 428-429: non pronuba Iuno, / non Hymenaeus adest, non illi Gratia lecto*; 9, 762; *Anth. Lat. no. 4, 87 (1, p. 23 Riese): quid pronuba Iuno*; no. 283, 2 (1, p. 220 Riese); *Schol. Dan.: Varro pronubam dicit quae ante nupsit et quae uni tantum nupta est; ideoque auspices deliguntur ad nuptias*; *Fest. p. 242 M.: pronubae adhibentur nuptiis, quae semel nupserunt, ut matrimonia t̄pau-perlatem auspicantes*; *Paul. p. 244 M.: pronubae adhibentur nuptiis quae semel nupserunt, causa auspicii, ut singulare perseveret matrimonium*; *Poll. 3, 31: προμνήστριαί μὲν αἱ συναγάσσαι τὸν γάμον (cf. 3, 41)*; *Mart. Cap. 9, 888, 22: Pronuba . . . Iuno (cf. 9, 903, 16: regina . . . pronuba)*; *Dracont. Carm. 7, 61: pronuba Iuno (cf. 10, 268)*; *Claud. Carm. min. 31, 54; De Raft. Pros. 1, 131; Carm. min. Append. 5, 67; Isid. Etym. 9, 7, 8: pronuba dicta eo quod nubentibus praeest, quaeque nubentem viro coniungit. ipsa est et paranympa. nam nympa sponsa in nuptiis, et nympa pro lavationis officio, quod et ad nomen nubentis adluditur*. These pronubae are addressed in *Catull. 61, 186-188: o bonae senibus viris / cognitae bene feminae, / con-locate puellulam*. On sarcophagi representing Roman weddings Iuno Pronuba appears between the bride and groom as they clasp hands; cf. Haug in *P.-W. 10 (1917), 1118* and the works there cited. See also De Marchi, *Il Culto privato di Roma antica*, 1 (1896), 154; Carter, *Epitheta Deorum* (1902), 49; Heckenbach in *P.-W. 8 (1913), 2132*. In 7, 319 pronuba is an epithet of Bellona; in *Ov. H. 2, 117* of Tisiphone: *pronuba Tisiphone thalamis ululavit in illis*; in *Claud. Carm. min. 29, 38* of Natura; in *Claud. De Raft. Pros. 2, 362-363* of Nox (cf. *De IV*

*Cons. Hon. 644*); in *Sidon. Carm. 2, 502* of Virtus; in *Sen. Oed. 644* and *Luc. 8, 90* of an Erinys; *Paul. Nol. Carm. 25, 152* uses the masculine pronubus of Jesus at Cana. Cf. also *Orestis Trag. 451: pronuba flamma fuit*. On the present passage see also *Vida, Poet. 2, 521-524: speluncam Dido dux et Troianus eandem / deveniant; pudor ulterius nihil addere curet. / nam sat erit, Tellus quod prima et conscius Aether / connubii dent signum, ululente in vertice Nymphae*; *Molsa, Eleg. ad Hen. Brit. Reg. 163: pronuba Iuno*.

167. dant signum: *Schol. Dan.: ut dei nuptiales*; cf. *G. 3, 503: dant signa (Aen. 10, 265)*; *Aen. 3, 239: dat signum (cf. 3, 519; 11, 474; 12, 245)*; etc. The meaning of signum is here obscure; if it means 'signal' it is doubtless the order for the nuptial events to begin; if it is a 'sign' (cf. 8, 523: *ni signum caelo Cytherea dedisset aperto*; 12, 245: *dat signum caelo, etc.*; *Claud. In Prob. et Olyb. Cons. 206*) it would be a presage of the future of this marriage relation.

Some writers, including *Donatus (tantum valuit Iuno ut etiam ipsa elementa favere viderentur)*, *Henry (Aeneidea, 2 (1878), 645-648; 650)*, *Conington (ad loc.)*, and *Cartault (L'Art de Virgile dans l'Énéide, 1 (1926), 310)*, consider the omens on this occasion as good, because planned (4, 120-127) and given by Juno, who was so heartily interested in the match, and by other friendly powers, though these good omens were overruled by the decrees of fate. Storm, however, is ordinarily an unfavorable sign (*Artemid. 2, 8: ὄμβρος δὲ καὶ λαίλαψ καὶ χειμῶν κινδύνους καὶ ζημίας ἐπάγουσι*, i.e., when seen in dreams), and *Servius (on 4, 166)*, the *Scholia Danielis (on 4, 167)*, and many modern authors (note especially *Rosbach, Untersuch. ü. d. röm. Ehe (1853), 300*) hold these signs as definitely bad, while *Virgil* as early as lines 169-172 points to the outcome. *Milton's* imitation (*P. L. 9, 782-784; 9, 1000-1004*) treats the

## 168. conubiis, summoque ulularunt vertice nymphae.

conubiis *Pp* (cf. Fairclough in *Trans. Am. philol. Assoc.* 63 (1932), 208), conubii *P<sup>2</sup>RV*, conubii. (s. *eras.*) *bc.* ummo (*corr. in summo*) *γ.* nimphae *γb.*

[167\*] 168. summoque . . . nymphae: *Non. p.* 401 *M.* (p. 645 *L.*); *Lact. Plac. in Stat. Theb.* 9, 178. 168. ulularunt: *Gl. Ansil.* 593, 93; *q.v.*

omens as unhappy; cf. also Chateaubriand, *Les Martyrs*, 10, 151 (Naylor in *Johns Hopkins Stud. in Rom. Lit. and Lang.* 18 (1930), 159). Conway well remarks (*Anc. Italy and modern Religion* (1933), 107): "The lovers are in the grasp of cosmic powers greater than themselves; in no other way, we feel, could the drama have been accomplished."

167. *fulsere*, etc.: on the tense cf. 4, 164, n. (*petiere*); on the meaning 1, 90: *intonuere poli et crebris micat ignibus aether*; 10, 177: *praesagi fulminis ignes*; Henry, *op. cit.*, 2, 653. The lightning-flashes correspond to the nuptial torches of *Ecl.* 8, 29; cf. line 339 below; *Apoll. Rh.* 4, 808 (where Hera held a torch at the nuptials of Peleus and Thetis); also *Serv.*: *fulsere ignes*: *Varro dicit aqua et igni mariti uxores accipiebant; unde hodieque et faces praelucent et aqua petita de puro fonte interest nuptiis* (cf. *Stat. Silv.* 1, 2, 4-6: *deae quatiunt . . . novena / lampade solemnem thalamis coeuntibus ignem / et de Pieriis vocalem fontibus undam*); *Schol. Dan.*: *alii 'fulsere' pro malo omine positum volunt. cum enim ait fulsisse ignes, infaustum conubium videtur ostendere, quia actio perimitur cum de caelo servatum est* (cf. *Schol. Dan. Aen.* 4, 339). *et bene hoc totum ad Iunonem refertur, quia aer esse dicitur; unde aquas cum ignibus dedit* (*Serv. on 4, 166: Iunonem autem dedisse signa per tempestatem constat et pluvias quae de aere fiunt*). The expression *fulsere ignes et . . . aether* may be taken, as Wagner suggests, by hendiadys = *fulsit ignibus aether*.

167. *conscius aether*: i.e., as witness; cf. 2, 141: *conscia numina veri*; 4, 519-520: *conscia fati / sidera*; 4, 608: *conscia Iuno*; 9, 429: *caelum hoc et conscia sidera testor*; *Ov. H.* 12, 87: *conscia sit Iuno sacris praefecta maritis*; *Smith on Tib.* 1, 7, 48 (with cases of the dative with this adjective); *Anth. Lat.* no. 83, 32-33 (1, p. 114 *Riese*): *conscia lecti / sacramenta*; *Pichon, De Ser-*

*mone amatorio* (1902), 111. In *Theocr.* 27, 57 ἀλλάλας λαλέοντι τὸν γάμον αἱ κυπάρισσοι; cf. Biese, *Die Entwicklung d. Naturgefühls bei d. Römern* (1884), 78. *C. I. L.* VIII, Suppl. 18792 (= *Carm. Lat. epigr.* 1788, 7 Bücheler), reflects this phrase in the words *ei* (or perhaps *et*) *conscius <a>eter*; *Buscaroli (ad loc.)* cites *Monti, Feron.* 1, 400-401: *di baleni / arse il ciel consapevole*. *Donatus* remarks on the situation: *ad impedimentum autem Italici imperii tantum Iunonis dolosa fecit inventio ut Aeneas in illa coniunctione non voluntatem habuisse sed vim quandam passus esse videretur; fiunt velut nuptiae cum turpitudine omni et volente Iunone solus testis exiit mundus, nympharum quoque festis ululatus omnis ille locus personavit*.

168. *conubiis*: on the case cf. the note on *conscius aether* above, though *Rasi (Bibliogr. Virgil.* 1910-1911 (1913), 33) would construe the dative with *fulsere* rather than *conscius*. The synizesis by which this is made a trisyllable *Conington* compares with *taeni(i)s* in 5, 269; cf. also 1, 73: *conubio* (trisyllabic); *Anth. Lat.* no. 83, 27 (1, p. 114 *Riese*): *conubium* (trisyllabic).

168. *ulularunt*: this verb (\**ul-ulā-yo*; cf. *Lindsay, Latin Language* (1894), 474; also the etymological dictionaries) belongs in a group of onomatopoetic words including ἀλαλαί (ἀλαλάζειν), ἐλ(ελ)ελεῦ (ἐλελεῖζειν), ὀλολυγή (ὀλολύζειν), and derivatives (cf. *Theander in Eranos*, 15 (1915), 99-160), as well as the Latin *ulula*. *Mart. Cap.* 4, 346 divides animals into *loquentia*, *gementia*, *latrantia*, and *ululantia*. On our passage *Servius* remarks: *bene medium elegit sermonem; nam ait Lucanus (6, 261) 'non tu laetis ululare triumphis.' in luctu autem ululari non dubium est*; cf. *Schol. Dan.*: *et ideo medium elegit sermonem quia post nuptias mors consecuta est. non nulli ita accipiunt, quod ululare veteres etiam in sacris dicebant ex*

## 169. ille dies primus leti primusque malorum

laeti γ, loeti b. maiorum M (malorum M<sup>1</sup>), laborum Pp (malorum P<sup>1</sup>).

169-170. ille . . . fuit: *Lact. De Mort. Persec.* 12, 1 — loeti C —; *Prisc. Inst.* 7, 92 (G. L. K. 2, 365) — laeti RBHK, loeti DG —; *Schol. Dan. G.* 2, 168. 169. ille . . . malorum: *Brev. Expos. in G.* 2, 168 — dies om.; laborum —. 169. ille . . . primusque: *Anth. Lat.* no. 719, 63 (2, p. 187 Riese). 169. ille . . . leti: *Charis. Inst. gram.* 1 (G. L. K. 1, 110) — legi N —. 169. ille dies: *Anth. Lat.* no. 11, 22 (1, p. 42 Riese).

*Graeca consuetudine. ergo 'ulularunt nymphae' quasi nuptiarum sacra celebrarunt. Graeci autem ὀλολυγμὸν appellant; nam et primam congressionem proelii ὀλολυγὴν dicunt; quod Vergilius ostendit* (11, 662, of Amazons in battle) 'magnoque ululante tumultu.' Virgil also uses *ululare* of the howling of dogs (6, 257) and wolves (G. 1, 486; *Aen.* 7, 18), of feminine wailing (2, 487-488), and of ritual cries in the cult of Hecate (4, 609), and the noun *ululatus* of lamentation (4, 667; 9, 477; 11, 190) and of cries in the worship of Bacchus (7, 395). In other writers *ululare* and *ululatus* are used for the howling of dogs (Enn. *Ann.* 342; Sen. *Oed.* 179; Plin. *N. H.* 8, 145; Solin. 15, 10; Oros. 5, 18, 9), wolves (Porcius ap. Varr. *L. L.* 7, 104; Petron. 62, 7; Stat. *Silv.* 1, 3, 85-86; Sil. 7, 129; Hier. *Vit. Hilar.* 7; *In Osee*, 2, p. 78 Vall.; *Anth. Lat.* no. 730, 4 (2, p. 216 Riese); 733, 16 (2, p. 218); 762, 52 (2, p. 249); Loewe, *Glossae Nominum* (1884), 248-249), or animals not specified (Luc. 6, 690), the screech of owls (Serv. *Ecl.* 8, 55: *ululae aves, ἀπὸ τοῦ ὀλολῆεν, id est, a fletu nominatae*; *Anth. Lat.* no. 762, 41 (2, p. 248 Riese)), or the noise of frogs (Plin. *N. H.* 11, 173); for the cry of an infant (Stat. *Silv.* 5, 5, 71) or of a woman in childbirth (Stat. *Theb.* 3, 158-159; Claud. *De IV Cons. Hon.* 140-141; Hier. *Comm. in Is.* 5, p. 214 Vall.); for ritual cries of various cults, as in the worship of Bacchus (Ov. *M.* 3, 528; 11, 17; Liv. 39, 8, 8; 39, 10, 7; 39, 15, 6; Stat. *Theb.* 1, 328 (and Lact. *Plac. ad loc.*); 9, 434; *Silv.* 4, 2, 49; Juv. 6, 316-317; Avien. 3, 1004; Claud. *De Rapt. Pros.* 1, 207-208; Justin. 12, 7, 8), of Cybele (Mart. 5, 41, 3; Val. Fl. 3, 232; Claud. *De Rapt. Pros.* 2, 269), and of Hecate (Ov. *M.* 14, 405; Val. Fl. 3, 453); in connection with witches (Hor. *S.* 1, 8, 25; Tib. 1, 5, 55; Ov. *M.* 7,

190-191), demons (Lact. *Inst.* 2, 15, 4; Paul. Nol. *Carm.* 23, 62; Hier. *Vit. Hilar.* 22), the devil (Vigilius, *Ep.* 2, 3 (*Patr. Lat.* 13, 553)), or the *manes* (Sen. *Thy.* 670); as well as in mourning of all kinds, especially of the wailing of women (Ov. *M.* 13, 571; *F.* 4, 453; Liv. 5, 39, 5; 43, 10, 5; Val. Fl. 1, 318; 8, 143; Luc. 1, 567; 2, 33; 5, 192; Stat. *Theb.* 10, 567; 11, 178; 12, 274; Sil. 8, 151; Plin. *Ep.* 6, 20, 14; Poll. 1, 29: ὀλολῆσαι καὶ ὀλολυγὴν χρῆσασθαι ἐπὶ γυναικῶν (cf. Schol. *Il.* 6, 301); Zeno, *Tract.* 1, 16, 6 (*Patr. Lat.* 11, 378); Claud. *De Bell. Gild.* 1, 134; Hier. *Vit. Hilar.* 14; *Comm. in Is.* 5, p. 220 Vall.; Justin. 19, 2, 8; 19, 2, 11; 23, 2, 9; and the lamentation for Adonis, as in Amm. Marc. 22, 9, 15). Most of these cases suggest either the sad or the uncanny, and the latter idea seems to underlie the battle-cry, designed to terrify the enemy or to exult over his defeat; cf. Schol. *Dan. Aen.* 11, 662: *ululatum veteres etiam vocem quae redditur initio proelii dicebant, quam Graeci ὀλολυγὴν vocabant*; also Caes. *B. G.* 5, 37, 3; 7, 80, 4; Liv. 21, 28, 1; Luc. 6, 261; Plin. *N. H.* 26, 18; Stat. *Theb.* 9, 178; Amm. Marc. 14, 2, 5; 16, 11, 8; 19, 5, 5; 19, 11, 10; 20, 6, 7; 20, 7, 14; 24, 1, 7; Hier. *Comm. in Is.* 2, p. 88 Vall.; *In Amos*, 1, p. 238 Vall.; perhaps also the cries of an army during an eclipse (Liv. 44, 37, 9), to frighten the evil spirit considered responsible.

In short, then, while there are indications of marriage cries, like *O Hymen Hymenaeae*, and while Henry (*Aeneidea*, 2 (1878), 650-652, mentioning the ἐπιθαλάμιον ἀλαλάζονσα of Eustath. *De Ism.* 11), followed by Seaton (in *Cl. Rev.* 10 (1896), 309), contends that *ulularunt* has here such a favorable meaning, yet most cases, both in Virgil and in other authors, belong to the ill-omened significa-

## 170. causa fuit; neque enim specie famave movetur

speciae R. famaue (*corr. in famaue*) b, famaue *dett.*

[169] 170. causa . . . famave: [*Prob.*] *De ult. Syll.* (G. L. K. 4, 230) — specie f. —. 170. neque . . . movetur: *Non. p.* 305 *M.* (p. 475 *L.*); *Schol. Dan. Aen.* 4, 221.

tion which the outcome of Dido's love seems to justify our assuming here also.

On the shrieks of nymphs cf. *Apoll. Rh.* 3, 1218–1219 (in the company of Hecate): αἱ δ' ὀδύοντο / ῥύμμαι ἐλειονόμοι ποταμηίδες (in 4, 1196–1197 ῥύμμαι δ' ἄμμιγα πᾶσαι, ὅτε μῆσαιτο γάμοιο / ἱμερόενθ' ὑμέναιον ἀνήκνον); *Ov. H.* 7, 95–96: *nymphas ululasse putavi*; / *Eumenides fatis signa dedere meis* (it is not clear that, as Conington and others suppose, Ovid here considered the *ululatus* as favorable; La Cerda classes it with the cry of Tisiphone quoted below); *Stat. Silv.* 3, 1, 75 (of the present situation): *testesque ululant per devia nymphae*; *Sil.* 1, 156: *perque antra et ripas nymphis ululatus Hiberis*; 4, 691–692: *nympharumque intima maestus / implevit chorus attonitis ululatus antra*; Bembo, *Benacus*, 108: *summo miseralae e vertice nymphae*; Carducci, *Alle Fonti del Clitumno*, 117–120: *fuggir le ninfe . . . / . . . / od ululando dileguaron come / nuvole a i monti*. Among ill-omened cases must be classed *Ov. H.* 2, 117: *pronuba Tisiphone thalamis ululavit in illis*.

168. *vertice*: cf. *Lucr.* 3, 1001; *Aen.* 11, 526: *summoque in vertice montis*; *Cir.* 307: *summo volitantem vertice montis*; *Val. Fl.* 2, 537: *summis ulularunt collibus amnes*. The phrase is probably suggested by *Apoll. Rh.* 4, 1150: αἱ δ' ὄρεος κορυφὰς Μελιτηίου ἀμφερέμοντο (of Oreads; cf. 1, 1226).

168. *nymphae*: for nymphs as deities of marriage, fertility, and birth cf. Krause, *Die Museen, Grazien, Horen, u. Nymphen* (1871), 129; Henry, *Aeneidea*, 2 (1878), 651 (who cites Himer. *Or.* 1, 20; Claud. *Laus Serenae*, 79–82; to which add Aesch. *Prom. V.* 555–560); Ballentine in *Harv. Stud. in cl. Philol.* 15 (1904), 97–110. Stephenson (*ad loc.*) would explain their cries as “the sounds of woods and waters.” Dаланthus in his tragedy *Dido* (1559) has in Act 2 a lament of nymphs based upon this; cf. Semrau, *Dido*

*in der deutschen Dichtung* (1930), 25. We may perhaps contrast the marriage song of the Parcae in Catull. 64, 320–383.

169. *ille dies*: cf. 4, 6, n. (*postera, etc.*); *Ov. H.* 5, 33: *illa dies fatum miserae mihi dixit*; 7, 93–94: *illa dies nocuit, qua nos declive sub antrum / caeruleus subitis compulsi imber aquis*; *Sil.* 12, 273: *ille dies primus*; *Prud. Conl. Symm.* 1, 72: *haec causa est et origo mali*. For the euphemism of expression cf. DeWitt, *The Dido Episode in the Aeneid of Virgil* (1907), 71; and for the tragic contrasts of this day Heinze, *Virgils epische Technik*, 3 ed. (1915), 131; Duckworth, *Foreshadowing and Suspense in the Epics of Homer, Apollonius, and Vergil* (1933), 79. Henry expands and interprets: *ille dies primus fuit (dies) leti, ille dies primus fuit causa malorum*; while Donatus states: *duo proposuit quae ex una causa profluxisse videbantur, letum et mala; letum, quia se ob eam causam Dido interemit; mala, quia ex facto turpi et inhonesto contraxit delestabilem famam quae inter praecipuas mulieres castitatis merito potior dicebatur*. Chaucer, *Legend of good Women, Dido*, 305–306: “this was the firste morwe / Of hire gladnesse, and gynyng of hir sorwe.” The adjective may perhaps indicate degree rather than chronology — “that day before all others.”

169. *primusque*: logically, perhaps, for *primaque*; cf. Bell, *The Latin Dual* (1923), 321; also 7, 481–482: *quae prima malorum / causa fuit*; cf. *Val. Fl.* 7, 37–38: *tu prima malorum / causa mihi*; and the Greek adjective ἀρχέαικος (as in *Il.* 5, 63); *Thuc.* 2, 12: ἥδε ἡ ἡμέρα τοῖς Ἑλλήσι μεγάλων κακῶν ἀρξεί.

170. *specie*: *Serv.*: *species rerum praesentium est, quod quasi aspicitur, fama autem rerum absentium. hoc ergo dicit: non eam movet nec praesens deformitas, quod non in thalamo sed in specu concubuerat, nec futura mox fama*; *Schol. Dan.*: (alii) accipiunt facti qualitate aut respectu honestatis, τῷ πρὲ-

171. nec iam furtivom Dido meditatur amorem;  
coniugium vocat; hoc praetexit nomine culpam.

*furtivum codd.*

171. nec . . . amorem: *Comm. Cruq. in Hor. C. 3, 6, 24* — *furtivum* —. 171. furtivom amorem: *Gl. Ansil. 260, 304* — *furtivum* —; *Gl. Abstr. 42, 38* — *furtivum* —.

172. coniugium . . . culpam: *Hier. Adv. Iovin. 2, 36*. 172. coniugium vocat: *Cento Probae, 134* — *uo (corr. in ue) A<sup>1</sup>* —; *Gl. Ansil. 136, 1088*.

πονη, adeo illam nec Tyrriorum pudebat, videntium Italia, nec aliarum gentium, quae audiebant. ergo 'fama' deest mala.

170. fama: especially developed in lines 173-197; cf. also 4, 221: *oblitos famae melioris*; 4, 322-323: *qua sola sidera adibam/fama prior*.

171. furtivom . . . amorem: cf. Catull. 7, 8: *furtivos hominum . . . amores*; Ov. F. 6, 573: *furtivos . . . amores*; Prud. Cont. Symm. 1, 160: *furtivus amor*; also the analogous use of *furtim* (Tib. 2, 5, 53) and *furta* (Ov. Ars am. 2, 617; M. 3, 7; 9, 558). Dante (*De Monarchia*, 2, 3), quoting this line and the following, considers the relation of Dido and Aeneas as an entirely legitimate one, which he reckons with Aeneas's marriages with Creusa and Lavinia; cf. also Zabughin, *Vergilio nel Rinascimento ital. I* (1921), 14-15; 74, n. 49.

171. meditatur amorem: for the verse-ending cf. Sil. 15, 588: *meditatur amore*. Servius says: *meditatur: exercet; sic Horatius (C. 4, 14, 27-28) 'et horridam (sic) cultis/diluviem meditatur agris.' nec incongrue dictum; actus enim est in ipsa meditatione, nam exercitium est meditatio*; cf. such Virgilian uses of *mediator* as in *Ecl. 1, 2; 6, 8; 6, 82*.

172. coniugium: cf. Donat.: *verbo iuris usus est ut diceret culpam; sic enim definitum est culpam esse mulieris cum pudoris in causa peccaverit. qua autem spe ducebatur Dido matrimonii quod eo genere contraxerat, quae ipsum Aenean in convivio referentem audisset responso Creusae vaticinantis accepto et regnum Italiae iam sibi paratum esse et coniugem regiam, Apollinis quoque et deorum penatium, Heleni etiam unum idemque extitisse praedictum, quo non tantum Aeneae verum etiam liberis et posteris eius per uxoris Italiae consortium*

Italiae atque orbis totius debere memoratum est regnum? Ovid imitates this line in *M. 7, 69-70: coniugiumne putas, speciosaque nomina culpa / inponis, Medea, tuae* (cf. 9, 556-558). That Dido calls it *coniugium* seems to imply that Aeneas did not, but either recognized no relation at all or else that of a mere liaison (*amores*); cf. Kowalski, *De Didone Graeca et Latina* (1929), 47: *Graeci saepius matrimonii (γάμου) nomine liberum commercium amatorium* (cf. E. Maass, *Thalamos und Gamos*, in *Rh. Mus. 77* (1928), 10-20) *nuncupaverunt, et novelli poetae Romani mulierculas quaestui amatorio deditas matrimonii dignitate nonnumquam ornaverunt*, etc. In 4, 338-339 Aeneas declares *nec coniugis umquam / praetendi laedas aut haec in foedera veni*. Herrmann (in *Aus Unterricht u. Forschung*, 1 (1929), 122) remarks that Virgil had tried to keep the ancestor of Augustus — who laid so much stress on the purity of marriage — from any violation of the marriage relation, making Dido herself lament (4, 328-330) that she had no child by Aeneas. Mercury, however, perhaps relying on the gossip spread by Fama, calls Aeneas *uxorius* (4, 266); Anna (4, 48) had looked forward for Dido to a *coniugium* (cf. note there on *coniugio*), and such, to Dido, it continues (4, 324: *coniuge*; 4, 431: *coniugium antiquom*; cf. 4, 496, where *iugalem* seems to imply *coniugium*; Sil. 8, 143 (of Dido): *Aeneae coniux, Veneris nurus*), while she even goes beyond the idea of physical union (*coniugium*) to one of wedlock recognized by the laws of the state (*conubium*, as in 4, 316: *per conubia nostra*; such a relation with Iarbas she had rejected, according to 4, 213-214; cf. 4, 535; *Anth. Lat. no. 83, 27-29* (1, p. 114 Riese; the words of Dido): *conubium nunc crimen erat? male credula votis / cuncta dedi (nec mira fides) sub*

## 173. Extemplo Libyae magnas it Fama per urbes,

extemplo π. libiae γ<sup>bl</sup>, lybiae ρ. magnas (s m. 2 in ras.) γ.

173. extemplo . . . urbes: *Donat. Aen.* 4, 196 — exemplo LR; urbis —. 173. magnas . . . urbes: *Cento Probae*, 456 — magna fit S, magna sit cett., corr. edd. —.

*lege mariti / cuius et ipsa fui*), as intended by Juno in 4, 126. For the legal meaning of *conubium* (according to Ulp. *Reg.* 5, 3: *uxoris iure ducendae faculas*; cf. *Serv. Aen.* 1, 73: *ius legitimi matrimonii*) see Leonhard in *P.-W.* 4 (1901), 1170–1172; also 4, 328, n. (*aula*), below. The difficulties of supposing it between Aeneas and Dido in this legendary period seem considerable; cf. 4, 48, n. (*coniugio*), above; also Ussani in *Atene e Roma*, 10 (1907), 263–264. It is possible, however, that *conubium* as used in this book is, in a wider sense, nearly equivalent to *coniugium*; cf. *Thes. Ling. Lat.* 4 (1909), 815–816. Keith (in *South Atlantic Quart.* 21 (1922), 75) remarks: “As one who flouts the conventional still finds the habit strong, so Dido attempts to make the irregularities regular.”

172. *praetexit*: cf. 4, 500: *praetexere funera sacris*; *Hor. S.* 2, 7, 41–42: *verbisque decoris / obvolvās vitium*; *Ov. H.* 4, 137–138: *ab illa / cognato poterit nomine culpa legi*; *Claud. In Rufin.* 1, 99: *blando fraudem praetexere risu*; *In Eutrop.* 2, 206–207: *quid pulchra vocabula pigris / praelentās viliis*; *Molsa, Eleg. ad Hen. Reg. Brit.* 29: *tu tamen hanc falso praetextens nomine culpam*; also *Ar. Plut.* 159: *ὀνόματι περιπέττουσι τὴν μοχθηρίαν*; and the use of *praetendere* in 4, 339, *infra*.

172. *culpam*: cf. 4, 19, and n. (*culpa*); *Liv.* 1, 4, 2; 1, 58, 9; *Ov. M.* 2, 37: *nec falsa Clymene culpam sub imagine celat*; *Tac. Ann.* 3, 24, 2–3. In 4, 19 and here the *culpa* involves unfaithfulness to the memory of Sychaeus; whether it here implies more than that may be open to question; cf. 4, 190, n. (*infecta*). The contrast of *coniugium* and *culpam* at the two ends of the line is noteworthy.

173. *extemplo*: introducing a new and often exciting element in a story; cf. 1, 92; 2, 176; 5, 746; 8, 4; 11, 451; 11, 618; 11, 863; 12, 138.

173. *magnas*: probably exaggerated, considering the description in 4, 40–43.

173. *Fama*: cf. 3, 121: *fama volat*, etc.; 4, 666: *concussam bacchatur per urbem*; 7, 104: *circum late volitans iam Fama per urbes*; 7, 392: *fama volat*; 8, 554: *fama volat parvam subito volgata per urbem*; 9, 473–475: *interea pavidam volitans pinnata per urbem / nuntia fama ruit matrisque adlabitur auris / Euryali*; 10, 510–511; 11, 139–140: *et iam Fama volans, tanti praenuntia luctus, / Euandrum Euan-drique domos et moenia replet*; 12, 608: *hinc totam infelix volgatur fama per urbem*; also the descriptions in other authors, e.g., *Il.* 2, 93–94: *μετὰ δὲ σφίσις δόσσα δέδηκε / ὀτρύνονσ' ἰέναι, Διὸς ἄγγελος*; *Od.* 24, 413–414: *δόσσα δ' ἄρ' ἄγγελος ὦκα κατὰ πτόλιν, ῥῥετο πάντῃ / μνηστήρων στυγερὸν θάνατον καὶ κῆρ' ἐνέ-πouσα*; *Hes. Theog.* 820–835, with similar details in the description of Typhoeus; *Opera*, 763–764 (making Φῆμη a goddess); *Bacchyl.* 9, 1–4 (as restored from its very fragmentary condition); *Plat. Legg.* 8, p. 838 C–D: *ὀρθότατα λέγεις τό γε τοσοῦτον, ὅτι τὸ τῆς φήμης θαυμαστήν τινα δύναμιν εἰληχεν, ὅταν μηδεὶς μηδαμῶς ἄλλως ἀναπνεῖν ἐπιχειρήσῃ ποτὲ παρὰ τὸν νόμον*; [*Orph.*] *Argon.* 596–597: *φήμη δὲ διέπτατο δώματος ἔσω / Κυζίκου οἰχο-μένου*; *Ov. M.* 6, 146–147: *Phrygiaeque per oppida facti / rumor il et magnum sermonibus occupat orbem*; 8, 267: *sparserat Argolicas nomen vaga fama per urbes*; 9, 137–139: *cum fama loquax praecessit ad aures, / Deianira, tuas, quae veris addere falsa / gaudet, et e minimo sua per mendacia crescit*; 12, 39–63 (an important passage on the dwelling of Fama, too long to quote); *Curt.* 4, 1, 24: *fama deinde, ut solet, strenue tota urbe discurret*; *Luc.* 1, 469–472; 4, 574: *totum discurrens Fama per orbem* (= *Prisc. Carm.* 2, 239 in *Poet. Lat. min.* 5, 283); *Sen. H. F.* 192–193; *Petron.* 23, 210–212: *interea volucer motis contrerita pinnis / Fama volat summique petit iuga celsa Palati / atque hoc Romano*



## 174. Fama, malum qua non aliud velocius ullum;

malum *om.* *p*<sup>1</sup>. qua *P* (quo *P*<sup>1</sup>), quo *V*γ<sup>2</sup>πbc, *Donat.* (quod *codd. LR*); *cf. Serv. in explic. cit.* aliud *MP.*

174-175. Fama... eundo: *Petrus Cantor, Verb. abbr.* 76 (*Patr. Lat.* 205, 224; *cf.* 205 541) — quo; uiresque; acquirit —. 174-175. Fama... viget: *Rogerus de Hoveden, Chron.* 2, p. 51 *Stubbs* — quo —; *Anon. Vita Meinweri Episc.* 132 (*Mon. Germ. hist., Scriptores*, 13, 133). 174. Fama... ullum: *Tert. Apol.* 7 — qua —; *Prisc. Praeexerc.* 12 (*G. L. K.* 3, 433) — quo (qua *PVS*); aliud *V*; illud (*pro ullum*) *S* —; *Isid. Etym.* 5, 27, 26 — quo *B*, quia *T*; illum *T*, illud *C*<sup>1</sup> —. 174. Fama malum: *Schol. Dan.* 4, 298; *Anth. Lat. no.* 11, 15 (1, p. 41 *Riese*).

*tonitru ferit omnia signa*; *Val. Fl.* 2, 116-125: *Famamque vagam vestigat in umbra*; / *quam pater omnipotens digna atque indigna canentem*, / *spargentemque metus, placidis regionibus arcet* / *aetheris*; *illa fremens habitat sub nubibus imis*, / *non Erebi, non diva poli*; *terrasque fatigat*, / *quas datur*; *audentem primi spernuntque fovenitque*; / *mox omnes agili*, *et motis qualiti oppida linguis*. / *talem diva sibi scelerisque dolique ministram* / *quaerit avens*; *videt illa prior*; *iamque advolat ultro* / *inpatiens*; *iamque ora parat*; *iam suscitatur aures*; 5, 82-84; *Sil.* 4, 1: *fama per Ausoniae turbatas spargitur urbes*; 6, 554: *vera ac ficta simul spargebat fama per urbem*; 10, 578-579: *fama dehinc gliscente sono iam sidera adibat*; / *iam maria ac terras primaque intraverat urbem*; *Stat. Silv.* 5, 2, 170-171; *Achill.* 2, 66: *inde dato passim varias rumore per urbes*; *Theb.* 2, 205: *socias it fama per urbes*; 3, 425-430: *at vigil omni* / *Fama sono varios rerum succincta tumultus* / *antevolat currum* ... / ... / *urguet enim stimulis auriga cruentis* / *facta, infecta loqui*; 4, 369; 6, 1-2: *nuntia multivago Danaas perlabitur urbes* / *Fama gradu*; 9, 32-34: *fama per Aonium rapido vaga murmure campum* / *spargitur in turmas, solito pernicio index* / *cum lugenda referi*; *Tert. Adv. Nat.* 1, 7; *Apol.* 7; *Claud. In Eutrop.* 1, 346-348: *fama prius falso similis vanoque videri* / *ficta ioco*; *levior volitare per oppida rumor* / *riderique nefas*; 2, 462-463; *Panegy. Manl. Theod. Cons.* 270-271; *De Cons. Stil.* 2, 408-409: *iam Fama loquacibus alis* / *pervolat Oceanum*; *De Bell. Goth.* 201-204; *Paul. Nol. Carm.* 26, 29: *varias vaga fama per oras*; *Anth. Pal.* 10, 89, 1-4; *Synes. Ep.* 44;

*Achill. Tat.* 6, 10, 4-5: Φήμη δὲ καὶ Διαβολὴ δύο συγγενὴ κακά: θυγάτηρ ἡ Φήμη τῆς Διαβολῆς. καὶ ἐστὶ μὲν ἡ Διαβολὴ μαχαίρας ὀξύτερα, πυρὸς σφοδρότερα, Σειρήνων πιθανώτερα: ἡ δὲ Φήμη ὕδατος ὑγρότερα, πνεύματος ὀρομικώτερα, πτερῶν ταχύτερα ... τεχθεῖσα δὲ ἡ Φήμη ... ρεῖ μὲν εὐθὺς πολλὴ καὶ ἐπικλύζει τὰ ὅτα τῶν ἐντυχόντων, διαπνέει δὲ ἐπὶ πλείστον καταγίγζουσα τῷ τοῦ λόγου πνεύματι, καὶ ἐξίπταται κουφίζομένη τῷ τῆς γλώττης πτερῷ; *Dracont. Rom.* 8, 442-443: *nuntia fama ducis totam repleverat urbem*, / *advenisse Parin Troiano sanguine cretum*; *Orest.* 109-110; *Venant. Fort. Vit. S. Mart.* 1, 472: *sparsisset fama per urbem*; *Crescon. In Laud. Iustin.* 1, 184-187; *Carm. de S. Cassiano*, 66 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 4, 183): *exemplo Nili volat ingens fama per urbes*; *Ilberg in Roscher, Ausf. Lex.* 1 (1886), 1442-1443; *Berge, De Belli Daemonibus qui in Carm. Graec. et Rom. inveniuntur* (1895), 51-54; *Waser in P.-W.* 6 (1909), 1977-1979; *Ogle in Trans. Am. philol. Assoc.* 55 (1924), 90-119, who thinks (p. 98) that Virgil made a distinct contribution to the epic technique by assigning to Fama a major role as the motivating force in the most important episode of the poem, and by making true but indefinite rumor play a large part in aid of the action.

Among later writers imitations of the scene may be noted; e.g., Joseph of Exeter (*Iscanus*), *Bell. Troian.* 3, 218 (cited by Sedgwick in *Speculum*, 5 (1930), 67): *praeceps it fama per urbes*; *Chaucer, House of Fame*, 3, 266-302; *Vida, Christias*, 3, 1: *fama volans iam finitimas impleverat urbes*; *Shakesp.* 2 *Hen. IV*, Induction; *Bacon*, fragment of an essay 'Of Fame'; also near

the beginning of his essay on 'Seditions and Troubles'; Milton, *In Quint. Novemb.* 170-193; Butler, *Hudibras*, 2, canto 1 (a parody; on which cf. Gray's notes, who quotes (p. 125, n. 3) from Cotton's *Virgil-Travestie*, 4); Addison, *Spectator*, no. 273 (for a criticism of such allegorical figures); Boileau, *Lutrin*, 2, 1-8; Voltaire, *Henriade*, 8, 477-490; Chateaubriand (cf. Naylor in *Johns Hopkins Stud. in Rom. Lit. and Lang.* 18 (1930), 116-118); George Eliot, *Felix Holt*, ch. 8; cf. also Zabughin, *Virgilio nel Rinascimento ital.* 2 (1923), 69, n. 231; 286; 330, n. 119; Gordon, *Virgil in English Poetry* (1931), 6.

Various features in Virgil's description are borrowed from the picture of Eris in *Il.* 4, 442-443, and Fama is suggestive of his own account of Allecto in *Aen.* 7, 324-445; cf. Heinze, *Virgils epische Technik*, 3 ed. (1915), 305; 380; Prescott, *The Development of Virgil's Art* (1927), 252; Conway, *Anc. Italy and modern Religion* (1933), 89. Perhaps it also suggested Ovid's figure *Invidia* (*M.* 2, 760-782), as Münzer, *Cacus der Rinderdieb* (1911), 48, n. 57, supposes. The description itself has been much censured as bizarre or baroque; e.g., by Cartault, *L'Art de Virgile dans l'Énéide*, 1 (1926), 311-312, who notes the impropriety of a being reaching from earth to heaven yet perching by day on a housetop; Terzaghi, *Virgilio ed Enea* (1928), 40; 137; who considers as parallels the descriptions in 1, 124-156; 4, 246-251; also by many editors in their notes on the passage; so Page, who remarks (1923) *ad loc.*: "Symbolical figures, when they endeavor to represent more than a simple idea, soon become grotesque, and so while we can conceive Rumour as a bird, and also conceive a bird with an eye on every feather, yet the conception of a bird with an equal number of tongues and ears becomes ludicrous"; yet, on the other side of the question, cf. Conington *ad loc.*; Keith in *Cl. Journ.* 16 (1921), 298-301; and Masera (*ad loc.*) thinks Virgil may have been here influenced by some painting he had seen. Also cf. Quintil. 9, 2, 36: *formas quoque fingimus saepe, ut Famam Vergilius, ut Voluptatem ac Virtutem . . . Prodicus, ut Mortem ac Vitam, quas contendentes in Satura tradit Ennius.*

The introduction of Fama into the story

implies the passage of a certain amount of time, to permit the rumors, not merely of the cave scene but of the general relations between Dido and Aeneas, to spread through the neighboring districts and reach King Iarbas. This kind of timeless interlude is somewhat analogous in effect to the chorus of a Greek tragedy; cf. DeWitt, *The Dido Episode in the Aeneid of Virgil* (1907), 44. Cartault, however, thinks (*op. cit.*, 1, 311), as does Donatus (*ad loc.*), that events follow in rapid succession, with no period during which Dido's love is really satisfied. Keith (*op. cit.*, 299) observes that "Fama prepares the way for Iarbas; Iarbas attracts the attention of Jupiter; and Jupiter despatches Mercury on his mission."

174. **Fama:** Serv.: *definitio est, ut 'quo' ex praecedenti pendeat nomine; quamquam alii 'qua' legant. sane 'quo' nisi definitio sit, legi non potest; nec enim procedit ut ordo sit 'Fama, quo non aliud malum velocius.'* That *qua* is preferable to *quo* is indicated by the continuance of the feminine in line 176 (*parva*). The punctuation is disputed, some (e.g., Janell) reading *Fama malum, qua*, etc.; others (e.g., Jahn and Forbiger) not supplying *est* but recognizing no pause after *ullum*. I should render: "Rumor, than which no other evil thing is more swift," considering *qua* as postpositive in its clause.

With the form of the sentence cf. *G.* 2, 127: *felicis mali, quo non praesentius ullum*; Liv. 24, 21, 5: *fama . . . qua nihil in talibus rebus est celerius*; Val. Fl. 7, 333: *qua non velocior ulla*; and, for the thought, cf. 4, 173, n. (*Fama*); Ov. *Ep.* 16, 207: *volucris praeconia famae*; Philo Jud. *Leg. ad Gaium*, 18: *φήμης γὰρ οὐδὲν ὠκύτερον*; Sil. 4, 6: *et gliscit gressu volucrique citatior Euro* (sc. *Fama*); Nazar. *Panegy. Const.* 32, 4: *Fama velox*; Symm. *Ep.* 3, 45, 1: *vera res est famam esse velocem*; Albertus Stadensis, *Troilus*, 1, 560: *fama volat, quid enim fama velocius extat*; Hilarius, *Versus et Ludi*, 8, 5-8: *Fama, munstrum quo nil deterius, / Fame nunquam credam ulterius; / de qua iure dixit Virgilius: / Fama malum, nam nil deterius*. For the epanadiplosis cf. 4, 26, n. (*pa'llentis*), above. Symm. *Ep.* 3, 45 begins: *vera res est, famam esse velocem. sed dissentio Mantuano qui eam putat in malis debere numerari.*

175. mobilitate viget virisque adquirit eundo,  
parva metu primo, mox sese attollit in auras

uiris *MPp*, uires *M<sup>2</sup>P<sup>2</sup>R*. atquirit *b*.

primo *codd.*, primum *codd.* *LR Donati Aen.* 4, 175 (at 4, 190 = primo); cf. *Schol. Veron. Aen.* 4, 176 — primo —. mo(x sese atto)llit *V.* in aliter an (ad?) γ.

[174\*] 175. mobilitate: *Gl. Ansil.* 377, 539 — mouillitate —; q.v.

176–177. parva . . . condit: *Macrob. Sat.* 5, 13, 31 — attollit —. 176. mox . . . auras: *Anth. Lat. no.* 719, 101 (2, p. 188 Riese). 176. attollit . . . auras: *Gl. Ansil.* 32, 821 — attollit —.

175. **mobilitate**: *Serv.*: *dat ei σωματοποιαν. et laudat a contrario; cum enim omnia labore minuantur haec crescit*; *Lucr.* 6, 340–342 (of a falling thunderbolt): *denique quod longo venit impete, sumere debet / mobilitatem etiam atque etiam, quae crescit eundo / et validas auget viris et roborat ictum* (Bailey in *Proc. of cl. Assoc.* 28 (1931), 35 remarks that “Virgil has made great words greater”); Dante, *Convito*, 1, 3, paraphrases this line; Vida, *Christias*, 5, 567 has *mobilitate vigent*.

175. **viget viris**: the alliteration, as Buscaroli (*ad loc.*) observes, unites the two halves of the verse.

175. **adquirit**: cf. *Ov. Ars am.* 2, 343: *nascitur exiguus sed opes adquirit eundo*.

175. **eundo**: instrumental or modal (cf. Kühner-Stegmann, *Ausf. Gram. d. lat. Spr.* 2, 1, 2 ed. (1912), 751–753), yet inclining toward the colloquial use in which the ablative of the gerund became (as in Italian) a substitute for the present participle; cf. Grandgent, *Introd. to vulgar Latin* (1907), 49.

176. **parva**, etc.: *Schol. Dan.*: non ‘primo metu,’ sed ‘primum,’ quod initio cautius loquatur, id est in principio; cum enim quis veretur, ne auctor sit, quod audit continet; at ubi sit vulgatum, passim loquitur. et modo ‘primo’ adverbium est, non nomen. From *Macrob. Sat.* 5, 13, 31 on, the source for this and the following line has been found in *Il.* 4, 442–443 (of Eris): ἡ τ’ ὀλίγη μὲν πρῶτα κορύσσεται, αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα / οὐρανῷ ἐστήριξε κάρη καὶ ἐπὶ χθονὶ βαίνει. DeWitt (*Virgil’s Biographia litteraria* (1923), 51–52) remarks: “In the *Aeneid* we find no orthodox use of metamorphosis. The magic figure of Fama . . . changes her size, like Alice in Wonderland,

but not her figure or colour.” On the alliteration in the line (p m p m a a) cf. Kvíčala, *Neue Beitr. z. Erkl. d. Aeneis* (1881), 392.

176. **attollit in auras**: cf. 2, 699: *genitor se tollit ad auras*; 11, 455: *magnus se tollit ad auras*; 12, 703: *vertice se attollens pater Appenninus ad auras*; *Ov. M.* 4, 721–722: *se sublimis in auras / attollit*; *Stat. Theb.* 1, 295: *se attollat ad auras*; *Aug. Enarr. in Ps.* 17, 11: *se . . . in auras . . . attollunt*; also Forbiger on *Ecl.* 1, 57 for a distinction between *ad auras* and *in auras*.

177. **ingreditur**, etc.: in 10, 767 this line is repeated in a simile used to describe Mezentius. On the hyperbole cf. 4, 89, n. (*aequata . . . caelo*), above; Hunziker, *Die Figur der Hyperbel in den Gedichten Vergils* (1896), 26; also Demetrius, *De Eloc.* 124, who thinks hyperbole the most frigid of figures, and divides it into three kinds, based on likeness, superiority, or impossibility (κατὰ τὸ ἀδύνατον, ὡς τὸ ‘οὐρανοῦ ἐστήριξε κάρη’). For similar exaggerations cf. 1, 103: *fluctusque ad sidera tollit*; 1, 379; 2, 488: *ferit aurea sidera clamor*; 3, 678: *Aetnaeos fratres, caelo capita alta ferentis*; 7, 530; 11, 136: *actas ad sidera pinos*; *Il.* 4, 443 (quoted in n. on *parva*, etc., above); *Sapph.* 37 Bergk: *ψαῖον δ’ οὐ δοκίμωμ’ ὀράνω δύσι πάχεσι*; *Callim. Hymn.* 6, 58: *ἱμάτια μὲν χέρωσ, κεφαλὰ δὲ οἱ ἄψατ’ Ὀλύμπῳ*; Herond. 4, 75–76: *θεῶν ψαύειν / ἠπέειπε*; *Apollod. Bibl.* 1, 6, 3 (of Typhon): *ἦν δὲ αὐτῷ τὰ μὲν ἄχρι μηρῶν ἅπλετον μέγεθος, ἀνδρόμορφον, ὥστε ὑπερέχειν μὲν πάντων τῶν ὀρν, ἡ δὲ κεφαλὴ πολλάκις καὶ τῶν ἄστρον ἔβαινε* (cf. 2 *Maec.* 9, 10); *Ps. Callisth.* 2, 20: *ὥσποτε καὶ γὰρ ἰσθθον ἔχων κράτος χερσίν ἐμαῖς οὐρανοῦ ἠθέλησα ψαῦσαι*; *Babr.* 64, 4 (of

177. ingrediturque solo et caput inter nubila condit.  
illam Terra parens, ira inritata deorum,

solu *M* (solo *M*<sup>1</sup>), solu. (u corr. in o) *b*.

terram *M* (terra *M*<sup>2</sup>). ira (i ex corr.) *γ*. inritate *Pγ*<sup>1</sup>, inritata (corr. in irritata) *b*.

[176] 177. ingrediturque . . . condit: *Macrob. Sat.* 5, 3, 11; *Aug. Regulae* (G. L. K. 5, 522) — nubula —; *Serv. Aen.* 6, 157 — solet *G*; capud *F* —; *Aldhelmus, Aenigm.* 13, 16 (*Patr. Lat.* 89, 198). 177. caput . . . condit: *Anth. Lat.* no. 719, 102 (2, p. 188 Riese). 177. inter . . . condit: *Gl. Ansil.* 314, 1819.

178. illam . . . deorum: *Abbo Floriac. Quaest. gram.* 6 (*Auct. class.* 5, 334 Mai) — irritata —.

the ἐλάτῃ): καὶ τῶν νεφῶν σύνουκος ὁπλῇ φῶ; *Cic. Ad Att.* 2, 1, 7: *nostri autem principes digito se caelum pulent attingere*; *Hor. C.* 1, 1, 36: *sublimi feriam sidera vertice*; *Ov. M.* 7, 61: *vertice sidera tangam*; *Ars am.* 2, 39: *non ego sidereas adfecto tangere sedes*; *F.* 1, 210: *teligit summo vertice Roma deos*; 1, 308 (of Pelion on Ossa); 3, 34: *contigeratque sua sidera summa coma*; *Ex Pont.* 2, 5, 57: *vertice sidera tangas*; *Prop.* 1, 8, 43: *nunc mihi summa licet contingere sidera plantis*; *Manil.* 4, 694–695: *quam rerum maxima Roma / imposuit terris caeloque adiungitur ipsa*; *Val. Fl.* 4, 149: *vasto qui vertice nubila pulset*; *Mart.* 8, 36, 11: *quae vertice sidera pulsat*; *Stat. Theb.* 6, 681: *sese . . . in nubila condit*; *Sil.* 17, 650: *incessit campis tangens Tiryinthius astra*; *Plut. De Alex. Mag. Fort.* 2, 5 (spoken by Lysimachus): *νῦν Βυζάντιον πρὸς ἐμὲ ἤκουσιν, ὅτε τῇ λόγῃ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἄπτομαι*; *Ael. V. H.* 12, 41: *χάρις, ἥς ὁ ἀνὴρ εἰ τύχοι, ὁ πόντος αὐτοῦ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ψάσκει*; *Aristaen. Ep.* 1, 11: *καὶ (τὸ λεγόμενον δὴ τοῦτο) ἐδόκει τῇ κεφαλῇ ψάβειν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ*; *Symm. Ep.* 1, 52: *ne ego digito, ut aiunt, supera conveza teligissem*; *Synes. Ep.* 79: *οὕτως ἀράσσαι τῇ κεφαλῇ τὸν οὐρανόν*; *Auson. Prec. Cons. des. Prid. Kal. Ian.* 52: *tunc ero bis consul, tunc tangam vertice caelum*; *Sedul. Pasch. Carm.* 4, 56: *vertice sidera tanget*; *Avien.* 3, 528: *hic Aquileia decens celsis caput inserit astris*; 3, 716: *culmina nubibus indunt*; 3, 1080–1081: *consurgunt pinus, et caelum sibila pulsan / robora*; *Boeth. Cons.* 1, 1: *pulsare caelum summi verticis cacumine videbatur*; *Nonn.* 29, 320: *καὶ νεφέων ἔψανσε καὶ ἤφατο χερσὶν Ὀλύμπου*; *C. I. L.* VI, 1163, 20 (= Dessau 736): *pulsatque polos*; *Otto, Sprichwörter . . .*

*der Römer* (1890), 63; also the cases of sea and sky mingling as collected by Kroll, *Stud. z. Verständnis d. röm. Lit.* (1924), 271–272; and 4, 322, n. (*sidera*), below.

Later instances are found in [*Dicuil.*] *De Montibus*, 23 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 2, 667): *mons Pelion tollens caput inter nubila condit*; *Aonius Palearius, De Anim. Immortal.* 1, 306: *nubes qui inter caput extulit altas*; 3, 441: *sed caput obscurum deus inter nubila condet*; *Politian, Ambra*, 457: *celsumque altis caput intulit astris*; *Ben Jonson, Masque of Queens, sub fin.*: “As her brow the clouds invade / Her feet do strike the ground”; *Shakesp. Troil. and Cress. Act* 4, Sc. 5: “Those towers whose mountain tops do buss the clouds”; *Tennyson, Epilogue*: “Old Horace? ‘I will strike,’ said he, ‘the stars with head sublime’”; and *Eichhoff, Études grecques sur Virgile*, 2 (1825), 252 for imitations, notably by J. B. Rousseau, in whose *Ode au Prince Eugene* there is an elaborate parallel. Cf. also the modern term ‘skyscraper.’

*Servius* remarks: *hoc vult ostendere nec humili eam fortunae parcere, nec superiori, and the Schol. Dan. add: vel quia famae incertus auctor*, doubtless emphasizing the phrase *inter nubila*.

178. *Terra parens*: *Serv.*: *generale est: parens rerum omnium*; cf. *Aesch. Prom.* 90: *παμμῆτορ . . . γῆ*; *Choeph.* 127: *Γαῖαν ἀττήν, ἥ τὰ πάντα τίκτεται*; *Juv.* 8, 257: *Terraque parenti* (cf. *Carm. Lat. epig.* no. 1039 Bücheler); *Dieterich-Fehrle, Mutter Erde*, 3 ed. (1925), 37–58. For Earth as the mother of monstrosities cf. *Drexler in Roscher, Ausf. Lex.* 1, 2 (1886), 1569; *Eitrem in P.-W.* 7 (1912), 473–474, who cites many such, in-

179. extremam, ut perhibent, Coeo Enceladoque sororem  
progenuit pedibus celerem et pernicipibus alis,

extrema R (extremam R<sup>1</sup>).  
progenuet P (progenuit P<sup>2</sup>).

179. Coeo Enceladoque: cf. *Gl. Ansil.* 120, 476 — *cius et teneladus* —; 125, 92 — *coeus et enceladus* —.

180. pernicipibus alis: [*Acro*] in *Hor. Epod.* 2, 42. 180. pernicipibus: *Gl. Ansil.* 438, 927; q.v.; *Gl. Aa.* 319, 451.

cluding Antaeus and other giants, Argos, Atlas, Charybdis, Echidna, the Erinyes, the Harpies, Python, and Typhon. The size of Fama seems to class her with the giants.

178. *ira*: cf. *Apoll. Rh.* 2, 38–40: ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ἡ ὀλοοῖο Τυφώος, ἡὲ καὶ αὐτῆς / Γαίης εἶναι ἔκτο πέλωρ τέκος, οἷα παρῶθεν / χωομένην Διὶ τίκτειν; *Apollod. Bibl.* 1, 1, 4: ἀγανακτοῦσα δὲ Γῇ ἐπὶ τῇ ἀπωλείᾳ τῶν ἐν Τάρταρον ῥιφέντων παίδων, κτλ.; 1, 6, 1: Γῇ δὲ περὶ Τιτάνων ἀγανακτοῦσα γεννᾷ Γιγάντας ἐξ οὐρανοῦ; 1, 6, 3: ὥς δ' ἐκράτησαν οἱ θεοὶ τῶν Γιγάντων, Γῇ μᾶλλον χολωθείσα μίγνυται Ταρτάρῳ, καὶ γεννᾷ Τυφῶνα; *Sil.* 5, 111: *irata tellure sata*; *Claud. Carm. min.* 53, 1–3: *Terra parens quondam caelestibus invida regnis / Titanumque simul crebros miserata dolores / omnia monstriifero complebat Tartara fetu.*

For *ira* with the genitive of the cause of the complaint Conington compares 2, 413: *ereptae virginis ira*; 9, 736: *mortis fraterna . . . ira*; also cf. *Liv.* 1, 5, 3: *ob iram praedae amissae* (and parallels in Weissenborn's note). Here this idiom is extended to the persons against whom anger is felt. *Buscaroli (ad loc.)* finds in this alliteration with *r* an expression of irritation; cf. *Lejay* on *Hor. S.* 1, 2, 127; *Pers.* 1, 109–110 and schol.

*Serv.*: *amphibolon est, utrum sua ira propter extinctos gigantes, an 'ira deorum inritata,' quae extinxerat gigantes* (the parallels just cited from *Apollodorus* support the former alternative). The *Scholia Danielis* add: *vel ideo 'ira deorum,' quod in eam fulmina et grandines de caelo cadunt.* *Bell (The Latin Dual (1923), 295)* finds yet another amphibole here, construing *deorum* not only with *ira* but also with *extremam*. This might seem justified by *Hes. Theog.* 764 (of Φήμη): θεός νύ τις ἐστὶ καὶ αὐτῇ, yet *extremam* and

*sororem* at the beginning and end of line 179 are clearly closely related, and this makes the connection of *deorum* with *extremam* less essential.

179. *extremam*: *Schol. Veron.* p. 432 *Hagen: utrum pessimam, an eruditius sensil, ut legimus apud medicos degenerat (e solere ulli) mos partus*; *Serv.*: *aut post omnes gigantes, quippe ad deorum ullionem nata, aut certe 'extrema' pessima; omnes enim qui de medicina tractant dicunt naturale esse ut inutiliores sint qui nascuntur ultimi*; *Thomas, Essai sur Servius (1880), 172.*

179. *ut perhibent*: cf. *G.* 1, 247; 4, 507; *Aen.* 8, 135; 8, 324; *Cir.* 56; 77; *Cic. Arat.* 447; also many similar qualifications in *Virgil* collected by *von Leutsch* (in *Philologus*, 39 (1880), 325) and *Heinze, Virgils epische Technik*, 3 ed. (1915), 242, n. 1; cf. *Serv.*: *quotienscumque fabulosum aliquid dicit solet inferre 'fama est.' mire ergo modo, cum de ipsa fama loqueretur, ait 'ut perhibent'*; *Donat.*: *quod ait 'ut perhibent,' morem proprium tenuit; in fabulis quippe et incredibilibus non se facit auctorem*; cf. *Cartault, L'Art de Virgile dans l'Énéide*, 1 (1926), 347. *Münzer, Cacus der Rinderdieb (1911), 48,* thinks *Virgil's* tradition did not gain credence, for *Ov. M.* 12, 39–63 adopts a very different view.

179. *Coeo*: *Schol. Dan.*: *isti gigantes fuerunt inter alios, qui Iovem superpositis montibus regno caelesti detrudere conati, fulminibus sunt deleti. et bene elegit ex fratribus maximos, ex quibus aestimaretur.* For numerous passages dealing with the Titan *Coeus* cf. *Mayer in Roscher, Ausf. Lex.* 2 (1897), 1265–1266; *Hepding in P.-W.* 11 (1922), 1058–1059; also *G.* 1, 278–279: *tum partu Terra nefando / Coeumque Iapetumque creat*

181. *monstrum horrendum, ingens, cui quot sunt corpore plumae,*  
quod *MPRV* γ<sup>1</sup>c. pl(umae) V, plume corpore γ.

181-184. *monstrum* . . . *umbram*: *Aldhelmus, Aenigm.* 13, 12-15 (*Patr. Lat.* 89, 198) — *aures; coeli; umbras* —. 181-183. *cui* . . . *sonant*: *Schol. Lucan.* 1, 472 (in *codd. Bc, Voss.*) — *corporeae Bc; oculos subitus Voss.* —. 181. *monstrum* . . . *ingens*: *Prob. Inst. Art. (G. L. K. 4, 143); Cledon. Ars (G. L. K. 5, 72)* — *orrendum* —; *Sacerd. Art. gram.* 1 (*G. L. K. 6, 448*); *Anth. Lat. no. 8, 28* (1, p. 35 *Riese*) — *montrum corr. in monstrum A* —.

*saevomque Typhoea*. For the not infrequent confusion of Titans with Giants cf. *Ilberg in Roscher, op. cit.*, 1, 2 (1886), 1642-1643.

179. *Encelado*: in 3, 578-582 *Virgil* states that he is said to be (*fama est*) buried under Mt. Etna; for other allusions see *Escher in P.-W.* 5 (1905), 2578-2579.

180. *progeniuit*: the alliteration and the appropriately swift metre of the line are noteworthy.

180. *pedibus*: *Serv.*: *converit rerum epitheta; nam 'pernix' pedum est, ut* (11, 718) *'pernicibus ignea plantis,' celeritas pennarum est, ut* (3, 243) *'celerique fuga sub sidera lapsae'*; and the *Schol. Dan.* add: *aut certe intentio describentis est; supervacua enim est alas habenti pedum pernicitas; aut sic intellege 'pedibus celerem et alis velocibus'?*

180. *pernicibus alis*: *Stat. Theb.* 3, 471 (of birds): *pernicibus alis*; *Avien.* 2, 349-350: *caelum pernicibus intrat / diva alis*; 9, 33-34 (of *Fama*): *solito pernicior index / cum lugenda refert*; *Venant. Fort. Misc.* 7, 10, 1 (*Patr. Lat.* 88, 246): *quam cito fama volat pernicibus excita pennis, / et loca cuncta suis actibus aucta replet*; *Vida, Poet.* 3, 374: *hic melior motuque pedum et pernicibus alis*; *Aonius Palearius, De Anim. Immortal.* 2, 15-16: *quo tollere humo pernicibus alis / me possim*. On *Aen.* 9, 473 (where *Fama* is described as *pinnata*) the *Schol. Dan.* give a fanciful explanation of why some think *Fama* is so represented. Words, however, are often described as 'winged,' from the time of *Homer* on (cf. *Plut. De Garrul.* 10), and gossip may appropriately be so imagined.

181. *monstrum*: cf. 3, 658 (of *Polyphemus*): *monstrum horrendum informe ingens, cui lumen ademptum*; *Schol. Dan.*: *bene vituperavit Famam ex accidentibus personae, per parentes malos et fratres; et quod*

*eam describit non est narratio sed argumentatio. quidni monstrum, quae huius naturae sit ut quot plumas, tot oculos, tot linguas, tot aures, et cetera?* The word *monstrum* (from *monere*) describes phenomena or beings so abnormal as to appear supernatural warnings; cf. *Donat. Aen.* 8, 80: *monstrum dicitur quod exoritur contra rationem naturae. idcirco existit ut futurum aliquid monstret*; *Pease* on *Cic. De Div.* 1, 3. Among such were, for *Virgil*, *Scylla (Ecl.* 6, 76 = *Cir.* 59; cf. *Cir.* 57), the *Harpies (Aen.* 3, 214), a varied list in 6, 285-289, *Allecto* (7, 328), *Cacus* (8, 198), *Anubis* (8, 698), etc.; also the *Trojan Horse* is so characterized (2, 245); and cf. *Pavor in Stat. Theb.* 7, 111. The appearance of such types in painting — and doubtless by implication also in literature — was censured by *Horace (A. P.* 1-5) as ridiculous, probably because unconvincing (cf. *A. P.* 187-188). In most of these cases hybridity or disproportionate size combines with general malevolence. Cf. also *De la Ville de Mirmont, Apollonios de Rhodes et Virgile* (1894), 333-334; *Aonius Palearius, De Anim. Immortal.* 1, 316: *monstrum horrendum ingens*; *Cayado, Ecl.* 9, 26: *monstrum horrendum, ingens, cui*, etc.; *Anon. De Monstris*, 45 (in *de Xivrey, Traditions étiologiques* (1836), 142): *de monstro quodam nocturno. et dicunt, quod dici nefandum est, monstrum quoddam nocturnum fuisse, quod semper noctu per umbram coeli et terrae volabat, homines in urbibus horribili stridore territans; et quot plumas in corpore habuit, tot oculos, totidem aures et ora. semper quoque sine requie et somno fuisse describitur*.

*Norden* (on *Aen.* 6, 186) notes how strong *synaloepha* produces the effect of immensity, citing as parallels 3, 658; 6, 186; 6, 552; 7, 170; 12, 897, and quoting *Seneca ap. Gell.*

182. tot vigiles oculi subter (mirabile dictu),  
tot linguae, totidem ora sonant, tot subrigit auris.

oculis *M* (oculi *M*<sup>1</sup>).

auris *P* (aures *P*<sup>2</sup>), auris (i an e non liquet) *V*, aures *c*, auras (corr. in aures) *γb*.

[181] 182. mirabile dictu: *Anth. Lat. no. 16, 19* (1, p. 57 Riese); *Cento Probae*, 341.

[181\*] 183. tot . . . auris: *Non. p. 50 M.* (p. 71 L.).

12, 2, 10: de Vergilio quoque eodem in loco (*Ep. moral. 22*) verba haec ponit: Vergilius quoque noster non ex alia causa duos quosdam versus et enormes et aliquid supra mensuram trahentis interposuit quam ut Ennianus populus agnosceret in novo carmine aliquid antiquitatis. The contrast between the heavy, lumbering metre of this line (cf. Maxa in *Wiener Stud.* 19 (1897), 93) and the nimbleness of the preceding well corresponds to that between the bulky content of gossip and the speed with which it is diffused, and I cannot agree with Mackail (1930 ed. of the *Aeneid*, 130) that "the overloaded amplifications" in 4, 181-183 are a sign of early unrevised writing.

181. *horrendum*: cf. 3, 26: *horrendum et dictu video mirabile monstrum*; 3, 712: *nec vates Helenus, cum multa horrenda moneret*; the adjective is also applied to such objects as the Cyclopes (3, 659) or the Hydra (6, 288), as well as to the Sibyl (6, 10) and her uncanny prophecies (6, 99).

181. *ingens*: cf. 4, 89, n. (*ingentes*).

181. *plumae*: cf. Ar. *Aves*, 720: *φῆμη γ' ὑμῖν ὅπως ἔστι*; and on the wings of Fame cf. Hor. C. 2, 2, 7-8: *illum aget penna metuente solvi / fama superstes*.

182. *tot, etc.*: on the anaphora cf. Haebler in *Philologus*, 47 (1888), 312; Otto, *De Anaphora* (1907), 50; with *tot* it is found in 1, 9-10; 7, 328-329 (in the somewhat similar description of Allecto); 10, 482; 10, 568; 10, 888; also cf. 4, 248, n. (*Atlantis*), below. In this passage Rumor is represented as seeing, hearing, and telling.

182. *vigiles oculi*: cf. Apul. *M.* 2, 2: *oculi caesi quidem sed vigiles et in aspectu micantes*; Aug. *Ep.* 40, 7: *oculos . . . sanos et vigiles*; *Contr. Acad.* 2, 20: *cum Academici ne oculis quidem credant humanis, nedum famae mille quidem, ut poetae fingunt, sed monstrosis tamen*

*luminibus*. Virgil seems to suggest eyes like those of Argus (cf. Engelmann in Roscher, *Ausf. Lex.* 1 (1884), 537-539; Wernicke in *P.-W.* 2 (1896), 791-792), who had the epithet of *παρόπτης* and was himself associated with the peacock, or of the beasts in Rev. 4, 8: *καὶ τὰ τέσσαρα ζῶα, ἐν καθ' ἐν αὐτῶν ἔχων ἀνὰ πτέρυγας ἑξ, κυκλόθεν καὶ ἑσωθεν γέμουσιν ὀφθαλμῶν*; cf. also Eitrem in *Symbol. Osloenses*, 5 (1927), 85-86, who suggests that Virgil drew upon some Alexandrian writer who made use of concepts found in certain magical documents. The Scholia Danielis remark: *mire 'subter,' quasi quae non videatur et omnia videat*. Nauck, somewhat unnecessarily, placed a colon after *oculi*; cf. Mayor in *Journ. of Philol.* 7 (1876), 7. Tasso imitates the passage in *Ger. lib.* 15, 32, 4: *la Fama ch' ha mille occhi e mille penne*; cf. Parini, *Il Vespro*, 216-217: *la fama / con uno il colse de' cento occhi suoi*.

182. *mirabile dictu*: Schol. Dan.: *sic exclamavit poeta, quasi minus admirationis haberet ipsa descriptio*. For the parenthesis cf. 4, 116, n. (*advert*), above. This phrase Virgil uses in *G.* 2, 30; 3, 275; *Aen.* 1, 439; 2, 174; 7, 64; 8, 252; cf. *Cir.* 120; also similar phrases in *G.* 4, 554: *dictu mirabile*; *Aen.* 4, 454 (= 8, 565): *horrendum dictu*; and *Aen.* 2, 680; 3, 26. Among other writers cf. Sil. 11, 440; 14, 66; [Tert.] *De Ligno Vitae*, 12 (*Patr. Lat.* 2, 1171); Avien. 2, 654; Juven. 2, 44; 3, 18; Aug. *C. D.* 1, 19; *Anth. Lat. no. 377, 9* (1, p. 290 Riese); Prisc. *Carm.* 2, 415 (*Poet. Lat. min.* 5, 289); Sannazaro, *De Partu Virg.* 1, 188; Vida, *Christias*, 3, 309; 3, 478; 6, 939; in most of these cases in the same metrical position. Cf. also Liv. 7, 26, 5: *dictu mirabile*; Ennod. *Carm.* 1, 9, 88: *dictu . . . mirabile*; and the phrase *mirabile visu* (12, 252; cf. 7, 78; 10, 637; Varr. ap. Schol. Dan. *G.* 1, 375; Colum.

184. nocte volat caeli medio terraeque per umbram  
stridens, nec dulci declinat lumina somno;

uolat *distinguit* *M* (cf. Fairclough in *Trans. Am. philol. Assoc.* 63 (1932), 223); *Schol. Veron.* medio *distinguit* *M<sup>2</sup>P<sup>2</sup>*. umbras *b*, umbra *p*.  
(*str*)idens *P*. declinat (*corr. in declinat*) *c*. lumine *M* (lumina *M<sup>2</sup>*).

[181\*]

185. dulci . . . somno: *Cento Probae*, 125 — lumine *A<sup>1</sup>* et (*corr. m. 2*) *T* —. 185. declinat: *Gl. Ansil.* 162, 136; *q.v.*

10, 363; *Prisc. Carm.* 2, 583 (*Poet. Lat. min.* 5, 294); *Gualterus, Alexandreis*, 9, 366; *Kroll, Stud. z. Verständnis d. röm. Lit.* (1924), 54.

183. tot linguae: *Serv.*: infinitus est numerus, nam re vera quot sunt homines, in quibus fama est, tot ora habet, quae sunt hominum; cf. *Anth. Lat. no.* 111, 9 (1, p. 129 Riese), of a pantomime: tot linguae quot membra viro; *Anon. Panegy. Max. et Const.* 1, 3: Fama ultra naturam qua fingitur discursus volucres mutata et plus quam mille vocibus sonora percrebuit, etc.; *Amm. Marc.* 21, 9, 3: fama vero, quae mille (ut aiunt) linguis rerum mire exaggerat fidem, per Illyrios . . . fundebatur.

183. subrigit auris: the verb is infrequent in a transitive sense, and after the Augustan period chiefly in the uncontracted forms; cf. *Sen. H. F.* 790: caplat aure subrecta sonum; *Plin. N. H.* 11, 137: in equis et omnium iumentorum genere indicia animi praeferunt (sc. aures), marcidæ fessis, micantes pavidis, subrectae furentibus, resolutae aegris; *Aug. De Anima et eius Orig.* 2, 9: doctrinam cui omnis aetas aures subrigat; *Wirth, De Vergili apud Senecam Philos. Usu* (1900), 18; also *Val. Fl.* 2, 125 (of Fama): iamque ora parat, iam suscitât aures; *Otto, Die Sprichwörter . . . der Römer* (1890), 49, for similar expressions.

184. nocte volat: the suggestion is that of a bat; cf. *Ov. M.* 4, 415 (of bats): nocte volant; *F.* 6, 135 (of striges): nocte volant; also *Aen.* 3, 121: Fama volat (= 7, 392; 8, 554); *Petron.* 123, 211; *Aonius Palcarius, De Anim. Immortal.* 1, 329: ille volat stridens. *Serv.*: bene naturalem rem dixit; nam quanto celatum est aliquid tanto magis requiritur. et sine dubio incipiens fama semper obscura est;

quae divulgata conquiescit; unde ait 'luce sedet.'

184. caeli medio: *Schol. Dan.*: absolute; quia inter caelum terramque medium est. Why Fama is localized here Henry (*Aeneidea*, 2 (1878), 656–657) explains by citing *Ov. M.* 12, 39–43: orbe locus medio est inter terrasque fretumque / caelestesque plagas, triplicis confinia mundi; / unde quod est usquam, quamvis regionibus absit, / inspicitur, penetratque cavae vox omnis ad aures, / Fama tenet, summaque domum sibi legit in arce; 12, 62–63: ipsa quid in caelo rerum pelagoque geratur / et tellure videt, totumque inquiri in orbem; *Val. Fl.* 2, 119–120: illa (sc. Fama) fremens habitat sub nubibus imis, / non Erebi, non diva poli, terrasque fatigat. On the phrase cf. 4, 256 and n. (terras inter caelumque); 9, 230: castrorum et campi medio; *Ov. M.* 5, 644: et medium caeli terraeque per aëra vecta est; *Tac. Ann.* 1, 64, 7: medio montium et paludum.

184. terraeque per umbram: *Serv.*: noctem umbram terrae esse numquam apertius significavit. With the end of the line cf. *Auson. Griphus ternarii Numeri*, 25: noctisque per umbram.

185. stridens: cf. 9, 419 and 12, 859 (of arrows), in each of which lines the word occurs as a run-over at the beginning (cf. 4, 23, n. (*impulsi*); 4, 190: gaudens). The verb expresses most commonly the whizzing sound of a missile (5, 502; 7, 531; 9, 419; 9, 586; 9, 632; 9, 705; 10, 645; 10, 776; 11, 563; 12, 319; 12, 691; 12, 859; 12, 926), also the creaking of hinges (1, 449; 6, 573; 7, 613; *Cir.* 222) or wheels (*G.* 3, 536) or of trees in the wind (2, 418), the hissing of hot metals dipped in water (*G.* 4, 172; *Aen.* 8, 420; 8, 450) or of a hydra (6, 288), the whistling of a gale (1, 102), the sound of waves flowing



186. luce sedet custos aut summi culmine tecti  
turribus aut altis, et magnas territat urbes,

(tu)rribus P. magna P (magnas P<sup>1</sup>), magnis (corr. in magnas) c. magnas et M (et magnas M<sup>2</sup>).

186. luce . . . culmine: [Prob.] *De ult. Syll.* 4 (G. L. K. 4, 226) — summi c. — 186. culmine tecti: *Gl. Ansil.* 155, 67.

187. territat: *Gl. Ansil.* 559, 506; q.v.

back from a beach (G. 4, 262), the buzz of insects (G. 4, 310; 4, 556), or the whirring of wings (G. 4, 310; *Aen.* 1, 397; 7, 561; *Cir.* 515), as here; cf. the *stridentibus alis* of Amor in Auson. *Cupido cruc.* 46; also notice the use of *stridit* in 4, 689, below. The Scholia Danielis remark: *stridens potest et ad oris sonum et ad alarum referri*. The latter interpretation fits especially well with the swiftness of flight here described. Buscaroli (*ad loc.*) compares Ov. *F.* 6, 140: *striges* are so called because *horrendum stridere nocte solent*, but this seems hardly comparable to the sound made by Fama.

185. *dulci*, etc.: Schol. Dan.: *qui est omnibus animantibus dulcis. et 'somno' utrum ablativo an dativo? (dativo) melius interpretis, quasi non succumbat illi*. On the onomatopoeia, cf. 4, 81, n. (*suadentique*), and the parallels there collected, some relating especially to the present line; cf. Cypr. *Hept. Gen.* 912: *defessus dulci declinat lumina somno*. Similar phrases without the same onomatopoeic effect are Catull. 64, 91-92: *flagrantia declinavit / lumina*; Ov. *Rem. Am.* 500: *somno lumina victa dedi*; Prop. 2, 1, 11: *seu cum poscentes somnum declinat ocellos*; Paul. Nol. *Carm.* 31, 119-120: *somno / lumina declinat*. In Greek γλυκτς appears as a frequent epithet of ὕπνος; e.g., Od. 2, 395; 8, 445; 10, 548.

185. *lumina*: for *oculi*; cf. Braumüller, *Ueber Tropen u. Figuren in Vergil's Aeneis*, 1 (1877), 28.

186. *luce*: 'by day'; cf. Cic. *Off.* 3, 93: *luce palam in foro sallet*; *In Pis.* 23: *luce et palam*; Auct. ad Her. 4, 48: *luci noctem, nocte lucem expectatis*; *Aen.* 9, 153: *luce palam*; Juv. 15, 43: *nocte et luce*. The word begins the verse, as *nocte* in line 184.

186. *sedet custos*: Cartault (*L'Art de*

*Virgile dans l'Énéide*, 2 (1926), 828-829) compares 11, 836-837: *at Triviae custos iamdudum in montibus Opis / alta sedet summis*; and the Scholia Danielis interpret: *custos speculatrix, ne quid eam praetereat; non quae custodiat aut servet*.

186. *culmine tecti*: cf. 2, 302: *summi fastigia tecti*; Ov. *M.* 12, 43 (of Fama): *summaque domum sibi legit in arce*; and, for the phraseology, Ov. *M.* 12, 480: *tecti a culmine*; Curt. 10, 5, 15: *culmine sui quisque tecti prospectabant*; Amm. Marc. 26, 10, 19: *culminibus insidere tectorum*; 27, 3, 8: *summis tectorum culminibus*; Juven. 2, 484: *spargantur culmine tecti*; Paul. Nol. *Carm.* 16, 34; 18, 387; 26, 405; Licent. ap. Aug. *Ep.* 26: *inania tecti / culmina*; Bertharius ap. Mabillon, *Act. Sanct.* 1, p. 27 (cited by Zappert, *Virgil's Fortleben im Mittelalter* (1851), 21): *collapsi culmine tecti*; also cf. G. 1, 402 (of the *noctua*): *servans de culmine summo*. As noted by Servius, *summi culmine tecti* indicates the activities of Fama *per domos nobilium, turribus aut altis* its operations *per domos regum, et magnas territat urbes* refers to *magnos populos*; *et dicit plebeios*; to which the Schol. Dan. add: *et ostendere vult Famae linguis neminem exceptum qui non exagitari possit*. Private and public affairs alike thus fall within its notice.

187. *turribus*: often of high buildings, especially those of the wealthy; e.g., Hor. *C.* 1, 4, 13-14: *pallida Mors aequo pulsata pede pauperum tabernas / regumque turris*; *Epod.* 17, 70; Ov. *M.* 8, 14: *regia turris erat*; Tib. 1, 7, 19 (and Smith's note); Prop. 3, 21, 15; Suet. *Nero*, 38 (for the *turris Maecenatiana*); and Smith compares "the occasional use of 'Towers' in names of country places in England, etc."

187. *aut*: on its postpositive position cf.

188. tam ficti pravique tenax quam nuntia veri.  
haec tum multiplici populos sermone replebat  
gaudens, et pariter facta atque infecta canebat:

(*ē*)am P.

po(pulos) V. replebant (*corr. in* replebat) π.

(*g*)audens P. f(acta atque infecta) V. adque R.

188. tam . . . veri: *Paul. Nol. Ep. 16, 10* — falsi prauique (pravi quae O, paruique F); nescia ueri —; *Lact. Plac. in Stat. Theb. 3, 430* — uicti (*corr. in* ficti) M, facti Pa; paruique (*corr. in* puerique) M, paruique Pa; qua Pa —; *Anon. Vita Godefridi Capenberg. 7 (Mon. Germ. hist., Scriptores, 12, 521)*. 188. tam . . . tenax: *Arus. Ex. Eloc. (G. L. K. 7, 513)*. 188. ficti pravique: *Gl. Ansil. 243, 35*. 188. tenax: *Gl. Ansil. 556, 260; q.v.* 188. nuntia veri: *Arus. Ex. Eloc. (G. L. K. 7, 495)*.

189. multiplici sermone: *Gl. Ansil. 372, 121*.

190. facta . . . infecta: *Gl. Ansil. 231, 179 (cf. 231, 180)*.

4, 317; Norden, 2 ed. of Book VI (1916), 404. In this line Unterharnscheidt, *De Veterum in Aeneide Coniecturis* (1911), 22, would accept for *et magnas* of most manuscripts and editors the reading of M<sup>1</sup>: *magnas et*, on the principle of the *lectio difficilior*, and in this he is followed by Janell. But the inversion of *aut* seems adequate to account for the corruption of *et magnas* to *magnas et*, and two such inversions in one line would seem unduly affected in style.

187. *territat urbes*: cf. 12, 852: *meritas aut bello territat urbes*; also Val. Fl. 2, 122 (of Fama): *motis quatit oppida linguis*; Sil. 4, 1: *Fama per Ausoniae turbatas spargitur urbes*; 4, 7: *terrificis quatit attonitas rumoribus arces*.

188. *tam ficti, etc.*: this general characteristic of Fama is resumed in 4, 190 by an account of its action in this particular instance; cf. 4, 11, n. (*quam, etc.*), above. With the thought cf. Ov. M. 9, 138-139: *quae veris addere falsa / gaudet*; 12, 54-55: *mixtaeque cum veris passim commenta vagantur / milia rumorum*; Sil. 6, 554: *vera ac ficta simul spargebat fama per urbem*; Aug. C. D. 8, 27: *falsis fictisque convictis*. On the irresponsibility of gossip cf. Plaut. Trin. 199-211; also Valentine in *Cl. Weekly*, 21 (1928), 108: "The poet's meaning in the Fama passage is that the deadly sin of gossip consists not necessarily in telling injurious lies, but in making injurious statements without knowing them to be true." For the substantial use of *fictum* cf. Ov. M. 9, 769.

*Fictum* probably represents sheer invention, while *pravum* is a distortion of the truth.

188. *tenax*: for its use with the genitive — with which, rather than modifying *nuntia*, it is probably here to be construed — cf. Hor. C. 3, 3, 1: *tenacem propositi virum* (cf. Ov. M. 10, 405); Ov. M. 7, 657: *quaesitique tenax*; Pers. 5, 48: *Parca tenax veri*; Juv. 8, 25: *iustitiaque tenax*.

188. *nuntia veri*: cf. 9, 474: *nuntia Fama ruit*; 11, 139: *Fama volans, tanti praenuntia luctus*; Ov. M. 15, 3-4: *praenuntia veri / Fama*; I. G. XIV, 1120 (on a stone found at Tusculum): Φήμη ἐπαγγέλω.

189. *multiplici*: cf. Cic. Orat. 12: *multiplicium variorumque sermonum*.

189. *populos*: Schol. Dan.: *utrum generaliter, an Tyrios et Troianos tantum*; cf. Ogle in *Trans. Am. philol. Assoc.* 55 (1924), 90. But 4, 196 shows that the native African tribes are also to be included. Virgil uses this word in the plural 35 times in the *Georgics* and the *Aeneid*.

189. *replebat*: in Virgil more often with an object, like *tectum* (2, 679; 7, 502) or *moenia* (11, 140); but cf. Ov. M. 9, 134-135: *actaque magni / Herculis implerant terras*; 9, 666-667: *fama novi centum Creteas forsitan urbes / implesset monstri*; Dracont. Rom. 8, 442: *nuntia fama ducis totam repleverat urbem*. For the rhyme between this line and the next cf. 4, 54, n. (*amore*).

190. *gaudens*: cf. Ov. M. 9, 138-139: *quae veris addere falsa / gaudet*; Schol. Dan.: *et quidam non temporale Famae epitheton*

191. venisse Aenean Troiano sanguine cretum;  
cui se pulchra viro dignetur iungere Dido;

aeneam *c.* troia . . . angvine *V*, troiano a sanguine *R*, *Donat.*, *et* (a *add. sup.*) *γ.* cretum (*corr. in cretum*) *c.*

pulchra *c*, sepulchra (ra *m. rec. in ras.*) *π.* (dign)etur *V*, dignentur *M* (dignetur *M*<sup>1</sup>). dono *c*<sup>1</sup>.

192. iungere: *Gl. Ansil.* 322, 152; *q.v.*

'gaudens' esse volunt, sed generale, ut multiplici sermone gaudeat, quo tunc populos implebat. If the former possibility were adopted we might punctuate *replebat, / gaudens et*, making *et* postpositive as in 4, 165; 4, 418; 4, 513. *Gaudens* is similarly added to the subject of a verb in 8, 702; Val. Fl. 1, 600: *ingenti gaudens domat aequora velo*. Here it expresses the glee of the retailer of gossip.

190. *infecta*: Serv.: *facta atque infecta sicut sequentia indicant*; Schol. Dan.: *et est quasi proverbiale*; with such a proverbial form cf. 1, 543: *fandi atque nefandi* (and parallels in Otto, *Die Sprichwörter . . . der Römer* (1890), 132); 9, 595: *digna atque indigna relatu* (cf. 12, 811); Hor. S. 1, 4, 84-85:  *fingere qui non visa potest, commissa tacere / qui nequit*; Val. Fl. 2, 117 (of Fama): *digna atque indigna canentem*; Stat. Theb. 3, 430 (of Fama): *facta, infecta loqui*; Sil. 6, 554: *vera ac ficta simul spargebat Fama per urbem*; Vida, *Christias*, 2, 44: *facta atque infecta canentes*.

Fundamental for the interpretation of this book is the meaning of *infecta*. In the following lines we learn that (1) there had arrived Aeneas, (2) of Trojan race, (3) upon whom as a husband Dido was willing to bestow herself; that (4) they were spending the whole winter in luxurious ease, (5) forgetful of their kingdoms, and (6) the victims of unseemly passion. Of these statements the identity, race, and arrival of Aeneas, and the spending of (at least part of) the winter at Carthage are clearly matters of fact; that both appeared largely forgetful of their royal duties is a somewhat subjective matter (and is denied by Servius), but the opinion would seem justified by 4, 86-89; 4, 227-237; 4, 265-276; that Dido, on her part, was ready to marry Aeneas needs no further elaboration. Nothing seems to remain for the specific

*infecta*, so carefully prepared for by the account of the general characteristics of Fama in line 188, save the two closely connected expressions *luxu* (which may or may not imply anything beyond idleness, gluttony, or extravagance) and *turpi . . . cupidine captos*; cf. Conington, *ad loc.*; Heinze, *Virgils epische Technik*, 3 ed. (1915), 132 (who offsets against the rumor of the revelry of Dido and Aeneas the fact that Mercury on his first mission (4, 260) finds Aeneas *fundantem arces ac tecta novantem*); Ogle in *Trans. Am. philol. Assoc.* 55 (1924), 91; also Clark in *Cl. Journ.* 27 (1932), 501. If these, then, alone are to be classed as slander (as *infecta* would imply), the prevalent view of the relation between Aeneas and Dido needs revision.

190. *canebat*: cf. 1, 14, n. (*canebat*).

191. *venisse*: cf. Dracont. Rom. 8, 443: *advenisse Parin Troiano sanguine cretum*; also the rumors spread by Turnus (8, 11-17); La Cerda (*ad loc.*) compares Liv. 26, 50, 13.

191. *Troiano*: cf. 1, 19: *Troiano a sanguine*; also 1, 550; 7, 318; Braumüller, *Ueber Trophen u. Figuren in Vergil's Aeneis*, 1 (1877), 3.

191. *sanguine cretum*: cf. 2, 74: *quo sanguine cretus* (= 3, 608); Stat. Silv. 5, 2, 17: *sanguine cretus*; Carm. de S. Cassiano, 36 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 4, 191): *de sanguine cretum*; Carm. de S. Ansberto, 9 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 4, 1004): *sanguine cretus*. In these and the other cases (8, 135; 9, 672) in which Virgil uses *cretus* it is with the simple ablative, as attested here by most MSS.

192. *pulchra*: cf. 4, 60, n. (*pulcherrima Dido*).

192. *viro*: 'as a husband'; Schol. Dan.: *marito, ut* (Ecl. 7, 7) '*vir gregis ipse caper.*'

192. *dignetur*: cf. 3, 475: *coniugio, Anchise, Veneris dignate superbo*; Ov. H. 7, 33: *ego, quae coepi (neque enim dedignor) amare*

193. nunc hiemem inter se luxu, quam longa, fovere  
regnorum immemores turpique cupidine captos.

(se) V.

inmemores *MPp*.

193. nunc . . . fovere: *Serv. Aen.* 5, 626; 8, 86 — luxum *F*; foueret *ASM* — 193. hiemem quam longa: *Gl. Ansil.* 279, 83. 193. luxu fovere: *Gl. Ansil.* 350, 447.

194. regnorum . . . captos: *Anth. Lat. no.* 719a, 110 (2, p. 192 *Riese*) — inmemores; capti — 194. regnorum immemores: *Centio Probae*, 226 — rignorum (*corr. in signorum*) *S*; immemores *PS*, inmemores *cell.* —; *Gl. Ansil.* 490, 779. 194. turpi cupidine: *Gl. Ansil.* 576, 240.

(in 7, 92 Dido speaks of the *concupitus fama*); *M.* 8, 326–327: ‘o felix, siquem dignabitur,’ inquit, / ‘ista virum’; *Serv.*: *libravit sermonem, quasi personae superioris*. The verb is used with the infinitive in *Ecl.* 6, 1; etc.; cf. Lohmann, *De Graecismorum Usu Vergiliano* (1915), 79.

193. *hiemem*: cf. 4, 52, n. (*hiems*). We are not to infer that the whole winter has yet passed, for the contemplated departure of Aeneas at 4, 309–310 is while it still continues, but that rumor assumes that the season will all be passed in delay. This may well have been the attitude of the Trojans, feeling their interests neglected in favor of those of the Carthaginians, and evidently eager to depart (cf. 4, 294–295; 4, 397–407; 4, 581–583).

The syntax of *hiemem* is disputed. If it be accusative of duration of time, as seems probable, then *inter se . . . fovere* would seem to refer to embraces and fondling on the part of Aeneas and Dido (cf. *Ecl.* 3, 3–4; *Aen.* 1, 718; 8, 388), which are to be considered among the *infecta* retailed by Fama as *facta*. Grammatically this reciprocal use may be paralleled by 5, 766: *complexi inter se*. If, however, *hiemem* be construed as the object of *fovere*, we must explain it as an extension from various somewhat rare local idioms (e.g., *G.* 3, 420: *fovet humum*; *Aen.* 9, 57: *castra fovere*; *Schol. Dan.*: *veleres ‘fovere’ pro diu incolere et inhabitare dixerunt*; but cf. Bell, *The Latin Dual* (1923), 344) to a temporal usage elsewhere without parallel. Potter (in *Cl. Journ.* 21 (1926), 621, n. 6) thinks *fovere* here means “cherish in anticipation,” and compares 1, 18 — again not a close parallel.

193. *luxu*: in Virgil only in the ablative. In 1, 637; 6, 605 it applies to the luxurious appointments of royalty, but has no bad connotation; in *G.* 3, 135, and perhaps in the present passage, the implications are more unfavorable; cf. DeWitt, *The Dido Episode in the Aeneid of Virgil* (1907), 71, for Virgil’s euphemism at this point.

193. *quam longa*: cf. 8, 86–87: *Thybris ea fluvium, quam longa est, nocte lumentem / leniit*; *Ov. Am.* 1, 2, 3: *noctem, quam longa, peregi*; *H.* 3, 49: *vidi, quantus erat, fusum tellure*; 12, 58: *actast per lacrimas nox mihi, quanta fuit*; *Auson. Ecl.* 3, 7: *dies quam longus erit*; *Paul. Nol. Carm.* 21, 736: *et totam, quam longa dies aestate moratur*. On the omission of the copula cf. 4, 53, n. (*dum, etc.*). So Antony spent the winter with Cleopatra (cf. *App. B. C.* 5, 42–44; etc.; *Shakesp. Ant. and Cleop.* Act 1, Sc. 4, init.), and this alleged dalliance of Aeneas with Dido would probably suggest to a Roman reader that modern incident, or, as Conway (*Makers of Europe* (1931), 8, n. 2) thinks, the period from October, 48 to March, 47, during which the relations between Cleopatra and Julius Caesar continued. Cocchia (in *Riv. Indo-Greco-Italica*, 8 (1924), 15–16) thinks, however, that Fama here exaggerates the length of Aeneas’s infatuation.

194. *inmemores*: *Serv.*: *hoc fingit, nam et illi curae est Carthago et Aeneae Italia*; and the *Schol. Dan.* add: *an quia quod una patitur duobus assignat?* The negligence of Aeneas is, however, resumed by Jupiter (4, 224–225; 4, 236) and Mercury (4, 267: *regni rerumque oblite tuarum*); that of Dido has been noted, in its effects, at 4, 86–89.

194. *turpique, etc.*: cf. 7, 189: *capta*

195. haec passim dea foeda virum diffundit in ora.  
protinus ad regem cursus detorquet Iarban,

diffundit *c.*

gregem *R.* cursus *P* (cursu *P*<sup>1</sup>), *Donat. et cursus et cursum.* detorque *P*, detorquat *γ.* hiarban *Pγ*, *Donat.*, iarbam *Serv.*, iraban *c*<sup>1</sup>, iarban (*corr. in iarbam*) *b.*

195. dea foeda: *Gl. Ansil.* 161, 1. 195. diffundit: *Gl. Ansil.* 177, 301; *q.v.*

196. protinus . . . Iarban: *Non. p.* 377 *M.* (*p.* 600 *L.*) — cursum; hiarbam (*hirbam* *L*<sup>1</sup>*A*) —. 196. protinus . . . regem: *Centio Probae*, 357. 196. cursus detorquet: *Gl. Ansil.* 158, 331 — cursum —; *Gl. Aa*, 209, 1075.

*cupidine coniunx*; *Ov. M.* 13, 762: *validaque cupidine captus*; 14, 29: *pariliq[ue] cupidine captam*; *F.* 6, 119: *visa[que] cupidine captus*; *Val. Fl.* 2, 131: *adfore iam luxu turpique cupidine captos*; *Juv.* 10, 351: *magna[que] cupidine ducti*; *Justin.* 12, 7, 13: *captus itaque cupidine Herculis acta superare*; *Amm. Marc.* 15, 4, 6: *Alfeus . . . cupidine fontis Arethusae captus*; *Schol. Dan.*: *<cupidinem> veteres immoderatum amorem dicebant.*

195. dea foeda: *Schol. Dan.*: *crudelis, impia; quod alibi (4, 298–299) interpretatur 'eadem impia fama . . . / detulit.'* Foeda might here modify *haec* (cf. *Donat.*: *non dea foeda sed ora virum foeda*), but in that case *dea*, without any modification, would appear a little bald; moreover *foeda* seems an appropriate description for *Fama*, both in physical appearance, as above described, and in moral character. *Stat. Theb.* 2, 208 describes *Fama* as a *dea turbida*; cf. *Juv.* 14, 152: *foedae bucina famae*.

195. virum . . . in ora: cf. *Enn. Epig.* 2, 2: *volito vivos per ora virum*; cf. *G.* 3, 9: *virum volitare per ora*; *Aen.* 12, 235: *succedet fama vivosque per ora feretur*; *Hor. Ep.* 1, 3, 9: *Romana brevi venturus in ora*; *Prop.* 3, 9, 32: *venies . . . in ora virum*.

196. protinus: in Virgil often initial in the line; 2, 437 begins with *protinus ad*.

196. cursus: for the plural cf. *Spitta, Quaest. Vergilianae* (1867), 33; *Braumüller, Ueber Tropen u. Figuren in Vergil's Aeneis*, 1 (1877), 15.

196. detorquet: cf. *Apul. M.* 8, 6: *fama dilabitur et cursus primos ad domum Tlepolemi detorquet*.

196. Iarban: cf. 4, 36, n. (*despectus Iarbas*); also, for the spelling, varying be-

tween the aspirated and the non-aspirated form, and thus paralleling some Punic names (like (H)amilcar, (H)asdrubal, (H)annibal, (H)anno, (H)amilco, and (H)iempsal), cf. *Barkowski in P.-W.* 9 (1916), 746. Iarbas is a mythical figure (for his identification as a deity cf. *Barkowski, op. cit.*, 747), as his descent from Ammon and a nymph indicates (4, 198; *Sil.* 2, 59), with no other family connections save a daughter, Asbytte, mentioned by *Sil.* 2, 58. He ruled over one or more African tribes variously identified as the Gaetuli (4, 326; *Ov. H.* 7, 125; *Sil.* 2, 64), Maxitani, Numidae, Mauri, Mazici, Libyans, and others named by *Silius* (2, 56–64; cf. *Barkowski, op. cit.*, 747; *Dante, Purg.* 31, 72, calls Africa the *terra di Iarba*), thus corresponding to one of those semi-barbarous princes who in Virgil's own day surrounded the confines of the Roman Empire and gave to their peoples a little of its culture; cf. *Cartault, L'Art de Virgile dans l'Énéide*, 1 (1926), 313. The name also appears as that of an historical Numidian king of the time of Pompey; cf. *Lenschau in P.-W.* 8 (1913), 1388. For evidence that Iarbas was regarded by certain African peoples as their autochthonous ancestor cf. the passage from Hippolytus discussed by *Barkowski, op. cit.*, 747; and for a possible confusion in *Serv. Aen.* 1, 263 between Iarbas and Sicharbas, by which Iarbas is earlier placed at Tyre, cf. *Kowalski, De Didone Graeca et Latina* (1929), 23, n. 1. According to one form of the legend it was to avoid the advances of Iarbas that Dido committed suicide (cf. the passages cited by *Barkowski, op. cit.*, 746; to which add *Anih. Planud.* 151, 7–8, translated by [Auson.] *Epig.* 118

197. incenditque animum dictis atque aggerat iras.  
Hic Hammone satus rapta Garamantide nympha

197-216: MPR. adque R. agger. t b<sup>1</sup>.

ammone Pγ, hamone (h in ras.) b, amone c. garamanthide p. nimpha γ.

197. incenditque animum: *Cento Probae*, 359. 197. aggerat iras: *Gl. Ansil.* 40, 44.

198. hic . . . satus: *Schol. Lucan.* 3, 292 — amnone —. 198. rapta . . . nympha: *Serv. Aen.* 1, 28.

(p. 420 Peiper)). According to *Ov. F.* 3, 551-556 and *Sil.* 8, 50-56, after the death of Dido Iarbas seized her kingdom. Some correspondences may be noted between the figures of Iarbas and Turnus, each a princely rival of Aeneas for the affections of a woman of royal family in the country to which Aeneas had come, and each a person of vigorous, not to say violent, disposition. The outcome is, of course, quite different in the two cases, and the figure of Iarbas never comes into the presence of Aeneas but remains in the background of the story as a practical means, through the intermediate figures of Jupiter and Mercury, of removing Aeneas from Carthage, as the progress of the *Aeneid* demands; cf. Cauer, *Zum Verständnis der nachahmenden Kunst des Vergil* (1885), 24; Heinze, *Vergils epische Technik*, 3 ed. (1915), 320.

197. *incenditque animum*: = 6, 889; cf. 4, 54, and n. (*incensum*); 7, 482: *animos accendit agrestis*; 10, 368: *dictis virtutem accendit amaris*; 12, 426: *animos accendit in hostem*; Spitta, *Quaest. Vergilianae* (1867), 41; Preuss, *Die metaph. Kunst Vergils in der Aeneis* (1894), 7-8; also 4, 232, *infra*.

197. *aggerat*: cf. 11, 342: *his onerat dictis atque aggerat iras*; *Stat. Theb.* 2, 198-199: *dictis inpensius aggerat omne / promissum*; *Schol. Dan.*: *super eas quas habebat ex contemptu*; and, for the cadence, *G.* 3, 556: *atque aggerat ipsis*; *Walahfridus Strabo, Vita S. Galli*, 45 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 2, 430): *verbis exaggerat iras*; *Salom. et Waldr. Carm.* 1, 128 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 4, 301): *exaggerat iras*.

197. *iras*: on the plural cf. Braumüller, *op. cit.*, 1 (1877), 15; *Buscaroli ad loc.*, who considers this not as a poetic plural but as indicating the accumulation of grievances each provocative of the anger of Iarbas.

198. *hic*, etc.: the events of another day probably begin here and extend to 4, 583; cf. 4, 6, n. (*postera*, etc.).

198. *Hammone*: on this name, in Greek usually without and in Latin with an aspirate, due, according to Meyer (in Roscher, *Ausf. Lex.* 1 (1884), 291; cf. Cook, *Zeus*, 1 (1914), 354), to a confusion with the Punic *Ba'al chammân*, or 'fiery Baal,' but by modern scholars usually derived from Amen-Râ of Egyptian Thebes, who, as king of the gods, was easily (as probably in 4, 205-210) syncretized with Zeus and Jupiter, cf. Pease on *Cic. De Div.* 1, 3; Gsell, *Hist. anc. de l'Afrique du Nord*, 4 (1920), 283, n. 6. The especial seat of his worship was at the Ammonium in the Oasis of Siwah in the Libyan desert, but his importance had in Virgil's time greatly declined; cf. *Strab.* 17, 1, 43: *περὶ τοῦ Ἀμμωνος τοσοῦτον εἰπεῖν βουλόμεθα ὅτι τοῖς ἀρχαίοις μᾶλλον ἢν ἐν τιμῇ καὶ ἡ μαντικὴ καθόλου καὶ τὰ χρηστήρια, νυνὶ δ' ὀλιγωρία κατέχει πολλή, κτλ.*

198. *satus*: cf. 5, 244: *satus Anchisa* (= 5, 424; 7, 152; cf. 6, 331); 7, 656: *satus Hercule*; 7, 331: *sata Nocte* (cf. 12, 860); 10, 563: *Volcente satum*. The partly divine origin of Iarbas puts him more nearly on a parity with Aeneas, thereby dignifying somewhat the position of Aeneas in rivalry with him, as well as giving the prayer of Iarbas speedy attention by Jupiter. Divine origin was often claimed by persons whose birth was obscure or of doubtful legitimacy (e.g., Romulus and Remus; cf. *Liv.* 1, 4, 2), as well as by those seeking to enhance their own importance; cf. *Val. Max.* 9, 5, Ext. 1 (of Alexander the Great): *fastidio . . . Philippi Iovem Hammonem patrem ascivit*; and on the whole subject of virgin births Saintyves (pseudonym for Nourry), *Les*

199. *templa Iovi centum latis immania regnis,  
centum aras posuit vigilemque sacraverat ignem,*

ioui (ui in ras.) R. simania P (immania P<sup>2</sup>), inmania R. regis (corr. in regnis) γ.

*Vierges Mères et les Naissances miraculeuses* (1908).

198. *rapta*, etc.: cf. 1, 28. Children whose mothers were reputed to be nymphs appear frequently in literature; e.g., 7, 47 (Latinus, son of Faunus and the nymph Marica); 7, 734 (Oebalus, son of Telon and the nymph Sebethis); 10, 551 (Tarquitiu, son of Faunus and the nymph Dryope); Apollod. *Bibl.* 3, 6, 7 (Tiresias, son of Everes and the nymph Chariclo); Apoll. Rh. 2, 4 (Amcyus, son of Posidon and the Bithynian Melie).

198. *Garamantide*: Serv.: *et proprium potest esse et gentile; nam Garamantes sunt iuxta Libyam*. No other mention of this particular nymph seems to occur. Donatus curiously seems to take the Garamantian woman as the wife rather than the mother of Iarbas.

The Garamantes, whose chief town was Garama and whose eponymous ancestor was Garamas (Apoll. Rh. 4, 1494), lived in the oases of the Eastern Sahara, being mentioned as early as Herodotus (4, 174; 4, 183) and frequently by geographers, historians, and (after Virgil) Latin poets. As a result of two campaigns during the reign of Augustus (cf. *Ecl.* 8, 44; *Aen.* 6, 794-795; Dessau in *P.-W.* 7 (1912), 751) their name must have been familiar to Virgil's readers, and their ancestors might appear as appropriate rivals to the Trojan ancestors of the Romans. In *Ecl.* 8, 44 the Garamantes are a type of far-distant peoples.

With the phrase cf. Sil. 2, 65: *funderat thalamos Tritonide nympa*; in 2, 58-59 he says: *proles Garamantis Iarbae. / Hammone hic genitus*.

199. *centum*: a frequent round number in Latin as with us (cf. Serv.: *finitus pro infinito*; Hunziker, *Die Figur der Hyperbel in den Gedichten Vergils* (1896), 39-40; Clark, *Numerical Phraseology in Vergil* (1913), 74), ritual cases in Virgil being 1, 416-417: *centumque Sabaeo / ture calent arae*; 2, 501: *centumque nurus Priamumque per aras* (if

*centum* does not modify *nurus* rather than *aras*); 4, 510: *ter centum tonat ore deos*; 7, 93: *centum . . . bidentis*; 8, 716: *maxima ter centum totam delubra per urbem* (though in these cases it is, of course, a multiple of *centum*); Guillemin, *L'Originalité de Virgile* (1931), 39; cf. Sil. 1, 91-92: *centum / stant arae*; 12, 332-333: *altaria fument / centum festa Iovi; centum cadat hostia cultris*. Possibly there is some mystic significance in the number, as is suggested by La Cerda (*ad loc.*), who cites [Julian,] *Ep. ad Seraphionem*, p. 394 D-396 B, where many instances are collected. The description which follows, of the magnificence of the rites, is, as Cartault observes (*L'Art de Virgile dans l'Énéide*, 1 (1926), 313), Greco-Roman in its details. Iarbas has both by his birth and by the extent of his religious devotion merited the attention of Jupiter.

199. *latis . . . regnis*: cf. Sen. *Tr.* 878: *regna . . . lata*.

199. *immania*: rather a favorite adjective with Virgil, like *ingens* (cf. 4, 89, n. (*ingentes*), above); often, though not here, with a bad connotation (Serv. *Aen.* 1, 110); cf. also 6, 19: *posuitque immania templa*.

200. *centum*: with the repetition cf. G. 2, 43; 4, 383; *Aen.* 1, 634-635; 6, 43; 6, 625; 10, 565-566 (*centum . . . centenae*); Otto, *De Anaphora* (1907), 50.

200. *aras posuit*: cf. 3, 404: *positis aris*.

200. *posuit . . . sacraverat*: with the shift of tense the Schol. Dan. compare 1, 471-472 (*vastabat . . . avertit*); 5, 96-98 (*coedit . . . fundebat*); 8, 506 (*misit mandatque*); also cf. 4, 149, n. (*ibat*), above. Some editors refer the pluperfect to the original kindling of a fire which antedated the foundation of the hundred altars; more probable seems the choice of *posuit* because of the metrical impossibility of *posuerat*; cf. Hahn, *Coordination of non-coordinate Elements in Vergil* (1930), 26-27. In 6, 18-19 the verbs *sacravit . . . posuitque* are similarly combined.

200. *vigilem*: Schol. Dan.: *significat sine*

201. excubias divom aeternas, pecudumque cruore  
pingue solum et variis florentia limina sertis.

excubiasque *R*, aliquot codd. *Pieriani*. diuum codd. *plerique*, deum aliquot codd. *Pieriani*.  
pecudumque π. cruorem *P*(cruore *P*<sup>2</sup>).  
florentia (flo m. 2 in ras.) *b*.

201-202. pecudumque . . . solum: *Schol. Dan. Aen. 4, 62*. 201. excubias aeternas: *Gl. Ansil. 219, 337* (cf. 319, 23).

[201] 202. florentia: *Gl. Ansil. 248, 220; q.v.*

*intermissione fieri sacrificia, ad quem excubare per diem et noctem necesse sit, ut dicimus cotidie in officio esse; non ergo apud quas dii excubant, sed quae diis excubantur; and Serv. on line 201 says: sciendum non vacare ratione, ut in aliquibus templis sit ignis pervigil; nam potestates aut terrenae sunt, aut aetherae, aut aetheriae; sed quia aether ignis est, ideo aetheriarum potestatum templis ignis est, ut reddatur eis imago sui elementii. est autem Iovis, qui aether est, Minervae, quae supra aetherem est; unde de patris capite procreata esse dicitur; Donat.: vigilemque ignem, hoc est, qui semper nutrimentis necessariis fatus extinguere non possit perindeque excubias divum continuas exhiberet. On the constant fire at the temple of Ammon cf. Plut. *De Def. Orac.* 2: νεωστὶ δὲ γεγονώς παρ' Ἀμμωνα, τὰ μὲν ἅλλα τῶν ἐκεῖ δῆλος ἦν μὴ πάνυ τελευμακῶς, περὶ δὲ τοῦ λύχνου τοῦ ἀσβεστοῦ διηγείτο λόγον ἄξιον σπουδῆς λεγόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν ἱερῶν, κτλ.*

An undying fire, perhaps originally a practical means of preserving in each community an uninterrupted supply of that convenience and later endued with symbolic associations, appears in many parts of the world, including the fires maintained at Rome by the Vestals and in Greek cities in the Prytaneum (cf. Süß in *P.-W.* 8 (1913), 1284; 1288-1289; Frazer, *Golden Bough*, 3 ed., 1 (1913), 13-14) and at various other spots (cf. Paus. 2, 19, 5; 8, 9, 2; 8, 37, 11; Callim. *Hymn.* 2, 83-84; etc.), among the Persian fire-worshippers, and in some Greek and Roman Catholic churches. Cf. also Eitrem, *Opferitus v. Voropfer d. Gr. u. Römer* (1915), 144; 150-154.

200. *sacraverat ignem*: cf. 2, 502: *quos ipse sacraverat ignes*; 3, 305: *geminas . . . sacraverat aras*.

201. *excubias*: cf. 9, 159: *interea vigilum excubiis obsidere portas*; *Cir.* 207-208: *vigilum . . . / excubias*. The phrase is loosely appositive to *vigilem . . . ignem*.

201. *cruore*: cf. *G.* 4, 542: *sacrum iugulis demille cruorem*; *Aen.* 6, 248; 8, 106: *tepidusque cruor fumabat ad aras*; *Sil.* 10, 461-462: *per lubrica pingui / stante cruore soli*; also *Is.* 1, 88; *Ezech.* 39, 18.

202. *pingue solum*: cf. 4, 62, n. (*pinguis*); the *pingue solum* of *G.* 1, 64, and the *sola pinguis* of Auson. *Mosella*, 370, are used in another sense, that of fertility. Whether *solum* and *limina* are objects of *sacraverat*, or, more probably, subjects of *erant* to be supplied, is disputed by editors.

202. *variis*: cf. *Ecl.* 9, 40-41; *Aen.* 6, 708: *floribus insidunt variis*; *Tib.* 1, 7, 45; *Vida, Christias*, 3, 597: *variis auxerunt limina sertis*.

202. *florentia limina sertis*: cf. *Mart. Cap.* 1, 1 (p. 4, 1 *Dick*): *comere vernificis florentia limina sertis*; also *Aen.* 1, 417: *tuae calent arae sertisque recentibus halant*; 4, 506: *intenditque locum sertis*; *Dirae*, 20: *vario florentia sarta decore*; *Cir.* 94-96: *castos alvaria postis / munere saepe meo inficiunt, foribusque hyacinthi / deponunt flores*; 98: *sparsaque liminibus floret rosa*, etc.; *Ov. F.* 4, 738: *et tegat ornatas longa corona fores*; *Tib.* 1, 1, 15: *corona / spicea quae templi pendeat ante fores*.

As argued by Henry (*Aeneidea*, 1 (1873), 696-697), *limina* here and in some other passages must refer, not to the mere threshold or sill but to the whole door-case, including the *limen inferum*, *limen superum*, and *postes*. Elsewhere we find the *postes* especially garlanded; e.g., *Dracont. Rom.* 10, 337: *postes sacri via sarta coronant*. This view



203. isque amens animi et rûmore accensus amaro  
dicitur ante aras media inter numina divom

i. s. γ. amore γ<sup>1</sup> (*ut vid.*, amaro γ<sup>2</sup>).

mea P (media P<sup>2</sup>). numina p (munera p<sup>1</sup>; cf. Schol. Dan.; sane multi 'munera' legunt). diuum *codd.*

203. isque . . . amaro: Non. p. 241 M. (p. 362 L.) — amore L'A<sup>a</sup> —; [Iul. Rufin.] p. 54 Halm. 203. isque . . . animi: Arus. Ex. Eloc. (G. L. K. 7, 455) — isque animi amens —.

203. amens . . . amaro: Donat. Aen. 4, 210. 203. amens animi: Gl. Ansil. 48, 145.

204. media . . . divom: Schol. Dan. Aen. 1, 447 — diuum —; 2, 178 — diuum —.

204. media . . . numina: Gl. Ansil. 361, 58.

seems preferable to that of Braumüller, *Ueber Tropen u. Figuren in Vergil's Aeneis*, 1 (1877), 20, by which *limina* figuratively stands for 'house' or 'palace.'

203. amens: is there a faint suggestion in the case of this suitor of the various Latin puns upon *amens* and *amans* (cf. *Thes. Ling. Lat.* 1 (1900), 1881, 22–28)?

203. animi: whether genitive or locative is disputed; cf. Antoine, *De Casuum Syntaxi Vergiliana* (1882), 230–231; Kühner-Stegmann, *Ausf. Gram. d. lat. Spr.* 2, 1, 2 ed. (1912), 486–487 (and works there cited); 446–447, for a list of adjectives used with *animi*, including, in Virgil, *dubius* (G. 3, 289), *egregius* (Aen. 11, 417), *fidens* (2, 61), *furens* (5, 202), *infelix* (4, 529), *inops* (4, 300), *maturus* (9, 246), *miseratus* (6, 332), *praeceps* (9, 685), *praestans* (12, 19), and *victus* (G. 4, 491); Lohmann, *De Graecismorum Usu Vergiliano* (1915), 42, n. 6; Löfstedt, *Syntactica*, 1 (1928), 143 (and works there cited), who, on the analogy of other constructions, decides that this is probably a genitive. The idiom is found in prose beginning with Livy and in the poets of all periods. It seems unlikely that our passage recalls, as Wagner supposed, the *mens animi* of Lucr. 4, 758; etc.

203. accensus amaro: cf. 10, 368: *dictis virtutem accendit amaris*; 10, 591: *dictis adfatur amaris*; Val. Fl. 2, 385: *monitis accensus amaris*; Pichon, *De Sermone amatorio* (1902), 83. The original force of *amaro* is so weakened that the mixed metaphor is less objectionable. Servius glosses the word by *aspero*.

204. dicitur: perhaps to give a more vivid impression that the poet himself is at Carthage and learning of Iarbas by the same sort of rumors by which Iarbas learned of Aeneas and Dido; cf. Heinze, *Virgils epische Technik* 3 ed. (1915), 242, n. 2, who compares the use of *fertur* in 9, 82, where Cybele's speech to Jupiter is reported; also Rand, *The magical Art of Virgil* (1931), 389; Bassett in *Cl. Weekly*, 27 (1934), 108. But Conway (*Anc. Italy and modern Religion* (1933), 107) remarks: "Vergil rather allows than gives us to believe."

204. ante aras: cf. Lucr. 1, 89: *ante aras adstare*; Aen. 1, 334; 1, 349; 2, 663; 3, 545; 5, 237; 8, 719; 9, 627; also 8, 640; and 4, 517: *altaria iuxta*.

204. numina divom: Donat.: *quasi praesentibus testibus diis*; Serv.: *ac si diceret 'diis testibus,' ut Sallustius (Cat. 35, 2) 'quam mediisfidius veram licet mecum recognoscas'*; and the Schol. Dan. add: *id est sis dictis medius; fidius, id est, Διὸς υἱός, Iovis filius, id est, Hercules. medium dixit testem. sane multi 'munera' legunt, hoc est, in media precatione deorum; et est invidiosius si inter munera quae ipse sacraverat. The reading munera (also added above by the first hand in p = Paris. Fonds Lat. 7906 (S. IX); cf. Chatelain in *Mélanges Rénier* (1887), 379), though compared by editors to G. 3, 486: *in honore deum medio stans hostia ad aram*; and Aen. 1, 447: *donis opulentum (sc. templum) et numine divae*, seems sufficiently explained by the occurrence of the word in 4, 217.*

Whether the *numina divom* are images (*simulacra*) as many have thought (e.g.,

## 205. multa Iovem manibus supplex orasse supinis:

supplex γ. suppinis γ, supinus (corr. in supinis) π.

205. multa . . . supinis: Schol. Dan. Aen. 4, 437 — supplex . . . supinis *supplendum* — Aug. Regul. (G. L. K. 5, 519) — supinus F — 205. multa orasse: Gl. Ansil. 378, 89.

Haeckermann, *Explic. Vergilian. Specimen* (1853), 13; cf. Hor. *Epod.* 17, 3; Buscaroli compares *θεοὺς* in Soph. *Antig.* 199 (for statues of the gods); Plat. *Legg.* 10, 909 E), or refer merely to the divine presence found in and near temples (cf. Ammann, *Vergiliana* (1870), 4; Aen. 12, 201), is disputed; according to the latter view the meaning here is "before the (presence of the) gods." The phrase occurs in 2, 123–124: *quae sint ea numina divom / flagilat*; Aetna, 85: *speculantur numina divum*; but these passages give little aid. On the whole question cf. Dietsch, *Theologumenon Verg. Particula* (1853), 7; De la Ville de Mirmont, *Apollonios de Rhodes et Virgile* (1894), 264–265; Löfstedt, *Syntactica*, 1 (1928), 48, n. 2 (and works there cited). Kvčála (*Neue Beitr. z. Erkl. d. Aeneis* (1881), 85–87) defends *munera*.

205. multa: Stephenson (*ad loc.*) would explain this as signifying the intensity rather than the length of his prayer, though in that sense *multum* would be more natural.

205. supplex orasse: cf. 6, 91–92: *supplex . . . oraveris*; also, for this introduction of a speech, 1, 64: *supplex his vocibus usa est*; 10, 523: *effatur talia supplex*; and 4, 30, n. (*sic effata*), above; Serv.: *partim precatur, unde ait 'supplex'; partim conqueritur, unde ait 'orasse,' id est, dixisse; hinc et oratores dicimus*.

205. supinis: Schol. Dan.: *iuxta rationem; nam inferos demissis ad terram manibus invocamus, ut Homerus (Il. 9, 568–570) inducit Althaeam, matrem Meleagri, manibus in longum porrectis, ut ipse alibi (Aen. 3, 263) 'passis de litore palmis'; caelestes levatis ad caelum, ut modo et alibi (1, 93) 'duplices tendens ad sidera palmas'; cf. Sall. Cat. 31, 3: manus supplices ad caelum tendere; Aen. 3, 176–178: tendoque supinas / ad caelum cum voce manus, et munera libo / intermerata focis; Hor. C. 3, 23, 1: caelo supinas si tuleris manus; Ov. M. 8, 681–682:*

*manibusque supinis / concipiunt . . . preces; Liv. 3, 50, 5: supinas deinde tendens manus commilitiones appellans orabat; 26, 9, 8: supinas manus ad caelum ac deos tendentes orantesque; Curt. 6, 6, 34: supinas manus tendentes orare coeperunt; Petron. 17, 9: protendo igitur ad genua vestra supinas manus, petoque et oro; 114, 5: trepidans ad me supinas porrigit manus; Stat. Silv. 3, 4, 99: tendens ad sidera palmas; Sil. 6, 301–302: supinas / Africa tendebat palmas; Apul. De Mundo, 33: habitus orantium sic est, ut manibus extensis (ad) caelum precemur; Florus Lugdun. Carm. 29, 25 (Poet. Aevi Carol. 2, 565): manibusque ad celsa supinis; and, in Greek, Aesch. Prom. 1004–1005: καὶ λιπαρήσω τὸν μέγα στυγόμενον / γυναικομήμοις ὑπτιάζουσαι χερῶν; Pind. Isth. 5, 41: ὁ δ' ἀνατείνας οὐρανῷ χεῖρας; Apoll. Rh. 4, 228–230: χεῖρας ἀείρας / Ἥελιον καὶ Ζῆνα κακῶν ἐπιμάρτυρας ἔργων / κέκλετο; Isyllus 13 (Collectanea Alexand. 133 Powell): χεῖρας ἀνασχόντες μακάρεσσιν ἐς οὐρανὸν εὐρύ(ν); Plut. Philop. et Flamin. Comp. 2, 3: τοῦ Τίτου τὰς χεῖρας εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν ὑπτίας ἀνατείνας εἰσῴτως καὶ προσευχόμενον; Helioid. 9, 5: χεῖρας εἰς οὐρανὸν αἰρόντες; Voulliéme, Quomodo Veteres adoraverint (1887), 33–35 (who notes other passages in which *supinis manibus* = *libenter*).*

Virgilian passages dealing with the attitude of prayer include 2, 153: *sustulit . . . ad sidera palmas*; 2, 688: *caelo palmas cum voce tendit*; 5, 233: *palmas ponto tendens*; 5, 256: *palmas nequiquam ad sidera tendunt*; 9, 16–17: *duplicisque ad sidera palmas / sustulit*; 10, 667: *duplicis cum voce manus ad sidera tendit*; 10, 845: *ad caelum tendit palmas*; 12, 196: *suspiciens caelum tenditque ad sidera dextram*; also 2, 405–406; cf. Appel, *De Romanorum Precationibus* (1909), 196; 201.

206. Iuppiter omnipotens: cf. 2, 689; 4, 25, n. (*vel pater omnipotens*); 5, 687; 9, 625 (where Servius remarks: *hoc epitheton inter-*

206. 'Iuppiter omnipotens, cui nunc Maurusia pictis  
gens epulata toris Lenaeum libat honorem,

nunt *M.* maurusia *P* (maurusia *P*<sup>1</sup>).  
laeneum *R*, leneum *γ*. lubat *P* (libat *P*<sup>1</sup>).

206-207. Maurusia gens: *Gl. Abstr.* 56, 46; *Gl. Affatim* (C. G. L. 4, 536, 32) — maurosia genus (gens *bc*) — 206. Iuppiter omnipotens: *Schol. Dan. Aen.* 4, 218. 206. Maurusia: *Gl. Abba*, 86, 68; *q.v.*

[206\*] 207. epulata: *Gl. Ansil.* 36, 180; *q.v.*

*dum ad gloriam numinis ponitur, interdum ad causam dicentis*); Soranus, frag. 4, 1 (*F. P. R.* p. 273 Baehrens); Catull. 64, 171; Stat. *Theb.* 3, 471; Anon. in *F. P. R.* p. 357, no. 7 Baehrens; Petron. 122, 156; Dracont. *Rom.* 4, 1; etc. Serv. G. 4, 321 remarks: *invidiosum est nomine parentes vocare*, and the Scholia Danielis here say: *epitheta quae commemorationem potentiae habent interdum exprobrationis vim obtinent, ut hoc loco*. For such prayers of heroes to their divine parent cf. the appeal of Achilles to Thetis (*Il.* 1, 348-356) and that of Aristaeus to Cyrene (*G.* 4, 321-332); so Alexander (*Plut. Alex.* 33, 1) παρεκάλει τοὺς θεοὺς . . . ἐπειχόμενος, εἴπερ ὁντως Διὸθεν ἐστὶ γεγονώς, ἀμύναι, κτλ.

206. nunc: Henry (*Aeneidea*, 2 (1878), 658) notes the emphasis, as showing that not until Iarbas introduced his cult had Jupiter been worshipped by the Maurusian people. Servius understands that the rites were at that moment in progress: *et bene conqueritur quia humanas res ne tum quidem curat cum ei tribuitur honos sacrificii*.

206. Maurusia: in Virgil only here but used by Coelius (cited by the *Schol. Dan.*: *Maurusii, qui iuxta oceanum colunt*), Silius (4, 567; 9, 620; 10, 401; 11, 412; 13, 145; 16, 553), Lucan (9, 426), and Claudian (*IV Cons. Hon.* 39; *VI Cons. Hon.* 104: *Maurusius Atlas*; *De Bell. Gild.* 1, 344; *De Cons. Stil.* 3, 278). Vitruv. 8, 2, 6 locates Mt. Atlas in *Maurusia quam nostri Mauretaniam appellant*, and Strabo, 17, 3, 2, p. 825 says: *οικοῦσι δ' ἐν ταῖς Μαυρούσαις μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων λεγόμενοι, Μαῦροι δ' ὑπὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων καὶ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων, κτλ.* The Greek origin of the word seems to explain its occasion in later Latin poetry. The inexactness by which its

meaning is here perhaps stretched eastward in application may be paralleled in Horace, *C.* 2, 6, 3-4: *barbaras Syrtes ubi Maura semper / aestuat unda*.

206. pictis . . . toris: cf. 1, 708: *toris iussi discumbere pictis* (these embroidered coverings seeming more appropriate at Dido's court than among the more barbarous people of Iarbas); Ov. *H.* 12, 30: *premitis pictos, corpora Graia, toros*; Mart. 14, 135, 2: *pictis accumbere toris*; also, on the subject of such covers, Athen. 2, p. 48 b-c.

207. epulata: cf. *G.* 2, 537: *caesis gens est epulata iuvenis*; *Aen.* 3, 224: *exstruimusque toros dapibusque epulamur optimis*; 4, 602; 5, 762: *dies epulata novem gens omnis*.

207. Lenaeum: Serv.: *Bacchicum*; *nam Liber Lenaeus dicitur quia torculis praeest, qui et Graece ληνοὶ dicuntur; nam cum sit Graecum a mentis delenimento non potest accipi*; *Schol. Dan.*: *ex calcatorio ἀπὸ τῆς ληνοῦ, hoc est, (a) lacu*; also *G.* 3, 509-510: *latices infundere cornu / Lenaeos*; elsewhere (*G.* 2, 4; 2, 7; 2, 529) Liber is thus saluted. For this derivation and others more recently proposed cf. Höfer in Roscher, *Ausf. Lex.* 2 (1894), 1940-1942; Kock in *P.-W.* 12 (1924), 1940-1941. Conington considers the word a secondary adjective derived from *Lenaeus* regarded as a substantive, like *Sychaeo*, in 4, 552.

207. honorem: in the sense of 'offering'; cf. *G.* 3, 486; *Aen.* 1, 49; 1, 335; 1, 632; 1, 736: *in mensam laticum libavit honorem*; 3, 118; 3, 178; 3, 264; 3, 406; 3, 547; 5, 58; 5, 94; 5, 763; 8, 61; 8, 76; 8, 102; 8, 189; 8, 268; Hor. *Ep.* 2, 1, 15; Ov. *M.* 8, 740; *F.* 4, 409; Sil. 7, 184; Braumüller, *Ueber Tropen u. Figuren in Vergil's Aeneis*, 1 (1877), 4.

208. aspicias haec? an te, genitor, cum fulmina torques  
nequiquam horremus, caecique in nubibus ignes

aspice *P* (aspicias *P*<sup>2</sup>). torquens *M* (torques *M*<sup>1</sup>).  
nequiquam *P*. ignis *B*<sup>1</sup>.

208. an . . . torques: *Schol. Dan. Aen. 8, 429.* 208. genitor . . . torques: *Schol. Dan. Aen. 1, 230.*

209–210. caecique . . . animos: *Serv. Aen. 10, 98* — ignem *F*; terrificant animos *om. F* —.  
209. caeci ignes: *Gl. Ansil. 105, 29.*

208. *aspicias haec*: cf. 4, 372: *nec Saturnius haec oculis pater aspiciit aequis*; 9, 209: *Iuppiter aut quicumque oculis haec aspiciit aequis*; 11, 725–726. Cf. II. 7, 448 (to Zeus): οὐχ ὀράεις, κτλ.; *Soph. El. 823–826*: πῶ ποτε κεραυνοὶ Διός, ἦ / πῶ φαέθων Ἄλιος, εἰ ταῦτ' ἐφορῶντες / κρύπτουσιν ἔκηλοι; *Eur. Hec. 488–491*: ὦ Ζεῦ, τί λέξω; πότερά σ' ἀνθρώπους ὄραν; / ἦ δόξαν ἄλλως τήνδε κεκτῆσθαι μάτην, / . . . / τύχην δὲ πάντα τὰν βροτοῖς ἐπισκοπεῖν; *Lucian, Tim. 1*: πῶ σοι νῦν ἡ ἐρισμάρατος ἀστραπή καὶ ἡ βαρύβρομος βροντὴ καὶ ὁ αἰθαλόεις καὶ ἀργήεις καὶ σμερδαλέος κεραυνός; *Luc. 7, 447–448*: *spectabil ab alto / aethere Thesalicas, teneat cum fulmina, caedes?* *Stat. Theb. 10, 888–889*: *nunc ubi saeva manus, meaque heu cunabula flammae, / fulmen, io, ubi fulmen?* *Dante, Purg. 6, 120*: *son li giusti occhi tuoi rivolti altrove?* On *aspicio* used for the divine notice of human affairs cf. *Thes. Ling. Lat. 2* (1900), 836, 72–837, 4.

208. *genitor*: perhaps literally (as Henry and Conington think), of Jupiter Ammon as the parent of Iarbas, though the same form of address is used by Aeneas to the god of the Tiber (8, 72) and by Turnus to Jupiter (10, 668).

208. *fulmina torques*: for the plural number of thunderbolts, as represented in literature and art cf. *G. 1, 329*; *Aen. 8, 427–428*; etc.; also my note on *Cic. De Div. 2, 44*. With the phrase cf. 10, 585; 12, 536; *Ov. Ex Pont. 3, 6, 27*: *Iuppiter in multos temeraria fulmina torquet*; *H. 4, 158*: *proavi fulmina torta manu*; *Sen. Agam. 802*: *at te, pater, qui saeva torques fulmina*; *Val. Fl. 2, 22–23*: *torquet ab alto / fulmina crebra pater*; *Sil. 1, 253*: *torquentem cum tela Iovem*; *Anon. in F. P. R. p. 401, no. 159* *Baehrens: fulmina nubibus obvia torques*; *Cypr. Hept. Gen. 661*:

*fulmina torquet*; *Claud. IV Cons. Hon. 202* (of Jupiter): *fulmenque rudi torquere lacerto*. On Jupiter as the god of lightning cf. *Cook, Zeus, 2* (1925), 1373; 1391.

209. *nequiquam*: *Buscaroli (ad loc.)* notes the appearance of *nequiquam . . . caeci . . . inania* at the beginning of these hemistichs. *Schol. Dan.*: *quia non iudicio hoc facis; quia non punis malos et supervacua horremus; aut quia existimamus ea non emitti manu tua.* an '*nequiquam*' pro '*non*,' ut sil '*tu fulmina non torques?*' *Kvčičala (Neue Beitr. z. Erkl. d. Aeneis (1881), 87–90)* and *Cartault (L'Ari de Virgile dans l'Énéide, 1 (1926), 313*, following *Schol. Dan.* on 4, 210: *latenter secundum Epicureos locus est*) consider this speech a sort of Epicurean blasphemy, and *Sil. 1, 416–417* (of a very different situation but perhaps with a reminiscence of this) says: *heu, frustra reditum sortes tibi saepe locutas / mentitumque Iovem increpitans occumbis, Harba*. A suggestion of our passage is found in *Leopardi, Bruto minore, 26–30*: *dunque degli empi / siede, Giove, a tutela? e quando esulta / per l' aere il nembo, e quando / il tuon rapido spingi, / ne' giusti e pii la sacra fiamma stringi?*

209. *caeci, etc.*: *Serv.*: *non quia non videntur, sed quorum origo non apparet*; *Schol. Dan.*: *an quorum rationem ignorantes timeamus; alii enim de ventis dicunt fieri, alii de nubibus, alii de aere fulmen*. In 4, 2 (see n. on *caeco*) the *caeci ignes* are of a different and figurative sort, but our passage is imitated by *Sil. 12, 628–629* (in describing the disbelief of Hannibal): *caecum e nubibus ignem / murmuraque a ventis misceri vana docebat*; cf. also *Stat. Theb. 4, 742–743*: *omnia caecis / ignibus hausta sedent*. Page notes the oxymoron in *caeci ignes*.

210. terrificant animos et inania murmura miscent?  
femina, quae nostris errans in finibus urbem

terrificat *M.*

[209\*] 210. animos . . . miscent: *Anth. Lat. no. 8, 77 (1, p. 37 Riese)*. 210. et . . . miscent: *Non. p. 362 M. (p. 512 L.)* — mascent *L<sup>1</sup>A<sup>a</sup>* —. 210. murmura: *Gl. Ansil. 381, 304; q.v.*

211–212. urbem . . . posuit: *Non. p. 365 M. (p. 581 L.)*. 211. femina . . . finibus: [*Acro*] in *Hor. C. 3, 3, 20; Anth. Lat. no. 17, 52 (1, p. 63 Riese)* — errant *A*, errans *A<sup>1</sup>*, erras *Scriver, Riese* —.

209. nubibus ignes: *Serv.: in nubibus: ac si diceret non ex te fiunt; si enim errant, tuo non reguntur imperio. Iuvenalis (13, 225–226): nec ventorum rabie sed / iratus cadat in terras et iudicet ignis.* For the verse-ending cf. *Lucr. 2, 214: abruptis nubibus ignes; Aen. 3, 199: abruptis nubibus ignes;* and for *ignes* in the sense of *fulmen* cf. *Henry, Aeneidea, 1 (1873), 854–855.*

210. terrificant: a rare word, found also in *Lucr. 1, 133; 4, 34; Stat. Theb. 7, 678; Sil. 17, 474–475: ut cum fulminibus permixta tonitrua mundum / terrificant;* cf. *horrificant* in 4, 465.

210. inania murmura: cf. *Paul. Nol. Carm. 10, 121: nec inania murmura miscent;* *Prud. Peristeph. 1, 17: inane . . . murmur.* The meaning in our passage seems to be that of sounds void of significance, mere sounds; cf. 4, 433, n. (*tempus inane*), below. *Belli* (in *Archivio per lo Studio delle Tradizioni popolari, 23 (1906), 11*) curiously misunderstands it to mean “prayers in a low voice.” Note the alliteration at the end of the line.

210. miscent: cf. 4, 160, n. (*misceri*); here of the “vague confused rumbling of thunder” (*Conington*), which poetically appears to be caused by the lightning.

211. femina: for the contemptuous tone — emphasized by the initial position in the line — cf. 4, 95, n. (*femina*); *Serv.: invidia a sexu.*

211. errans: *Dido* was, after all, an immigrant only a little less recent than *Aeneas*; cf. 4, 350, where *Aeneas* says: *et nos fas extera quaerere regna.* The cumulative effect of the grievances of *Iarbas* should be noted: (1) a woman, (2) an emigrant from her home, (3) in a district belonging to him, (4) has

founded a tiny town, (5) on land bought for a price (rather than won by the sword), and (6) has received the infertile seashore, (7) under certain fixed conditions, and then (8) rejects *Iarbas* and (9) takes another immigrant as her husband.

211. urbem, etc.: cf. 1, 365–368: *devenere locos, ubi nunc ingentia cernis / moenia surgentemque novae Karthaginis arcem, / mercatique solum, facti de nomine Byrsam, / taurino quantum possent circumdare tergo; Ov. H. 7, 118–120: quod tibi donavi, perfide, litus emo; / urbem constitui lateque patentia fixi / moenia finitimis invidiosa locis; App. Lib. 1: ἐξωδοῦμενοι δ' ὑπὸ τῶν Λιβύων ἐδόντο χωρίον ἐς συνοικισμόν λαβεῖν, ὅσον ἂν βύρσα ταύρου περιλάβοι . . . συνθέντο δώσειν καὶ ἐπώμοσαν. οἱ δὲ τὸ δῆρμα περιτεμόντες ἐς ἱμάντα ἓνα στενώτατον, περιέθηκαν ἔνθα νῦν ἔστιν ἡ Καρχηδονίων ἀκρόπολις καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦδε βύρσα ὀνομάζεται; Justin, 18, 5, 9: *Elissa . . . empto loco, qui corio bovis tegi posset . . . corium in tenuissimas partes secari iubet atque illa maius loci spatium quam petierat occupat, unde postea ei loco Byrsae nomen fuit;* *Serv. Aen. 1, 367: adpulsa ad Libyam Dido, cum ab Iarba pelleretur, petii callide ut emeret tantum terrae quantum posset corium bovis tenere. itaque corium in fila propemodum sectum telendit occupavitque stadia viginti duo; quam rem leviter tangit Vergilius dicendo 'facti de nomine Byrsam' et non 'tegere' sed 'circumdare';* the similar accounts in *Mythog. Vat. I, 214; Dionys. Perieg. 197 (Geogr. Gr. min. 2, 112 Müller); Expos. totius Mundi, 61 (Geogr. Lat. min. 123 Riese); Eustath. Comm. (Geogr. Gr. min. 2, 251); also Butler, Hudibras, canto 1: “The mighty Tyrian Queen, that gained, / with subtle shreds, a tract of**

212. exiguam pretio posuit, cui litus arandum  
cuique loci leges dedimus, conubia nostra

exiguam *M* (exiguam *M*<sup>2</sup>). praetio *MR* (pretio *M*<sup>2</sup>). cu (corr. in cui) *b*.

[211] 212-213. cui . . . dedimus: *Comm. Cruq. in Hor. C. 3, 4, 32* — littus —. 212-213. dedimus litus arandum (*sic*): *Schol. Lucan. 1, 194 ed. Weber*. 212. cui . . . arandum: *Serv. Aen. 1, 3*; *Auson. Ep. 14, 4, p. 245 Peiper* — littus *Z* —; *Gl. Arma, 10, 156* — arando —.

[212] 213-214. cuique . . . reppulit: *Serv. Aen. 1, 73*; *Prisc. Inst. 13, 14 (G. L. K. 3, 10)* — conubia *G*; *reppulit codd. GLK* —; *Hrab. Maur. Exc. de Art. Prisc. (Patr. Lat. 111, 645)* — conubia —. 213-214. conubia . . . recepit: *Non. p. 282 M. (p. 434 L.)*. 213-214. conubia . . . reppulit: *Serv. Aen. 4, 126*; *Consent. Ars (G. L. K. 5, 389)* — repulit —; *Anth. Lat. no. 17, 8-9 (1, pp. 61-62 Riese)* — repulit *A* —. 213. cuique . . . dedimus: *Serv. Aen. 11, 322*.

land"; Marlowe and Nash, *Dido*, Act 4, Sc. 2: "She crav'd a hide of ground to build a town"; *New English Dict.* 5 (1901), 268.

For the same motif of deception found in other tales cf. Köhler in *Orient u. Occident*, 3 (1864), 185-187 ('Hyde Park,' Calcutta ('cuttings of the hide or *khal*'), Moscow, etc.); Anderson, *Norse Mythol.* (1875), 240; Frazer in *Cl. Rev.* 2 (1888), 322 (on 'Hide-measured Lands'); Basset in *Rev. des Trad. pop.* 6 (1891), 335-337; Zingerle in *Zeitschr. d. Vereins f. Volkskunde*, 2 (1892), 80 (Persia); Bargetzi, *Dido in der Gesch. u. in der Dichtung* (1898), 2; Grimm, *Deutsche Rechtsaltertümer*, 4 ed., 1 (1899), 126-127; Frazer, *Adonis, Attis, Osiris* (1906), 325-326 (with parallels from the Saxons, Danes, Hindus, Siberia, Burma, Cambodia, Java, Bali, and Bechuanaland); Laufer in *Smithsonian misc. Collections*, 50 (1908), 282-284 (Asiatic cases); Franck, *Glimpses of Japan and Formosa* (1924), 169; McCartney in *Cl. Journ.* 22 (1927), 331, and n. 40. As noted by Kvíčala, *Vergil-Studien* (1878), 107, Virgil's form of the story gives no indication of that deceit on Dido's part which some accounts emphasize.

212. **exiguam**: to be contrasted with the *ingentia* . . . *moenia* of 1, 365-366 and the *minae* . . . *murorum ingentes* of 4, 88-89. Perhaps Iarbas had not lately seen the city which had risen so rapidly, or else he wished to disparage the upstart town or to emphasize the smallness of the tributary territory upon which its economic life depended (cf. Donat.: *non quo vere exigua fuisset, sed talem*

*dicere debuit qui deformantis animo loquebatur*). Cf. also 7, 229-230: *dis sedem exiguam patriis litusque rogamus / innocuum*. Knapp (*ad loc.*; cf. *Cl. Weekly*, 27 (1934), 148, n. 51) would explain "The little she has she owes to me, yet she rejects me."

212. **pretio**: *Serv.*: *ut ostendat eam nec meruisse per gratiam nec invasisse virtute. et si vendidit, quid conqueritur? vel defraudatus per corium vel de nuptiarum promissione*; cf. 1, 367: *mercatique solum*; *Sil.* 1, 24-25: *tum pretio mercata locos nova moenia ponit, / cingere qua secto permissum litora tauro*; 1, 444-446: *non haec Sidonia tecta / feminea fabricata manu pretiove parata, / exulibusve datum dimensis litus harenis*.

212. **posuit**: for this term used for the establishment of cities or individual buildings cf. 3, 404; 4, 344; 6, 19; *Hor. C.* 2, 6, 5; *Sil.* 1, 24; etc.

212. **litus arandum**: *Schol. Dan.*: *non ait 'agros' sed 'litus,' ut et supra (1, 2) diximus, terram mari vicinam* (cf. 7, 797-798). *modo etiam infertilem sibi et angustam vult ostendere*, etc. There is a suggestion of a proverbial expression for profitless labor, appearing in various forms, such as *σπέρειν πόρτον* (or *πέρτας*), *πέρτας γεωργεῖν*, *litus arare*, *harenae semina mandas*, etc., collected by Otto, *Die Sprichwörter . . . der Römer* (1890), 159 (who does not, however, consider the present line an illustration of this use). Iarbas, as an invader, considers the shore as worthless (for grazing and agriculture), while the sea-loving Carthaginians looked on it as of value. Another element in the story appears in the

214. reppulit ac dominum Aenean in regna recepit.  
et nunc ille Paris cum semiviro comitatu,

aeneam *R*, eneam *c*. regia *P* (regna *P*<sup>1</sup>).

[213\*] 214. ac . . . recepit: *Serv. Aen.* 4, 374 — et (*pro ac*) *NLHM* —; 4, 596. 214. reppulit: *Gl. Ansil.* 494, 1365; *q.v.*

215. et . . . Paris: *Serv. Aen.* 10, 865 — ut (*pro et*) *RHL* —. 215. cum . . . comitatu: *Lact. Inst.* 1, 10, 9 — comitatus *HM* —; *Firm. Mat. De Errore*, 6, 7. 215. semiviro: *Gl. Ansil.* 517, 298.

Schol. Dan.: *videtur illud attingere moris antiqui, quod cum conderetur nova civitas, tauro et vacca, ut ita vacca esset interior, a magistratu muri designarentur. nam ideo ad exaugurandas vel diruendas civitates aratrum adhibitum, ut eodem ritu quo conditae subvertantur.* On this subject cf. Frazer on *Ov. F.* 4, 819 (pp. 379–384) and the works there cited.

213. loci leges: *Serv.*: *aut quam tributariam fecimus, aut cui ideo concessimus civitatem ut in nostrum veniret matrimonium.* Though there is also the possibility that Iarbas had granted Dido legislative and administrative rights over the ceded area (cf. 1, 507: *iura dabat legesque viris* (sc. Dido); Kvčala, *Neue Beitr. z. Erkl. d. Aeneis* (1881), 90–91), it is more probable that the first suggestion of Servius contains the truth, and that, while Dido may not have had to pay actual tribute to Iarbas, the king had imposed some conditions upon the tenure of the territory. For the phrase cf. *Ov. Am.* 3, 2, 20: *haec in lege loci commoda circus habet.* Donatus remarks: *haec non sunt omnia pro veris accipienda, quae amens fundebat, quae iactabat inimicus, quae clamabat iratus.*

213. conubia: cf. 4, 172, n. (*coniugium vocat*); 4, 316: *per conubia nostra*; 4, 535; 9, 600: *qui nostra sibi bello conubia poscunt*; 12, 42: *conubia nostra petentem*; and for the plural Braumüller, *Ueber Tropen u. Figuren in Vergil's Aeneis*, 1 (1877), 16.

213. nostra: *Serv.*: *pro 'mea'; est autem nobilius.*

214. reppulit: balanced against *recepit* at the end of the line. Cf. *Ov. H.* 7, 123–124 (said by Dido): *mille procis placui, qui me coiere querentes / nescio quem thalamis prae-*

*posuisse suis*; *M.* 13, 735; *F.* 3, 554: *quem lotiens reppulit illa.*

214. dominum: cf. 4, 103: *liceat servire marito*; Schol. Dan.: *et est quasi vehemens accusatio; me maritum respuit et Aeneam non virum sed dominum recepit.* Though sometimes used in a good sense, *dominum* here obviously expresses a servile relation on the part of the queen.

214. Aenean: cf. 4, 74, n. (*Aenean*).

214. recepit: cf. 4, 374: *excepi et regni demens in parte locavi*; 4, 597: *cum sceptrā dabas*; also *Sall. Iug.* 10, 1: *parvom ego, Iugurtha, te . . . in regnum meum accipi*; *Ov. H.* 7, 89–90 (said by Dido): *fluctibus eiectum tula statione recepi / vixque bene audito nomine regna dedi.* So Hypsipyle had offered Jason a dwelling place and her father's sceptre; *Apoll. Rh.* 1, 827–829; 1, 890–892; cf. Cartault, *L'Art de Virgile dans l'Énéide*, 1 (1926), 348. With the verse-ending cf. *Mar. Victor, Aleth.* 3, 682: *seque in sua regna recepit*; *Walahfridus Strabo, Drog. Episc.* 30 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 2, 354): *in regna recepit.*

215. et nunc: in scorn; cf. *Prop.* 2, 21, 7: *et nunc inter eos tu sermo es.*

215. ille: contemptuous; cf. *Tac. Ann.* 1, 59, 7: *discesserit ille inter numina dicatus Augustus, ille delectus Tiberius.*

215. Paris: *Serv.*: *et bene 'Paris,' quasi qui sustulit pactam*; but cf. *Donat.*: *per originalis hominis inlicitum factum crimen inventum est, cuius Aeneas adficeretur invidia, cum non sit similis causa, quando ille alieni matrimonii rapuit feminam, Aeneas autem viduae videbatur esse coniunctus et ei quae nubendi et eligendi quem vellet liberum habuisset arbitrium. sed quid faciemus mori hominum qui in ultione conviciorum etiam falsa*

## 216. Maeonia mentum mitra crinemque madentem

mitra *P* (mitra *P*<sup>1</sup>).

216–217. Maeonia . . . potitur: *Non. p.* 405 *M.* (*p.* 652 *L.*) — mitram; portitur *L*<sup>1</sup>*A*<sup>a</sup> —. 216–217. crinemque . . . potitur: *Serv. Aen.* 3, 402 — subnixas *G* —. 216–217. mentum subnixus: *Gl. Ansil.* 366, 388. 216. Maeonia . . . mitra: *Serv. Aen.* 9, 613 — moenia *HMF*, melia *L* (*corr. l*) —. 216. crinem madentem: *Gl. Arma*, 10, 157.

*conponunt?* On Paris as a type of effeminacy and intrigue cf. 7, 321: *Paris aller* (again Aeneas); 7, 363–364: *an non sic Phrygius penetrat Lacedaemona pastor / Ledaemque Helenam Troianas vexil ad urbes*; *Il.* 3, 39: *δοσπαρι, εἶδος ἄριστε, γυναιμανές, ἡπεροπευτά*; 3, 390–394: *Ἀλέξανδρός σε καλεῖ οἰκόνδε νέεσθαι / κείνος δ' γ' ἐν θαλάμῳ καὶ δινωτοῖσι λήχεσσι, / κάλλει τε στίλβων καὶ εἵμασιν· οὐδὲ κε φαίης / ἀνδρὶ μαχεσσάμενον τόν γ' ἐλθέμεν, ἀλλὰ χορόνδε / ἔρχεσθ' ἢ ἐ χοροῖο νέον λήγοντα καθίξειν*; *Eur. I. A.* 73–76: *ἀνθρὸς μὲν εἰμάτων στολῇ / χρυσῷ δὲ λαμπρός, βαρβάρῳ χλιδήματι, / ἐρῶν ἐρώσαν ᾤχετ' ἐξαναπαάσας / Ἑλένην*; *Hor. C.* 1, 15, 13–20; *Ael. V. H.* 9, 38; *Anth. Lat.* no. 295, 1–3 (1, p. 251 Riese): *execti species viri, / naturae grave dedecus, / usu femineo Paris*. *Cic. Ad Att.* 1, 18, 3, refers to Memmianus, on account of his relations with the wives of others, as *hic noster Paris*; and Turnus (*Aen.* 9, 135–139), in comparing himself to the Atridae, by implication compares Aeneas to Paris.

215. *semiviro*: *Donat.*: *qui corpore praefertur virum, animo lamen el corruptione, cultu quoque feminas imitentur*. The adjective seems to appear here for the first time; cf. 12, 99: *semiviri Phrygis*; Ladewig, *De Vergilio Verborum Novatore*, 1 (1870), 5; *Val. Fl.* 8, 347: *semiviri . . . Achivi*; *Prud. Cont. Symm.* 1, 125: *cum semiviro comitatu*; *Vida, Christias*, 2, 102: *semiviri comitatus*.

This particular taunt was made by Greeks and Romans against various Oriental peoples, from the Persian Wars onward, including the Trojans; thus in 9, 141–142 Turnus speaks of the Trojans as a genus . . . *femineum*; cf. 9, 617–618: *o vere Phrygiae — neque enim Phryges —, ille per alia / Dindyma, ubi adsuetis biforem dat tibia cantum* (cf. *Il.* 7, 96); *Dio Chrys. Or.* 11, 63: *εἶναι γὰρ τὴν μὲν πόλιν (sc. Τροίαν) πλουσιωτάτην ἀπασῶν, τοὺς δὲ ἀνθρώ-*

*πους ὑπὸ τρυφῆς διεφθαρμένους*. The Trojans — often called 'Phrygians' — are thus often identified with the emasculated Galli, or priests of Cybele (cf. Cook, *Zeus*, 1 (1914), 394–395; 591, n. 2; Heinze, *Virgils epische Technik*, 3 ed. (1915), 271; Mart. 3, 91, 2: *semiviro Cybeles cum grege*), from whom the reputation of the whole Phrygian people suffered (e.g., *Eur. Or.* 1528; Nonn. 17, 255: *οὐ Φρυγίης γενόμην, ὅθεν ἄρσενες εἰσι γυναῖκες*). Iarbas, in his barbaric contempt for the graces of civilization, gladly seizes upon this charge; cf. Prescott, *The Development of Virgil's Art* (1927), 281; Hahn in *Cl. Weekly*, 25 (1931), 21, n. 159. Ercole (in *Atti d. r. Accad. di . . . Palermo*, 3 ser., 16 (1931), 221) emphasizes the anachronism of ascribing to Iarbas the dislikes of Augustan Romans. A similar accusation is brought by Horace against the Oriental attendants of Antony and Cleopatra (*C.* 1, 37, 9–10: *contaminato cum grege turpium / morbo virorum*; *Epod.* 9, 13–14: *miles et spadonibus / servire rugosis potest*). The Scholia Danielis add: *et bene non solum regi sed et sociis convicium facit. sane quidam tradunt iure hoc in Phryges dictum; ab ipsis enim ferunt coepisse stupra puerorum*. For a parallel in Chateaubriand, *Les Natchez*, 2, 190, cf. Naylor in *Johns Hopkins Stud. in Rom. Lit. and Lang.* 18 (1930), 117.

216. *Maeonia*: note in this line and 218 the scornful alliteration, as Page observes. Servius remarks on *Maeonia mitra*: *Lydia; nam utebantur et Phryges et Lydi mitra, hoc est, incurvo pilleo, de quo pendebat etiam buccarum tegimen*; cf. Schol. Dan.: *sane quibus effeminatio crimini dabatur, etiam mitra eis adscribebatur; multa enim lectio mitras proprie meretricum esse docet. ergo ex habitus qualitate mutatur invidiam; nam eum non iam effeminatum, sed velut meretricem appellat, quod est*



## 217. subnixus, rapto potitur; nos munera templis

217-233: MP. subnexus dett. duo; edd. quidam.

[216\*] 217-218. nos . . . inanem: *Non. p. 305 M. (p. 475 L.)* — muneris *LA\** —. 217-218. nos . . . ferimus: *Donat. in Ter. Eun. 171* — vide *Wessneri adn. crit.* —. 217. subnixus . . . potitur: *Serv. Aen. 11, 493* — subnixos *F*; potiris *F* —. 217. rapto: *Gl. Ansil. 484, 185; q.v.*

*inimicius non mulierem tantum, sed etiam meretricem vocare.* For *Maeonia* and *Maeonius* cf. *G. 4, 380; Aen. 8, 499* (of Etruscans); *9, 546; 10, 141; 11, 759; Cir. 62.*

216. *mitra*: the effeminacy expressed in *semiviro* is continued, as Henry observes (*Aeneidea*, 2 (1878), 658), by *mitra* and *crinemque madentem*. So Remulus reviled the Trojans (9, 616): *et tunicae manicas et habent redimicula mitrae*. This head-dress, the so-called 'Phrygian cap,' may be seen in representations of Paris (cf. *Tat. Orat. adv. Graec. 10*); e.g., Reinach, *Répert. de la Statuaire*, 1 (1906), 101; 493; 499-502; etc.; *id., Répert. de Reliefs Gr. et Rom. 1* (1909), 377; 2 (1912), 235; 435; 452; 521; 3 (1912), 226; 280; 289; 324; 460; *id., Répert. de Peintures Gr. et Rom. (1922)*, 28; 163; 164; 165; 334; also in those of Attis, whom *semiviro* might here suggest. In some of these cases it has a rather high and knobbed peak bent forward; in others it is flattish and turban-shaped; cf. the *tiaras* of 7, 247; also the discussion by Schuppe in *P.-W. 15* (1932), 2219-2220. While earlier artistic representations of Aeneas show him in Greek dress, later ones sometimes exhibit the Phrygian head-covering; cf. Rossbach in *P.-W. 1* (1894), 1016. Though especially characteristic of Phrygia, this headgear was also worn by Arabs (*Plin. N. H. 6, 162; Solin. 33, 16; Claud. De Cons. Stil. 1, 156*) and Cissians (*Hdt. 7, 62*), and was introduced, according to Arrian, *Ind. 7, 9*, by Dionysus to the Hindus. In Greece and Italy it was primarily an article of feminine wear (e.g., *Catull. 64, 63; 64, 68; Varr. Menipp. 433 Bücheler; Copa, 1; Prop. 2, 29, 15; Plin. N. H. 35, 58; Juv. 3, 66; Poll. 7, 95; Tert. De Virgin. veland. 17; Diog. ap. Athen. 14, 38; Claud. In Eutrop. 2, 185; Hier. Ep. 38, 4, 2; 54, 7, 1; Comm. in Is. 2, pp. 60-61 Vall.; Isid. Etym. 19, 31, 4; mitra est pil-*

*leum Phrygium, caput protegens, quale est ornamentum capitis devotarum. sed pilleum virorum est, mitrae autem feminarum. redimicula autem sunt quibus mitra alligatur. pilleum autem . . . a pelle erat; nam mitra ex lana est*), though also associated with effeminate men (*Cic. De Har. Resp. 44; In Clod. et Cur. Frag. 22 (4, 3, p. 274 Müller); Mart. 2, 36, 3; Plin. N. H. 35, 140* (a curious description of Jupiter); *Lucian, Deor. Dial. 18, 1* (Hera to Zeus): *ἐγὼ μὲν ἡσυχνόμεν ἄν, ὦ Ζεῦ, εἴ μοι τοιοῦτος υἱὸς ἦν θῆλυς οὕτως καὶ διεφθαρμένος ὑπὸ τῆς μέθης, μίτρα μὲν ἀναδεξιμένος τὴν κόμην, κτλ.*; *Prud. Psychom. 358-359*; also the cases dealing with Heracles in the Omphale story, including *Ov. H. 9, 63; Sen. H. F. 471; H. O. 377; Plut. Quaest. Gr. 58*). Elsewhere it appears in connection with Bacchus and his cult (*Diod. 4, 4; Prop. 3, 17, 30; 4, 2, 31; Sen. Phaedr. 756; Oed. 413; Stat. Theb. 9, 795; Clem. Protr. 12, p. 119, 1*), with the worshippers of Cybele (*Apul. M. 8, 27*), and with Helios (*Preisendanz, Pap. Gr. mag. 1 (1928), no. II, 90 (p. 26)*) and Ammon (*Sidon. Carm. 9, 202*), as well as being worn by Cyprian rulers (*Hdt. 7, 90*). Doubtless the cap may have possessed, like some other head-coverings, a symbolism now lost; cf. *Cook, Zeus, 2 (1925), 386*, and the works there cited.

The prejudice — amounting often to a taboo — against the wearing of feminine garb by men is widespread, appearing in classical writers, for example, in *Soph. Frag. 702 ap. Clem. Paedag. 3, 11: γυναικομίμοις ἐμπρεπεῖς ἐσθήμασι*; *Eur. Bacch. 836: οὐκ ἂν δυνάμην θῆλυον ἐνδύειν στολὴν*; *Cic. De Off. 1, 130: a forma removeatur omnis viro non dignus ornatus* (cf. *Tusc. 3, 36*); *Ov. H. 4, 75: sint procul a nobis iuvenes ut femina compli*; *Ars am. 3, 433-434*; *Strab. 11, 13, 9* (of the Persians): *ᾧστ' ἀντὶ γυναικῶν καὶ*

218. quippe tuis ferimus famamque fovemus inanem.'

[217]

ψιλῶν θηλυστολεῖν ὑπέμειναν; Philo Jud. *De Fortitud.* 18-21; Tac. *Ann.* 2, 33, 1: *decrementumque . . . ne vestis serica viros foedaret*; 3, 53, 5: *promiscas viris et feminis vestes atque illa feminarum propria*; Just. 1, 3, 2: *invenit eum* (sc. *Sardanapallum*) *inter scortorum greges purpuram colo nentem et muliebri habitu*; Ael. *Frag.* 39 Hercher (of a criminal thrown over a cliff): *στολὴν γυναικεῖαν περιβληθεῖς*; Sext. *Emp.* 1, 155: *καὶ ὅταν ὁ μὲν Ἀρίστιππος ἀδιάφορον ἡγεῖται τὸ γυναικεῖαν ἀμφένυσσθαι στολὴν, ἡμεῖς δὲ αἰσχροὺς τοῦτο ἡγώμεθα εἶναι* (cf. 3, 203-204); Frazer, *Golden Bough*, 3 ed., 6 (1914), 260; Crawley-Besterman, *Mystic Rose*, 2 ed. (1927), 1, 250-252; 318-321; 2, 101-117; Halliday on Plut. *Quaest. Gr.* 58, p. 217.

216. *crinemque madentem*: so Turnus (12, 99-100) speaks of the hair of Aeneas as *crinis* / . . . *murra . . . madentis*; cf. *Dracont. Rom.* 9, 56: *anne Parin fortuna iubet qui crine madenti*, etc.; *Prud. Psychom.* 413: *comamque madentem*; also Cic. *In Catil.* 2, 10: *sertis redimiti, unguentis oblit*; *Post Red. in Sen.* 13: *qua auctoritate viri vini, somni, stupri plenus, madenti coma*, etc.; *In Pison.* 25: *erant illi compti capilli et madentes cincinnorum fimbriae*; *Ov. M.* 3, 555: *madidi murra crines*; *Suet. Vesp.* 8: *adulescentulum fragrantem unguento*; many other passages might be cited. It may be noted that in *Il.* 3, 55 Hector speaks disparagingly of the locks and beauty of Paris.

217. *subnixus*: Henry (*Aeneidea*, 2 (1878), 659-660) contends stoutly for *subnexus*, on the authority of *Basil. D* and *Leidensis*, and cites cases of *subnectere* used with *crines* and similar words, including *G.* 3, 166-167; *Aen.* 10, 137-138; *Val. Fl.* 2, 103; *Stat. Silv.* 5, 3, 115. But the MS testimony (and that of Servius, the *Scholia Danielis*, and *Donatus*) is overwhelmingly for *subnixus* (cf. also Mackail in his edition, lxii), which may be supported by various passages, including *Catull.* 68, 71-72: *plantam / innixa argula constituit solea*; *Ov. Am.* 3, 1, 31: *pictis innixa colthurnis*; *Turpil.* 31 *Ribbeck*:

*sandalio innixa digitulis primoribus*; *Prop.* 2, 29, 40: *prosilat in laxa nixa pedem solea*; *Sil.* 2, 397-398: *galeamque coruscis / subnixam* (*subnexam* Bauer) *cristis*; also 1, 506, supra: *solioque alte subnixa resedit*; 3, 402: *subnixa Petelia muro*. As Conington remarks, "subnixus" might stand, the chin and hair being said to rest on the cap or cap-strings, agreeably to the use of 'fulcio' (*E.* 6, 53, note) and *ēpelōw*"; cf. Nutting, *On the Syntax of Nītor* (*Univ. of Calif. Publ. in cl. Philol.* 10 (1930), 181-185); also *Gl. Ansil.* 366, 388: *anti tu* (= *ἀντι τοῦ*) *subnixum habens, id est, subligatum*. Part of the effeminacy here charged may lie in the support of the chin and the locks by the *mitra*. With the beginning of this line cf. *Sil.* 8, 243: *subnixus raptō*.

217. *raptō*: *Serv.*: *stupro fruitur; nam proprie raptus est illicitus coitus; nec enim hic rapuerat*; but the meaning is probably less specific; cf. 7, 749 (= 9, 613): *vivere raptō*; Conington compares *Aesch. Agam.* 535, where Helen is *τοῦ ὕψιου* of Paris.

217. *potitur*: this form varies between the third and the fourth conjugation, the only other Virgilian case (3, 56) having a short penultimate vowel, as here.

217. *nos*: contrasted with *ille*; hardly a 'plural of modesty' (Kühner-Stegmann, *Ausf. Gram. d. lat. Spr.* 2, 1, 2 ed. (1912), 87-88; *Canter, Rhet. Elements in the Trag. of Seneca* (1925), 125-126), but perhaps here referring literally to the worship of Jupiter by the king and his subjects. For the irony cf. Kroll in *Neue Jahrbücher*, 21 (1908), 525, n. 2.

217. *munera templis*: Forbiger compares *Ov. M.* 8, 445: *dona deum templis . . . ferebat*; 9, 791: *dona munera templis*; cf. also *G.* 3, 22: *dona feram*; *Ov. H.* 1, 27; 6, 77. Such appeals to the gods on the basis of services rendered by the worshipper are collected by Appel, *De Romanorum Precationibus* (1909), 149-151.

218. *quippe*: probably ironical (cf. 1, 39; *Plaut. Epid.* 618; *Cic. Pro Milon.* 33; *Hor. S.* 1, 2, 4; *Pers.* 1, 88; *Sil.* 5, 117), rather

219. Talibus orantem dictis arasque tenentem  
auditi omnipotens, oculosque ad moenia torsit

219-220. talibus . . . omnipotens: *Macrob. Sat.* 3, 2, 9.  
audit π.

[219]

than restricting it (with Conington) to modify *tuis*. On its parenthetic character cf. Lerche, *De Quippe Particula* (in *Bresl. philol. Abh.* 41 (1910), 106). Mackail (*ad loc.*) observes that it is also deferred in the sentence in 1, 59 and 12, 422, yet even there, as here, stands first in its metrical line.

218. *fovemus*: Serv.: *aut quia frustra te credimus mundi esse rectorem, aut quia me tuum filium esse confido*. 'fovemus' autem quasi in se infirmam. Henry (*Aeneidea*, 2 (1878), 661) thinks that the former of these ideas has been already adequately expressed in 4, 208-210, and that the latter "was necessary to complete his argument: 'I doubt that you exist; but if you do exist, I am surely not your son or you would not treat me so.' " If, however, nos in line 217 refers to both Iarbas and his subjects the former explanation seems more appropriate, and the repetition of the thought in another form is easily explicable, especially in the mouth of an indignant speaker. On the alliteration cf. 4, 216, n. (*Maeonia*). Buscaroli (*ad loc.*) compares Juv. 8, 165: *fovisti errorem*; Mart. 9, 48, 4: *spem muneribus fovimus*.

218. *inanem*: cf. 4, 210; 4, 433, n. (*tempus inane*); applied to *fama* in Tac. *H.* 4, 11; Aug. *Cont. Acad.* 2, 5; cf. Tac. *Ann.* 2, 76: *inania famae*. In this case *fama* has no divine reality underlying it; cf. Flooardus Remensis, *De Triumphis Christi* (Antioch.) 1, 10, 6: *Christique templum inane censens numine*.

219. *talibus*, etc.: cf. 4, 362: *talìa dicentem*; 4, 437: *talibus orabat*; 6, 124: *talibus orabat dictis arasque tenebat*; 10, 96: *talibus orabat*; Val. Fl. 4, 38: *talibus orantem dictis visuque fruientem*; 5, 520: *talibus orantem*; Ov. *M.* 13, 966: *talìa dicentem*; also Lucr. 4, 837: *dictis orare*; and 4, 30, n. (*sic effata*), above.

219. *arasque tenentem*: a ritual phrase (cf. 6, 124, where Norden suspects a reminis-

cence of Ennius); cf. 12, 201: *tango aras, medios ignes et numina testor*; Catal. 13, 22: *prentis . . . altaribus*; Aesch. *Sept.* 258: *θυγγάνου' ἀγαλμάτων*; and other Greek passages cited by Reisch in *P.-W.* 1 (1894), 1690; Paul. ex Fest. p. 222 M. (p. 248 Lindsay): *poena constituta a Numa Pompilio hac lege: plex aram Iunonis ne tangito* (cf. Gell. 4, 3, 3); Plaut. *Rud.* 1333: *tange aram hanc Veneris. tango*; 1336: *tene aram hanc. teneo*; Cic. *Pro Flacc.* 90: *si aram tenens iuraret crederet nemo*; Nep. *Hannib.* 2: *me ad aram adduxit . . . eamque . . . tenentem iurare iussit* (cf. Val. Max. 9, 3, Ext. 3); Hor. *C.* 3, 23, 17: *immunis aram si tetigit manus*; Ov. *Am.* 1, 4, 27: *tange manu mensam, tangunt quo more precantes*; *M.* 5, 103: *amplexo tremulis altaria palmis*; 9, 772: *aram complexa*; Sen. *H. F.* 503: *complectere aras* (cf. *H. O.* 810); *H. F.* 876: *aras tangite supplices*; Sil. 3, 82: *tangat Elissaeas palmis puerilibus aras*; Juv. 14, 219: *Cereris tangens aramque pedemque*; Tac. *Ann.* 16, 31: *altaria et aram complexa*; *Macrob. Sat.* 3, 2, 7-8: *multifariam enim legimus quod litare sola non possit oratio nisi ut is qui deos precatur etiam aram manibus adprehendat. inde Varro divinarum libro quinto dicit aras primum asas dictas, quod esset necessarium a sacrificantibus eas teneri, ansis autem teneri solere vasa quis dubilet? commutatione ergo litterarum aras dici coeptas*, etc. (a very similar account is given by the Scholia Danielis on our line); Henzen, *Acta Fratr. Arval.* (1874), 34; Voullième, *Quomodo Veteres adoraverint* (1887), 17; Appel, *De Romanorum Precationibus* (1909), 194; McCartney in *Cl. Journ.* 21 (1925), 122, and nn. 96-97 (connecting this rite with the general folklore of touching). Sometimes a suppliant sits on or by an altar (e.g., Plaut. *Aul.* 606; *Rud.* 846; Nep. *Paus.* 4; *Aen.* 2, 574; Ov. *M.* 9, 297-298; Tib. 4, 13, 23; also the suppliant Orestes in Aesch. *Eum.* 259, and as shown on various ancient vase-paintings);

221. regia et oblitos fama<sup>1</sup> melioris amantis.  
tum sic Mercurium adloquitur ac talia mandat:

oblitos <sup>c1</sup>. amantes <sup>c</sup>.  
alloquitur <sup>c</sup>.

221. et . . . amantis: *Anth. Lat. no. 17, 17* (1, p. 62 Riese) — oblitos —; *Mythogr. Val. III, 3, 3* — amantes —. 221. fama<sup>1</sup> melioris: *Gl. Ansil. 233, 316*.

222. tum . . . adloquitur: *Max. Victor. De Rat. Metr. (G. L. K. 6, 219)*.

at other times he grasps the horns of the altar, in which the divine power was perhaps thought to be concentrated (e.g., 1 *Kings*, 1, 50–51; 2, 28; Reisch, *op. cit.*, 1673–1674; Sjövall in *Arch. f. Religionswiss.* 23 (1925), 185–192, and works there cited). What Iarbas later did is not stated. Ribbeck (*Gesch. d. röm. Dichtung*, 2 ed., 2 (1900), 66) thinks we must suspect that Carthage after Dido's death fell into his power (cf. 4, 326). Yet in that case the curse in 4, 625–629, which implies the continued Phoenician rule over Carthage, could hardly have been fulfilled. For the purposes of Virgil's narrative his active rôle is ended and he may be dismissed from the story.

On the plural *aras* (it seems unlikely that Iarbas touched more than one at a time), probably on the analogy of the plural *allaria*, cf. Löfstedt, *Syntactica*, 1 (1928), 39.

220. *omnipotens*: cf. 4, 206, n. (*Iuppiter omnipotens*); and with the structure of the line Dracont. *Rom.* 10, 209: *audiit ignipotens, hominum nam murmura sentit*.

220. *oculos . . . torsit*: cf. *G.* 4, 451: *ardentis oculos intorsit*; *Aen.* 7, 399: *sanguineam torquens aciem*; 7, 448–449: *flammea torquens / lumina*; 12, 670: *ardentis oculorum orbes ad moenia torsit*. Burger (in *Rev. des Études lat.* 8 (1930), 224) compares *Cic. Off.* 1, 131: *ora torquentur*; also the word *torvus*, as in 6, 467: *torva tuentem*; etc. Henry compares Dante, *Inf.* 13, 65: *non torse gli occhi*; *Purg.* 9, 45: *il viso m'era alla marina torso*. The phrase is the answer to the question of Iarbas in 4, 208: *aspicias haec?*

221. *famae*: Virgil does not here repeat the charges of Rumor in 4, 194 — an indication, perhaps, that those were some of them recognized by an omniscient deity as being false —, but Jupiter is concerned that the

reputations of Dido and Aeneas should not suffer from such accusations; cf. Ogle in *Cl. Journ.* 20 (1925), 261–262. With *famae melioris* the Scholia Danielis compare 4, 170: *neque enim specie famave movetur*; and for *bona* (or *melior*) *fama* (φῆμη ἀγαθή) cf. the numerous references in *Thes. Ling. Lat.* 2 (1906), 2091, 10–23. In 6, 889 cod. *M* reads *famae melioris*. The opposite is *infamia*.

221. *amantis*: Heinze (*Virgils epische Technik*, 3 ed. (1915), 124, n. o) considers this passage, in which Virgil speaks directly rather than through one of his characters, as evidence against DeWitt's view (*The Dido Episode in the Aen. of Virgil* (1907), 26–37) that Aeneas felt no affection for Dido.

222. *tum*, etc.: so Mercury is sent by Jupiter to Carthage (1, 297–303), as Hermes had been sent to escort Priam (*Il.* 24, 333–348), or, again, to free Odysseus from the charms of Calypso (*Od.* 5, 28–54); cf. *Sil.* 3, 163–171, where Jupiter sends him to Hannibal; also the mission of Raphael to Adam (*Parad. lost.* 5, 224–297). The present theophany seems to have been by day, while the corroborative dream (4, 554–570) was at night. Hey, *Der Traumglaube der Antike*, 1 (1908), 14, remarks that visions by day were more significant and more suitable for a deity (cf. my n. on *Cic. De Div.* 2, 126), and if Mercury here symbolizes the conscience of Aeneas (cf. Cornut. *N. D.* 16: *τυγχάνει δ' ὁ Ἑρμοῦ ὁ λόγος ὧν, ὃν ἀπέστειλαν πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐξ οὐρανοῦ οἱ θεοί*; Prescott, *The Development of Virgil's Art* (1927), 282), roused by some sudden stimulus, the daytime message would have been more startling than any dream. For such theophanies in Virgil cf. Heinze, *Virgils epische Technik*, 3 ed. (1915), 311–313. Serv. *Aen.* 5, 606 remarks of the divine messengers: *ex magna parte servatur ut*

223. 'vade age, nate, voca zephyros et labere pinnis  
Dardanumque ducem, Tyria Karthagine qui nunc  
expectat fatisque datas non respicit urbes,

natae γ, nato α<sup>1</sup>. uoca . c. pennis ac.  
carthagine MPγc, cartagine b, kartagine a.  
expectat Pp. prospicit c dell.

223. vade . . . pinnis: *Boeth. In Arist. Lib. De Interpr. Ed. sec. (Patr. Lat. 64, 396)* — pennis —; *Isid. Etym. 2, 21, 15* — labere T —. 223. vade . . . zephyros: *Empor. De Ethop. p. 562 Halm.* 223. voca . . . pinnis: *Centio Probae, 443* — te syros P, zefiros S, zefyros π, zephyros A; *pro* et labere: *inlabere P*, *allabere (alla m. 2 in ras.) S*; pinnis (pennis m. 2) S —. 223. voca zephyros: *Serv. Aen. 5, 607.* 223. labere pinnis: *Serv. Aen. 2, 14* — pennis L; *Isid. Etym. 10, 158*; *Gl. Abba, 80, 15*; *Gl. Aa, 278, 14.*

224–225. Tyria . . . expectat: *Serv. Comm. in Donat. (G. L. K. 4, 416)* — Turia —; [*Serg.*] *Expl. in Donat. 1 (G. L. K. 4, 511)* — carthagine (cartago L, kartagine S, cartagine F); quae F —; *Cledon. Ars (G. L. K. 5, 65)* — carthagine; expectat —; *Pomp. Comm. (G. L. K. 5, 253)* — expectat —; *Cassiod. Comm. in Orat. 3 (Patr. Lat. 70, 1237)* — carthagine quae —. 224. Dardanum ducem: *Gl. Ansil. 160, 124.*

[224\*] 225. fati data (sic): *Gl. Ansil. 236, 624.* 225. non respicit: *Gl. Ansil. 395, 188.*

*Mercurius ad concordiam, Iris ad discordiam mittatur.*

222. *adloquitur*: on the lengthened final syllable see 4, 64, n. (*pectoribus*), above; also cf. 1, 668 (*iactetur*); 5, 284 (*datür*); 12, 68 (*ebür*); etc. For this verb introducing a speech cf. 4, 226; 5, 780; 8, 372; 10, 860; 11, 821.

222. *talia mandat*: cf. 4, 30, n. (*sic effata*).

223. *vade age*: lines 223–237 are resumed by 265–276; on such epic repetitions cf. Heinze, *op. cit.*, 404. Schol. Dan.: *singulis verbis et iubentis, ut 'vade,' et hortantis, ut 'age,' et blandientis, ut 'nate' expressit adfectum*; cf. Donat.: *'vade' imperativum est, 'age' hortativum cum imperativo, 'nate' religiosum et pium.* For *vade age* cf. 3, 462; 5, 548; Sil. 13, 413; *Il. Lat.* 114; Val. Fl. 2, 127; Candidus, *De Vita Aeigili*, 2, 7, 8 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 2, 100); also the Homeric βάσκ' *τῷ* (*Il.* 2, 8; 8, 399; 11, 186; 24, 144; 24, 336); Apoll. Rh. 4, 758: εἰ δ' ἄγε λαίηρησι μετοικουμένη περὶ γέσσιν; and 4, 569, n. (*heia age*), below.

223. *zephyros*: *Serv.*: *aut quibus Aeneas naviget, unde est (4, 562) 'nec zephyros audis spirare secundos,' aut qui vehant Mercurium, ut (4, 257) 'ventosque secabat,' item (4, 241) 'rapido pariter cum flamine portant.'* In defence of the former view we may assume,

either that the *zephyri* of 4, 562 are extended from their specific sense of west winds to apply to winds in general, or else that a light wind from the west would be held as favorable for a northeastward voyage from Carthage to Sicily. It should be noted that Mercury in his flight from Olympus (4, 268) — wherever that may be localized — passes Mt. Atlas (4, 246–251), that is, approaches Carthage from a westerly direction, perhaps not being dependent on the breezes, yet using them, as Conington suggests, as a natural power at his command. Cf. De la Ville de Mirmont, *Apollonios de Rhodes et Virgile* (1894), 250, on Hermes as a wind-god, a subject treated also by Roscher, *Hermes der Windgott* (1878). The winds are elsewhere imagined as at call; cf. 3, 253; 5, 211; 8, 707.

223. *pinnis*: referring to his winged sandals; cf. 4, 239–241; 4, 259.

224. *Dardanumque ducem*: = 9, 100; cf. *Ov. F.* 2, 680; also *ductor Dardanius* (10, 602–603; 10, 814). While Fama in 4, 191–194 blames both Aeneas and Dido, and Iarbas (4, 211–217) complains to Jupiter of both, Jupiter sends Mercury only to Aeneas, as Juno later sends Iris to Dido.

224. *Tyria Karthagine*: Schol. Dan.: *quasi homini ita civitati epitheton patrum dedit.*

226. adloquere et celeris defer mea dicta per auras.  
non illum nobis genetrix pulcherrima talem

adloquere *corr.* in alloquere γ, alloquere *bc.*

genetrix nobis *P dett.* (nobis genetrix *P<sup>2</sup>*). genetrix π. pulcherrime γ<sup>1</sup>.

226. et . . . auras: *Prisc. Inst.* 7, 85 (*G. L. K.* 2, 360) — aureas (*corr.* in auras) *D*, aures *H*<sup>1</sup>—. 226. celeris . . . auras: *Serv. Aen.* 4, 357 — celeres (et celeres *F*) —. 226. celeris per auras: *Gl. Ansil.* 107, 166.

227–230. non . . . reget: *Donat. Aen.* 7, 160 — bisum . . . indicat *V* —; *Dante, De Mon.* 2, 7 — genetrix —. 227. genetrix pulcherrima: *Gl. Ansil.* 264, 120 — pulcherrima —.

225. *expectat*: *Serv.*: *moratur, delerit tempus*. It is unnecessary with Jahn to supply *urbes* from the next clause as an object, or with 'S. W.' (in *Cl. Rev.* 2 (1888), 226) to emend *Tyria* to *Tyrias*, supplying *urbes* from the present line, or with Housman (in *Cl. Rev.* 19 (1905), 260–261) to emend to *Hesperiam*. The verb is usually followed by a direct object or a *dum* clause, and is more rarely used absolutely; yet cf. *Cic. Ad Fam.* 15, 17, 1: *comites ad portam expectare dicunt*; *Quintil.* 4, 5, 19: *expectent paulum et agi ordine sinant*; *Justin.* 5, 4, 1: *Lacedaemoniorum duces instructis navibus expectabant*.

225. *fatisque datas*: cf. 11, 112 (said by Aeneas): *nec veni, nisi fata locum sedemque dedissent*; *Dietsch, Theologumenon Vergilian. Particula* (1853), 26, thinks this an indication that the power of the Fates is superior to that of Jupiter, who might otherwise have said *a me datas*. For *datas* cf. 3, 255: *datam cingetis moenibus urbem*; also 1, 257–260.

225. *respicit*: cf. 4, 236: *nec prolem Ausoniam et Lavinia respicit arva*; 4, 274–275: *spes heredis Iuli / respice*; 12, 43: *respice res bello varias*; *Cir.* 177: *carum non respicit aurum*; *Placek, Re in den Compositis in Vergils Aeneis* (1882), 8–10.

225. *urbes*: in certain passages looking merely to Aeneas's future home the singular is used (1, 5: *dum conderet urbem*; 1, 258; 3, 255), but, as noted by *Buscaroli (ad loc.)*, the allusion here is doubtless to Lavinium, Alba Longa, and Rome (cf. 1, 6–7).

226. *adloquere*: cf. 4, 222, n. (*adloquitur*).

226. *celeris . . . auras*: cf. 4, 270: *ipse haec ferre iubet celeris mandata per auras*; 4, 357–358: *celeris mandata per auras / detulit*; and Dido's echo in 4, 378: *interpres divom fert*

*horrida dicta per auras*. For the figurative transfer of speed from the messenger to the medium through which he passes cf. 5, 502–503: *sagitta / . . . volucris diverberat auras*; 5, 610: *cito decurrit tramite virgo*; 11, 795: *volucris dispersit in auras*; 12, 859: *celeris incognita transilit umbras*; *Lünzner, Ueber Personificationen in Vergils Gedichten* (1876), 20; *Bell, The Latin Dual* (1923), 324. The phrase *per auras* is a favorite hexameter ending; numerous cases from *Lucretius* and *Virgil* are cited by *Merrill, Parallels and Coincidences in Lucretius and Virgil* (*Univ. of Calif. Publ. in cl. Philol.* 3 (1918), 157).

226. *mea dicta*: *Jupiter* in the *Aeneid* never speaks directly to mortals but through gods as mouth-pieces, as befits his dignity; in *Apollonius* he is entirely silent; cf. *De la Ville de Mirmont, Apollonios de Rhodes et Virgile* (1894), 300.

227. *non illum*: *Serv.*: *κατὰ τὸ σιωπῶμενον intellegimus*. With the form of expression cf. 11, 152: *non haec, o Palla, dederas promissa parenti*; also *Catull.* 64, 139–140: *at non haec quondam blanda promissa dedisti / voce mihi*; *Ov. M.* 3, 652–653: *non haec mihi lilora, naulae, / promisistis*. For such striking forms of negation *Kroll* (in *Neue Jahrbücher f. d. kl. All.* 21 (1908), 525) compares 4, 425 (where cf. *my n. on non ego*); 6, 625; 10, 333. *Dietsch (Theologumenon Vergilian. Particula* (1853), 26, n. 199) thinks *Virgil* is to be censured for not making *Venus* dissuade Aeneas from a love for *Dido* which was not destined to permanence.

227. *genetrix pulcherrima*: = 12, 554; *Serv.*: *epitheton perpetuum, nec ad praesens negotium pertinens*.

228. promisit Graiumque ideo bis vindicat armis;  
sed fore qui gravidam imperiis belloque frementem  
Italiam regeret, genus alto a sanguine Teucris

gra. ium b. uendicat π.

forte p. grauidam (a in ras.) π.

alto om. m. ab P (a P<sup>1</sup>), a *suprascr.* γπ.

[227\*] 228. Graiumque . . . armis: *Non. p.* 419 M. (p. 676 L.); *Gl. Ansil.* 270, 32 — armis *supplendum* — 228. Graiumque ideo: *Sacerd. Art. gram.* 1 (G. L. K. 6, 446).

[227] 229–230. belloque . . . regeret: *Donat. Aen.* 11, 400 — regere —.

[227, 229\*] 230–231. Italiam . . . proderet: *Non. p.* 363 M. (p. 577 L.) — regeret et B<sup>a</sup>; a om. A<sup>a</sup>; proderat A<sup>a</sup>, prodere L —; *Diomed. Art. gram.* 1 (G. L. K. 1, 414) — prodere M —. 230. alto a sanguine: *Gl. Ansil.* 46, 361.

**228. Graiumque:** Serv.: *alii dicunt 'bis' semel a Diomedis singulari certamine* (Il. 5, 311–317), *et item in excidio, sicut legimus* (2, 632) *'descendo, ac ducente deo'* (cf. 2, 664–665 (cited by the Schol. Dan.): *hoc erat, alma parens, quod me per tela, per ignis / eripis*). *alii dicunt propter Diomedis et Achillis* (Il. 20, 273–329) *certamina singularia. sed quando cum Achille dimicavit a Neptuno liberatus est; potest tamen hoc pro Venere factum videri; sic Iuno imputat Veneri quod pro ea factum est* (10, 83) *'et potes in totidem classes convertere nymphas.'* *potest etiam alter sensus esse; nam Troia antea ab Hercule, qui et ipse Graecus fuit, capta est* (cf. 2, 642–643; 3, 476); *ut intelligamus iam tunc Aeneam natum fuisse; nec enim multum tempus interfuit, cum constet Priamo tunc ab Hercule imperium traditum.* Graium is the commoner genitive in Virgil (cf. 6, 588; 10, 81; 10, 334; 11, 289; 12, 538), Graiorum being found only in 2, 157.

**228. vindicat:** Schol. Dan.: *pro 'vindicit'*; *et quaedam ideo praesenti pro praeterito tempore ponuntur ad maiorem significationem figurandam;* citing G. 1, 279 (*creat*); *Aen.* 1, 316 (*fatigat*); cf. Ley, *Vergilian. Quaest. Specimen*, 1 (1877), 23, for similar shifts of tense. Metrically *vindicavit* is here impossible.

**229. fore, etc.:** on the prophecies in the *Aeneid* of the kingdom and future of Aeneas cf. Heinze, *Virgils epische Technik*, 3 ed. (1915), 463, n. o; Billmeyer, *Rhet. Stud.* 2. d. *Reden in Vergils Aeneis* (1932), 31; Duckworth, *Foreshadowing and Suspense in the Epics of Homer, Apollonius, and Vergil* (1933), 35, n. 86 (citing eight references).

With the general tone of the passage cf. 6, 851–853: *tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento — / haec tibi erunt artes — pacique imponere morem, / parcere subiectis et debellare superbos*; and for the possible symbolism of the line see Georgii, *Die politische Tendenz der Aeneide Vergils* (1880), 15; Herrmann in *Aus Unterricht u. Forschung*, 1 (1929), 120.

**229. gravidam:** cf. 10, 87: *gravidam bellis urbem*; *Auson. Epigr.* 31, 4 (p. 322 Peiper): *imperiis gravidas qua seco Pannonias*; also *Aen.* 1, 51: *loca feta furentibus austris*; 6, 598–599; *Schol. Dan.*: *quasi parituram imperia, vel unde multi imperatores possent creari, ut* (1, 21) *'hinc populum late regem' . . . alii hunc ordinem volunt: sed fore qui Italiam gravidam rerum abundantia et bello frementem imperiis regeret*; the former view seems the more probable, and provides a symmetrical group (b a a b) in the words *gravidam imperiis belloque frementem*. Italy at the time contained many different states and seemed likely to produce (*gravidam*) yet others (cf. 10, 263); Aeneas did not himself unite them into a single state, but such union was the work of the rulers and the race descended from him and the Trojans.

**229. bello:** Serv.: *exceptis temporibus quibus a Latino regebatur, ut* (7, 46) *'longa populos [sic] in pace regebat'*; *nam alias bellicosa fuit Italia.*

**230. regeret:** cf. the predictions in *Il.* 20, 307–308: *νῦν δὲ δὴ Αἰνείας βίῃ Τρώεσσι ἀνάξει / καὶ παίδων παῖδες, τοὶ κεν μετόπισθε γένωνται.*

**230. genus, etc.:** cf. 5, 45: *genus allo a*

231. proderet ac totum sub leges mitteret orbem.  
 si nulla accendit tantarum gloria rerum  
 nec super ipse sua molitur laude laborem,  
 Ascanione pater Romanas invidet arces?

(*pr*)oderet *P.* leges (*s m. rec. in ras.*) *π.*

(*s*)i *P.*

suam *M* (sua *M*<sup>2</sup>), suam (*corr. in sua*) *γ.* laborum *M* (laborem *M*<sup>1</sup>), laborem *P* (laborum *P*<sup>2</sup>), laborum (*corr. in laborem*) *γ.*

234-257: *FMP.* roman(*as . . . arces*) *F.* inuides *P* (inuidet *P*<sup>2</sup>)

[230\*] 231. proderet: *Gl. Ansil.* 464, 1819; *q.v.*

232. tantarum . . . rerum: *Cento Probae*, 159; 645 — tanta sum *P* —; 689.

233. nec . . . laborem: *Diomed. Art. gram.* 1 (*G. L. K.* 1, 413) — ipsa *Ap* —; *Arus. Ex. Eloc.* (*G. L. K.* 7, 508) — suum *cod. Parrhasii* —. 233. super sua: *Gl. Ansil.* 547, 777.

233. molitur laborem: *Gl. Ansil.* 374, 208.

234. Romanas arces: *Gl. Ansil.* 500, 113.

*sanguine divom*; 6, 500: *genus alto a sanguine Teucri*; also 1, 235: *a sanguine Teucri*; 2, 366: *sanguine Teucri*; 6, 648: *genus antiquom Teucri*; and, for Teucer as the eponymous ancestor of the Teucri, 1, 107-110.

230. alto: *Schol. Dan.*: *industri, nobili*; cf. *Hier. Ep.* 108, 4, 1: *Toxotio, qui Aeneae et Iuliorum altissimum sanguinem traxit*; 127, 1, 3: *inlustrem familiam, alti sanguinis decus*; *Prud. Apoth.* 984-985: *venam sanguinis alti / ex atavis longo texens per stemmata filo*. The adjective is also, however, used to express high antiquity: cf. *Thes. Ling. Lat.* 1 (1900), 1783, 5-17.

231. proderet: *Serv.*: *id est, propagaret*; *Cic. Off.* 3, 84: *regno quod a Tantaloe et Pelope proditum iure optinebatur*.

231. totum: for such extravagant descriptions of the extent of the Roman Empire Hunziker, *Die Figur der Hyperbel in den Gedichten Vergils* (1896), 58, compares 1, 287; 3, 159; 6, 782; 6, 794-795; 7, 99-101; to which add 7, 258 and many parallels in other authors collected by Gernentz, *Laudes Romae* (1918), 103-106.

231. sub leges: cf. 4, 618-619: *cum se sub leges pacis iniquae tradiderit*; 6, 851-853; *Luc.* 1, 22: *totum sub Latias leges cum miseris orbem* (sc. *Roma*); *C. I. L.* XII, 5272, 6 (*Carm. Lat. epigr.* no. 1202 Bücheler): *orbem sub leges si habeas*. Editors compare the phrase *sub iugum mittere*.

232. si, etc.: cf. 4, 272: *si te nulla movet*

*tantarum gloria rerum*; *Ariosto, Orl. fur.* 7, 60, 1-4: *se non ti muovon le tue proprie laudi, / e l'opre eccelse a chi l'ha il cielo eletto, / la tua successione perchè defraudi / del ben che mille volte io l'ho predetto?*

232. accendit: with the figure *Preuss, Die metaph. Kunst Vergils in der Aeneis* (1894), 10, compares 6, 889: *incenditque animum famae venientis amore*; 7, 496: *eximiae laudis succensus amore*.

232. tantarum, etc.: cf. *Aetna*, 340: *tantarum semine rerum*; *Juvenc.* 1, 400: *quae sit tantarum gloria rerum*; *Mantuan, Ecl.* 6, 149: *tantarum copia rerum*.

233. super: = *pro*; *Servius* compares *ὀπέρ*; cf. *G.* 4, 559: *super arborum cultu*; *Aen.* 1, 750: *super Hectore*; 4, 273: *nec super ipse tua moliris laude laborem*; 10, 839. In order *super . . . sua . . . laude* is interlocked with *ipse . . . molitur . . . laborem*; the juxtaposition of *ipse* and *sua* adds to the emphasis upon the former word, and Conington compares the Greek idiom *πρὸς αὐτὸς αὐτοῦ*; also cf. *Ov. H.* 12, 18: *ut caderet cultu cultor ab ipse suo*; and, below, 4, 314, n. (*per ego has*).

233. molitur laude laborem: note the alliteration.

234. Ascanione: in 1, 267-277 Jupiter had foretold to Venus that Ascanius was destined to found Alba Longa, whence would arise Romulus, the founder of Rome; cf. 5, 597: *Ascanius, Longam muris cum cingeret Albam*; 12, 166: *pater Aeneas,*



## 235. quid struit, aut qua spe inimica in gente moratur

quit *M.* quae spe *p.* i(nimica . . . moratur) *F.* gente. *a*

235. quid . . . moratur: *Anth. Lat. no. 17, 178* (I, p. 68 Riese) — struis; moraris —. 235. quid struit: *Gl. Ansil. 479, 75.* 235. struit: *Gl. Philox. 274, 104; q.v.* 235. qua . . . moratur: *Lact. Plac. in Stat. Theb. 1, 299 — om. M; in gente inimica L; moraris —.* 235. qua spe: *Gl. Ansil. 477, 242.* 235. inimica . . . moratur: *Schol. Dan. Aen. 4, 271 — moraris —.* 235. inimica . . . gente: *Gl. Ansil. 303, 932.*

*Romanae stirpis origo*; 12, 168: *Ascanius, magnae spes allera Romae.* Servius remarks: *ideo autem hoc asserit poeta ut laudando Iulum Caesarem laudet, quia ab eo originem ducit, ut* (1, 288) *'Iulius a magno demissum nomen Iulo.'*

234. *pater*: the word of relationship, emphasizing the personal feeling which Aeneas might be expected to show, complements the use of *puer* in 4, 354; on the affection of Aeneas for Ascanius cf. Cartault, *L'Art de Virgile dans l'Énéide*, I (1926), 348, who cites 1, 643–644; 1, 715; 2, 789.

234. *Romanas*: mention of Rome would as yet have meant little to Aeneas, though Mercury in 4, 275, carrying out this message, refers to it in his presence. Virgil in the *Aeneid* is careful to use *Roma* and *Romanus* (1) when speaking in his own person as author (e.g., 1, 7; 1, 33; 5, 123; 7, 603; 7, 709; 8, 99; 8, 313; 8, 338; 8, 361; 12, 166–168); (2) in speeches of omniscient gods (as here and in 1, 234; 1, 277; 1, 282; 10, 12; 12, 827); and (3) in prophetic passages, like the words of Anchises (6, 781; 6, 789; 6, 810; 6, 851; 6, 857; 6, 870) or the description of the shield of Aeneas (8, 626; 8, 635; 8, 714). When Aeneas in the earlier books mentions his goal or others than prophets name it in his presence it is usually described as Latium; cf. 1, 205–206; 1, 553–554; 4, 432; 5, 731; 6, 67–68; also the mention of the Tiber (3, 500; 5, 83), already foretold by the shade of Creusa (2, 782).

234. *arces*: Serv.: *honestior elocutio est si addamus quam rem invidemus, ut* (Ecl. 7, 58) *'Liber pampineas invidit collibus umbras.'* On *Romanas . . . arces* cf. *G. 2, 172: Romanis arcibus*; *Aen. 6, 774; 10, 12: Romanis arcibus*; *Ov. M. 15, 582: Latiae . . . arces.* The plural often means high points of land

(e.g., *G. 1, 240; 4, 461; Aen. 3, 291; 7, 696*), but here would suggest to a Roman reader the seven hills of Rome with the structures eventually erected upon them; cf. *G. 2, 172: Romanis arcibus*; 2, 535: *septemque una sibi muro circumdedit arces* (sc. *Roma*); *Aen. 6, 783; 10, 12.*

235. *quid struit*: cf. 4, 271: *quid struis, aut qua spe Libycis teris otia terris*; 12, 796: *quid struis, aut qua spe gelidis in nubibus haeres*; Vida, *Christias*, 2, 124: *quid struis aut quo te rapit tam dira cupido*? Radin (in *Cl. Journ.* 8 (1913), 308–309) explains this phrase, not in the sense of 'contrive,' 'prepare,' or 'do,' but as 'dally,' citing Fest. p. 313 M. (p. 408–410 L.): *at in XII* [sc. *tabulis*] *quod est 'si calvitur pedemve struit manum emendo iacilo,' alii putant significare retrorsus ire; alii in aliam partem; alii fu(ge)re; alii gradum augere; alii minuire; † ac vix pedem pedi praefert, otiose it, remoratur.* But Festus cites *pedem struere* (as Radin admits), whereas Virgil uses the word either intransitively or with *quid* as object. Further, in the similar phrase in 8, 15: *quid struat his coeptis*, and in Val. Fl. 3, 585–586: *luctu succensus acerbo / quid struat Alcides, tantaque quid adparet ira*, the emphasis is upon action rather than upon procrastination or resistance to action. Again, when Mercury finds Aeneas he is (4, 260) *fundantem arces*, and Mercury's words recognize his activity (4, 266–267): *fundamenta locas pulchramque uxorius urbem / exstruis.* We need not press too far, however, this meaning of *struere* in the phrase *quid struit*, which probably means, "what is he up to?"; cf. Terzaghi, *Virgilio ed Enea* (1928), 18, n. 17; also Donatus, *Aen. 4, 277: struere disponi atque tractari significare manifestum est.*

Mackail (ed. of *Aeneid*, 130) thinks this

## 236. nec prolem Ausoniam et Lavinia respicit arva?

la(uinia . . . arua) F. respicat P (respicit P<sup>2</sup>).

236. Lavinia arva: *Gl. Ansil.* 332, 525.

line would come more appropriately after 236 (which Ribbeck deleted), but the MSS do not support such a change.

235. *spe*: for the hiatus after this word cf. Kroll, *Stud. z. Verständnis d. röm. Lit.* (1924), 19, who cites Homeric and Latin parallels; Miller, in *Cl. Journ.* 25 (1930), 323, comparing 1, 16; 1, 405; 3, 74; 3, 606; 4, 667 (*femineo ululatu*); 5, 261. This is the only case in the *Aeneid* of a monosyllable in such a hiatus retaining its long quantity; cf. Norden, 2 ed. of Book VI (1916), 265. With the phrase cf. Ter. *Eun.* 1025: *qua spe aut quo consilio huc imus?*

235. *inimica*: Schol. Dan.: *praecipuat quasi praescius; nam nondum inimica est*. Virgil probably thinks of Jupiter as foreseeing Dido's rage when Aeneas might try to depart (cf. 4, 591-594; 4, 600-606), but his lines would also suggest to a Roman reader the conflicts of the Punic Wars, as foreshadowed in 4, 625-629. In Mercury's delivery of the message (4, 271) he tactfully substitutes for this phrase the words *Libycis leris otia terris*, making the reasons for departure rest upon the negligence of Aeneas rather than the risks he was running, while in his second embassy he stresses (4, 560-570) the dangers around him rather than his duty to Ascanius and his own future.

235. *moratur*: the sojourning of Romans in foreign lands, with the consequent loss of their moral stamina, is a frequent topic in the Augustan period; cf. Herrmann in *Aus Unterricht u. Forschung*, 1 (1929), 21, who cites Dio Cass. 42, 38; cf. also Hor. *C.* 3, 5, 5-12; *Epod.* 9, 11-16.

236. *prolem Ausoniam*: Serv.: *ut in sexto (756-757) 'nunc age Dardanium prolem quae deinde sequatur / gloria'*; cf. 10, 429: *Arcadiae proles*. Elsewhere a proper adjective with *proles* denotes chiefly parentage rather than race; e.g., 4, 258, and n. (*Cyllenia*

*proles*); 7, 691 (= 9, 523; 10, 353; 12, 128): *Neptunia proles*. The attempt to identify *prolem* with a particular descendant of Aeneas, such as Aeneas Silvius (6, 763-766) is unprofitable; the word refers rather to his race (cf. 4, 230; 4, 274-276; 6, 756-757). For conflicting traditions relating to Ascanius and Silvius cf. Cartault, *L'Art de Virgile dans l'Énéide*, 1 (1926), 348.

236. *Lavinia*: cf. 1, 2-3: *Laviniaque venit / litora*; 6, 84-85: *in regna Lavini / Dardanidae venient*; Prop. 2, 34, 64: *Lavinis . . . litoribus*; Luc. 9, 991: *Lavinia sedes*; Plin. *N. H.* 3, 64. The long *a* of the first syllable should be compared with Ov. *M.* 15, 728: *Lavini sedes*, but contrasted with the common usage of the noun *Lavinium* (e.g., *Aen.* 1, 258; 1, 270; 6, 84). For such adjectives, identical in form with the nouns from which they are formed, cf. 4, 58, n. (*patrique Lyaeo*); 4, 552: *cineri . . . Sychaeo*; Bell, *The Latin Dual* (1923), 215. As remarked on 4, 234 (*Romanas*), this adjective could as yet have had little meaning to Aeneas as suggesting his later kingdom, and when Mercury (4, 274-276) finds him engaged in the enterprises of Dido he tactfully suppresses the allusion with its implication of Aeneas's later marital relations. Jupiter, however, has here no such motives for concealment, and in his use of the present *respicit* almost implies that future events should be as obvious to Aeneas as to him; cf. Donat.: *ex persona Iovis bene processit, quoniam futura noverat et ventura bene habuit cognita*; Carcopino, *Virgile et les Origines d'Ostie* (1919), 300; Cartault, *l. c.*, who thinks this line a marginal one, not part of the original text, because not reproduced by Mercury in his delivery of the message.

236. *respicit*: cf. *Ecl.* 1, 27; 1, 29; *Aen.* 4, 225; 4, 275; 5, 689; 12, 43; and, for the cadence, *Cir.* 470: *Salaminia respicit arva*.

237. *naviget! haec summa est, hic nostri nuntius esto.*  
*Dixerat. ille patris magni parere parabat*

*h*(*ic . . . esto*) *F.*

(*parere parabat*) *F.*

237. *naviget . . . est: Serv. Aen. 4, 537 — hoc H —. 237. haec . . . est: Schol. Iuv. 3, 79. 237. hic . . . esto: Arus. Ex. Eloc. (G. L. K. 7, 495).*

238–246. *dixerat . . . nubila: Macrob. Sat. 5, 6, 11 — aequora iuxta (cf. 4, 255); tunc (pro tum); pallentes; ranat P (pro tranat) —. 238–239. ille . . . imperio: Schol. Dan. Aen. 1, 689; Cento Probae, 413–414. 238. patris magni: Gl. Ansil. 428, 825.*

237. *naviget*: the chief point in Jupiter's command, emphasized by its position in the line, yet entirely omitted by Mercury in 4, 265–276; cf. Cartault, *op. cit.*, 1, 349; Valentine in *Cl. Weekly*, 21 (1928), 107.

237. *haec, etc.*: with *haec summa . . . hic . . . nuntius* cf. 6, 129: *hoc opus, hic labor est*; 12, 572: *hoc caput, o cives, haec belli summa nefandi*.

237. *summa*: Serv.: *id est, mei praecepti collectio*.

237. *hic*: cf. Val. Fl. 2, 142: *utinam non hic tibi nuntius essem* (though *hic* may here be adverbial).

237. *nostri nuntius*: cf. 4, 654: *magna mei . . . imago*; 8, 514; 10, 72. Donatus remarks: *si omnia Iovis ipsius verba considerentur, nihil Hiabae contemplatione invenietur mandasse Mercurio nec ad illius aliquam culpam pertinere poterit qui Carthaginis finibus excludi praeceptus est*. Whether *nuntius* means 'messenger' or 'message', and, consequently, whether *esto* is in the second or the third person (of 9 Virgilian cases 7 (and possibly 8) are in the third person) is not clear. It has been asserted that Virgil does not use *nuntius* in the latter sense, yet 6, 456; 7, 437; 8, 582; 9, 692; and 11, 897 seem possible instances.

238. *dixerat. ille*: cf. 2, 152; 2, 705; 4, 331; 9, 743; 10, 547; Stat. Theb. 2, 655; Juvenc. 1, 751. *Dixerat* is thus used in nineteen other places in the *Aeneid*, including 4, 663; cf. 4, 30, n. (*sic effata*). Serv.: *non respondet quasi numen inferius sed dictis obtemperat*; and the Schol. Dan. compare 1, 689: *paret Amor dictis carae genetricis, etc.*;

cf. Cartault, *L'Art de Virgile dans l'Énéide*, 1 (1926), 314, who thinks it is not Virgil's custom in general to represent inferiors as replying to superiors.

That this passage imitates at several points *Il.* 24, 339–345 and *Od.* 5, 43–54 has been observed from as early as Macrob. *Sat.* 5, 6, 11–12, and individual points of likeness will be noted below. The present line corresponds to *Il.* 24, 339 (= *Od.* 5, 43): *ὥς ἔφαρ' οἷδ' ἀπίθησε διάκτορος ἀργεῖφόντης*. Stat. *Theb.* 1, 303–311 contains a further imitation of the passage; cf. its opening line: *paret Atlantiades dictis genitoris*. There should be compared the first mission of Mercury to Carthage (*Aen.* 1, 297–304), as well as Ov. *M.* 1, 671–674.

On the frequency and distribution of theophanies in the *Aeneid* cf. Heinze, *Virgils epische Technik*, 3 ed. (1915), 462, n. 5 (for those in Homer cf. Spiess in *Neue Jahrb. f. Wiss. u. Jugendbildung*, 5 (1929), 395–417). Jupiter and Juno are not made by Virgil to appear to human beings, though Venus, Apollo, Mercury, and various lesser deities are so seen. In the present passage Mercury acts in the rôle of an angel in Christian tradition; cf. Gardner, *Virgil in Italian Poetry* (1931), 9.

238. *patris . . . parere parabat*: note the alliteration, continued, in part, by *imperio . . . primum pedibus* in the next line.

239. *imperio*: cf. 5, 726: *imperio Iovis huc venio*; 5, 747: *Iovis imperium*.

239. *et*: = 'and so'; Ladewig compares 3, 62.

239. *talaria*: Serv.: *Mercurius ideo dicitur*

239. imperio; et primum pedibus talaria nectit  
aurea, quae sublimem alis sive aequora supra

imper *F* (imperio *F*<sup>1</sup>). primo (*corr. in primum*) *M*. ta(laria nectit) *F*.  
que *P* (quae *P*<sup>2</sup>). submon (*corr. in sublimem*) *c*. alii(*s*) *F* (ali(*s*) *F*<sup>1</sup>), alii *M* (alis *M*<sup>2</sup>), al. is *c*.  
(*sive . . . supra*) *F*. supra *P* (supra *P*<sup>1</sup>).

[238] 239-240. pedibus . . . aurea: *Mart. Cap.* 1, 9; *Lact. Plac. in Stat. Theb.* 1, 304.  
239. talaria nectit: *Schol. Dan. Aen.* 1, 300. 239. nectit: *Gl. Ansil.* 387, 155 (*cf.* 387, 153);  
*q.v.*

[238\*, 239] 240. aequora supra: *Gl. Ansil.* 37, 235.

*habere pennas quia citius ab omnibus planetis  
in ortum suum recurrit; unde et velox et  
errans inducitur*; *cf. the proverb in Hier.  
Ep.* 4, 1, 2: *pinnatis, ut aiunt, pedibus*; also  
*Il.* 24, 340-342 (= *Od.* 5, 44-46): *ἀντίκ' ἔπειθ' ὑπὸ ποσσὶν ἐδήσατο καλὰ πέδιλα / ἄμ-  
βρόσια χρύσεια, τὰ μιν φέρον ἡμὲν ἐφ' ὕγρην / ἥδ' ἐπ' ἀπείρονα γαίαν ἅμα πνοῆσ' ἀνέμοιο*;  
[*Orph.*] *Hymn.* 28, 4, which addresses Hermes  
as *πηγνοπέδιλε* (so in *Papyr. Gr. magicae*, 1,  
p. 194, 404; 2, p. 30, 67 Preisendanz); *Ov.  
M.* 1, 671-672: *alas pedibus virgamque ro-  
lenti / somniferam sumpsisse*; 2, 736: *ut  
tersis nileant talaria plantis*; *F.* 4, 605:  
*sumptis caducifer alis*; 5, 100: *alipedisque dei*;  
*Cornut. N. D.* 16: *πέδιλα δὲ φέρει πτερωτὰ  
καὶ δι' αἶρος φέρεται συμφώνως τῷ καθὼς εἴρη-  
ται τὰ ξηρὰ πτερόμεντα*; *Philo, Legat. ad Gaium*,  
94; *Stat. Theb.* 1, 303-304: *et inde / summa  
pedum propere plantaribus inligat alis*; *Min.  
Fel.* 22, 5: *pedibus Mercurius alatis*; *Sidon.  
Carm.* 7, 21; *Fulg. Myth.* 1, 18: *Mercurium  
. . . pennatis quoque talaribus praeditum . . .  
pennata vero talaria, quod negotiantum pedes  
ubique pergendo pennati sunt*; *Shakesp. King  
John*, Act 4, Sc. 2: "Be Mercury, set feathers  
to thy heels"; 1 *Hen. IV*, Act 4, Sc. 1: "like  
feather'd Mercury"; *Hen. V*, Act 2, prol.;  
*Rich. III*, Act 2, Sc. 1; *Keats, Endymion*, 4,  
331: "foot-feather'd Mercury."

Winged sandals, common artistic symbols  
of Mercury (Scherer in Roscher, *Ausf. Lex.*  
2 (1890), 2360; 2368; on their allegorical  
significance *cf. Mythogr. Vat.* I, 119; II, 41-  
42; III, 9, 5), are attributed also to Perseus  
(*Ov. M.* 4, 667; 4, 730; *Val. Fl.* 1, 67-68;  
*Apollod. Bibl.* 2, 4, 2; *Opp. Cyneg.* 2, 10), to  
whom Mercury gave them (*Hygin. Astron.* 2,

12), and to Minerva (*Cic. N. D.* 3, 59); for  
their aphrodisiac and apotropaic significance  
*cf. Eitrem, Hermes u. d. Töten* (1909), 44-45.  
Alexander the Great at times wore such and  
carried a *κηρύκειον* (*Athen.* 12, 53).

239. nectit: *cf. the account of a statue  
of Hermes (Anth. Pal.* 2, 297-302): *ἦν δὲ καὶ  
'Ερμείας χρυσόρραπις· ἱσταμένος δὲ / δεξιτερῇ  
πτερόμεντος ἀνείρου δεσμὰ πεδύλου, / εἰς δὸδὸν  
ἀτᾷ λελιμμένος· εἶχε γὰρ ἥδη / δεξιὸν ὀκλά-  
ζοντα θοδὸν πόδα, τῷ ἐπὶ λαίην / χεῖρα ταθείς  
ἀνέπεμπεν εἰς αἰθέρα κύκλον ὀπωπῆς, / οἷά τε  
πατὴρ ἀνακτος ἐπιτρωπῶντος ἀκούων*.

240. aurea: on the 'run-over' adjective  
*cf.* 4, 26, n. (*pallentis*). Golden sandals are  
associated also with Hera (*Od.* 11, 604; *Hes.  
Theog.* 454), Apollo (*Callim. Hymn.* 2, 34),  
Athena (*Od.* 1, 96), and Eos (*Sappho*, 18  
Bergk). Virgil's account of golden winged  
sandals is derived from the Homeric passages  
cited above, and suggests, it must be ad-  
mitted, rather the wealth and dignity of the  
gods than the speed and lightness of a swift  
messenger. *Cf. Tasso, Ger. lib.* 1, 14, 1-4:  
*ali bianche vesti . . . / fende i venti e le  
nubi, e va sublime / sovra la terra e sovra il mar  
con queste*; *Shelley, Prom. unbound*, Act 1,  
"trampling the slant winds on high / with  
golden-sandalled feet." Mercury's *virga* is  
also often described as of gold (*cf. his epithet  
χρυσόρραπις*): *Od.* 5, 87; 10, 277; 10, 331;  
*Hymn. Herm.* 529-530; 539; *Hymn.  
Aphrod.* 117; *Schol. Il.* 15, 256 (*Alc. fr.* 4  
Edmonds); *Pind. Pyth.* 4, 178 (316); *Apol-  
lod. Bibl.* 3, 10, 2; *Ov. Ep.* 15 (16), 64;  
*Cornut. N. D.* 16; *Plut. fr.* 146 (p. 176  
Bernardakis).

240. sublimem: *cf.* 1, 257; 5, 255; 11,

241. seu terram rapido pariter cum flamine portant.  
tum virgam capit; hac animas ille evocat Orco

(*cum . . . portant*) *F.* flammine γα<sup>1</sup>. portant *M* (portant *M*<sup>2</sup>).  
haec *P*γ<sup>1</sup>. anim(as . . . orco) *F.* uocat (*corr. in* euocat) *a.*

[238] 241. rapido . . . portant: *Serv. Aen.* 4, 223; *Schol. Dan. Aen.* 4, 245 — *om. T* —.  
241. rapido . . . flamine: *Gl. Ansil.* 484, 147.

[238\*] 242–243. tum . . . mittit: [*Acro*] in *Hor. C.* 1, 10, 17–18 (*ed. Haulthal*) — euorat (*perperam impressum?*) —. 242–243. tum . . . pallentis: [*Acro*] in *Hor. C.* 1, 24, 16 — reuocat *A*; pallentes —. 242–243. hac . . . mittit: *Serv. Aen.* 6, 264 — uocat *H*; pallentes; alios *R* —; 6, 749 — hac *om. ASRM*; ille *om. M*; uocat *HMF*; pallentes; tristitia *FC* —. 242–243. hac . . . pallentis: *Lact. Plac. in Stat. Theb.* 2, 11 — uocat *P*; pallentes —. 242. tum . . . capit: *Lact. Plac. in Stat. Theb.* 1, 306. 242. virgam capit: *Schol. Dan. Aen.* 1, 300; *Gl. Ansil.* 590, 292.

722; *Cir.* 487: *aeriis potius sublimem sustulit alis*; *Stat. Theb.* 1, 310–311: *nec mora, sublimis raptim per inane volatus / carpit*.

240. *alis*: to be taken closely with *sublimem*; cf. 11, 722: *pennis sublimem*.

240. *aequora supra*: cf. 4, 255: *volat aequora iuxta*.

241. *rapido, etc.*: it is natural that Mercury, as a wind-god (cf. 4, 223, n. (*zephyros*), above), should have ascribed to him the speed of wind; cf. Roscher in *Ausf. Lex.* 2 (1890), 2368; and with the present line cf. *Il.* 24, 342 (= *Od.* 1, 98; 5, 46): ἡδ' ἐπ' ἀπὲρ ὀνα γαίαν ἄμα πνοῆσ' ἀνέμοιο. While the literal meaning in both cases is 'with the wind,' or 'on the wind,' the implication is that the speed is that of the wind itself; cf. *Stat. Theb.* 1, 292–293: *impiger alis / portantes praecede notos, Cyllenia proles*; 2, 89–90; 7, 35–38; *Prud. Contra Symm.* 1, 100–101: *simulans per nubila ferri / aligerisque leves pedibus transcurrere ventos*.

242. *virgam*: cf. *Il.* 24, 344–345 (= *Od.* 5, 47–48): εἰλετο δὲ ῥάβδον, τῇ τ' ἀνδρῶν δμματα θέλγει / ὧν θέλει, τοὺς δ' αὐτὲ καὶ ὑπνώοντας ἐγείρει; *Stat. Theb.* 1, 306–308: *tum dextrae virgam inseruit, qua pellere dulces / aul suadere iterum somnos, qua nigra subire / Tartara et exanguis animare adsueverat umbras*; Spenser, *Mother Hubbard's Tale*, 1291–1298.

The *caduceus* of Hermes belongs in a large category of sticks with some symbolic significance or magical power, including the thyrsus, spear, sceptre, crosier, shepherd's crook,

mace, magic wand, judges' staff, dowsers' stick, and blooming rod; cf. Pease on *Cic. De Div.* 1, 30; to which add McCartney in *Cl. Journ.* 21 (1925), 116; De Waele, *The Magic Staff or Rod in Graeco-Italian Antiquity* (1927). On its form, as seen in many works of art, cf. Preller, *Ausgew. Aufsätze* (1864), 147–154; Drexler in Roscher, *Ausf. Lex.* 2 (1890), 2365; Hoffmann, *Hermes u. Kerykeion* (1890), 47; Eitrem in *P.-W.* 8 (1913), 760; Boetzkies in *P.-W.* 11 (1922), 330–342 (an important article, with bibliography on p. 342); Pfister in *P.-W.* 11 (1922), 2129; Riess in *Am. Journ. of Philol.* 46 (1925), 233; Scott in *Hermes*, 63 (1928), 32, who notes the frequency of this symbol in the Augustan period; De Waele in *P.-W.* 2 ser. 3 (1929), 1894–1923 (especially 1914–1920, and bibliography on p. 1923). As observed by van Wageningen (in *Mnemosyne*, 32 (1904), 43, n. 2), the *caduceus* and *virga* are occasionally differentiated.

242. *hac*: a parenthesis extends from here through *resignat* in line 244, the story being resumed by *illa* in 245.

242. *animas*: *Serv.*: *pro 'umbras,' secundum poeticum morem*.

242. *evocat*: cf. 6, 748–749: *has omnis . . . / Lethaeum ad fluvium deus evocat agmine magno* (where Servius thinks the *deus* is Mercury). Hermes here appears as a ψυχοπομπός (*Diod.* 1, 96, 7; Cornut. *N. D.* 16; Eitrem in *P.-W.* 8 (1913), 757; van Wageningen in *Mnemosyne*, 32 (1904), 43–48; Fairbanks, *Athenian Lekythoi* (1907), 307, and works

## 243. pallentis, alias sub Tartara tristia mittit,

pallentes *Fc.* (*tristia mittit*) *F.* ducit *P* (mittit *P<sup>2</sup>*).

[238\*, 242\*]

there cited), with the double function of bringing up souls of the dead (perhaps for necromancy) and escorting others to the nether world. The two-fold task appears in Stat. *Theb.* 1, 307-308 (quoted above); Lucian, *Dial. Deorum*, 7, 4: ῥάβδον τινα ποιοῖται θανουσῶν τὴν δῶναι, ἢ ψυχαγωγεῖ καὶ κατὰγει τοὺς νεκροὺς; Petron. 140, 12: *Mercurius enim, qui animas ducere et reducere solet*; Prud. *Cont. Symm.* 1, 90-94: *traditur extinctas sumptae moderamine virgae / in lucem revocasse animas, Cocytia leti / iura resignasse, sursum revolantibus umbris. / ast alias damnasse neci, penitusque latenti / immersisse chaos*; Vida, *Scaccia*, 640-641: *felicem virgam, qua puras evocat umbras / pallenti Styge*.

The former of these two functions is especially noted in Aesch. *Pers.* 628-630: ἀλλὰ, χθόνιοι δαίμονες ἄγνοί, / Γῆ τε καὶ Ἑρμῇ, βασιλεῦ τ' ἐνέρων, / πέμψατ' ἔνερθεν ψυχὴν ἐς φῶς; cf. the story of Laodamia's return from her visit to the shade of Protesilaus (Hygin. *Fab.* 103).

242. *Orco*: used both for the nether world (e.g., *G.* 4, 502; *Aen.* 2, 398; 6, 273; 8, 296; 9, 527; 9, 785; *Hor. C.* 1, 28, 10; 3, 4, 75; 3, 11, 29; perhaps 4, 2, 24; yet cf. *Cl. Rev.* 1 (1887), 258) and for the god of death (*G.* 1, 277; perhaps *Aen.* 4, 699, though this may be local; *Hor. C.* 2, 3, 24; 2, 18, 30; 2, 18, 34; 3, 27, 50), but with much of the indefiniteness which Roman ideas of the underworld show; cf. Cartault, *L'Art de Virgile dans l'Énéide*, 1 (1926), 501. The construction may be an ablative of separation (cf. Speijer, *Lanx satyra* (1886), 13) or perhaps a dative (cf. *Cl. Rev.*, l. c.).

243. *pallentis*: cf. 4, 26, and n. (*pallentis*).

243. *alias*: how the same rod had such contradictory powers is explained by the First Vatican Mythographer (119): *pater vero tradidit ei virgam caduceam; qua si quem ex grossiori parte a capite tangeret moreretur;*

*quem vero a subtili viveret*. The Third Mythographer (9, 3) rationalizes: *ea etiam somnum dat et adimit quia sermo ingeniosus lites alias, ut diximus, sopit, alias etiam nonnumquam excitat. vitam quoque largitur et aufert, quod idem rhetorum sermo in causis hunc liberat, hunc condemnat*.

243. *Tartara*: Virgil uses the form *Tartarus* only in 6, 577; elsewhere *Tartara*, the distinction being apparently merely one of metrical convenience, as with *Ismarus* and *Ismara*; cf. Koczyński, *De Flexura Gr. Nom. propr. apud Lucil. Varr. Lucr. Verg.* (1892), 20; Van Bleek, *Quae de Hominum post Mortem Condicione doceant Carm. sepulchr. Lal.* (1907), 69, and n. 1; also Braumüller, *Über Tropen u. Figuren in Vergils Aeneis*, 2 (1882), 17. With the phrase cf. *manis . . . sub imos* (4, 387; 11, 181); *Il.* 14, 278-279: θεοὺς δ' ὀνόμηνεν ἅπαντας / τοὺς ὑποταρταρίους, οἱ Τιτῆνες καλεῖνται; *Papyr. Gr. magicae*, 1, p. 194, 404-411 Preisendanz: αἰθέριον δρόμον εἰλλίσσων ὑπὸ τάρταρα γαίης . . . λαμπάσι τέρπων τοὺς ὑπὸ τάρταρα γαίης τε βροτοὺς βίον ἐκτελέσαντας, κτλ. (cf. 2, p. 30, 671-672); the place is commonly pictured as one for those undergoing punishment; cf. Waser in Roscher, *Ausf. Lex.* 5 (1916), 121-128; Scherling in *P.-W.* 2 ser., 4 (1932), 2440-2445. With the phrase cf. 8, 563: *sub Tartara misi* (= 11, 397; cf. 12, 14). Note the alliteration, *Tartara tristia*.

243. *mittit*: cf. *Od.* 24, 1-5: *Hymn. Herm.* 572-573: οἶον δ' εἰς Ἀἴδην τετελεσμένον ἄγγελον εἶναι, / ὅς τ' ἄδοτός περ ἔων δώσει γέρας οἷκ ἐλάχιστον; Aesch. *Cho.* 1: Ἑρμῇ χθόνιε (so 124 a); *Eum.* 91; *Soph. El.* 1395-1397; *Ai.* 831-832: καλῶ θ' ἅμα / πομπαῖον Ἑρμῇ χθόνιον εὐ με κοιμήσαι; *O. C.* 1547-1548: τῇδε γὰρ μ' ἄγει / Ἑρμῆς ὁ πομπὸς ἣ τε νερτέρα θεός; *Eur. Alc.* 743-744: πρόφρων σε χθόνιός θ' Ἑρμῆς / Ἀΐδης τε δέχεται; *Ar. Pax*, 648-649; [*Orph.*] *Hymn.* 57, 2-3: ὅς ψυχὰς θνητῶν κατὰγει ὑπὸ νερτέρα γαίης, / Ἑρμῇ; 57, 6-9: αἰνομόρους ψυχὰς πομπὸς κατὰ

## 244. dat somnos adimitque et lumina morte resignat.

et add. sup. F<sup>1</sup>. limina (corr. in lumina) γ, lumin(a . . . resignat) F. . morte a.

[238] 244. dat . . . adimitque: *Macrob. Somn. Scip.* 2, 3, 9. 244. et . . . resignat: *Prisc. Partil.* 161 (G. L. K. 3, 497). 244. morte resignat: *Gl. Ansil.* 377, 464. 244. resignat: *Gl. Ansil.* 495, 1507; q.v.

γαῖαν ὑπάρχων, / ἄς κατάγεις, ὅπῳτ' ἂν μοίρης  
χρόνος εἰσαφίκηται, / εὐιέρῳ ῥάβδῳ θέλων  
ὑπνοδῶτιδι πάντα, / καὶ πάλιν ὑπνώοντας  
ἐγείρεις; *Hor. C.* 1, 10, 17-19: *tu pias laetis*  
*animas reponis / sedibus virgaque levem co-*  
*erces / aurea turbam*; 1, 24, 15-18: *num*  
*vanae redeat sanguis imagini, / quam virga*  
*semel horrida, / non lenis precibus fata reclu-*  
*dere, / nigro compulerit Mercurius gregi*; *Val.*  
*Max.* 2, 6, 8: *defusus Mercurio delibamentis et*  
*invocato numine eius ut se placido itinere in*  
*meliozem sedis infernae deduceret partem*; *Cornut. N. D.* 16: *ψυχοπομπὸν δὲ τὸν Ἑρμῆν*  
*ἐμῖθενσαν εἶναι συμβάλλοντες, ὅπερ ἴδιον*  
*αὐτοῦ ἐστι, τὸ ψυχαγωγεῖν* διὰ τοῦτο γοῦν καὶ  
*ῥάβδον αὐτῷ ἐγχειρίζουσι*, κτλ.; *Diog. L.* 8, 31:  
τὸν δ' Ἑρμῆν ταμίαν εἶναι τῶν ψυχῶν καὶ διὰ  
τοῦτο πομπαῖον λέγεσθαι καὶ πυλαῖον καὶ χθό-  
νιον, ἐπειδὴ περ οὗτος εἰσπέμπει ἀπὸ τῶν σωμά-  
των τὰς ψυχὰς ἀπὸ τε γῆς καὶ ἐκ θαλάττης καὶ  
ἄγεσθαι τὰς μὲν καθαρὰς ἐπὶ τὸν ὕψιστον, τὰς  
δ' ἀκαθάρτους μῆτ' ἐκείναις πελάζειν μῆτ'  
ἀλλήληαις, δεῖσθαι δ' ἐν ἀρρηκτοῖς δεσμοῖς ὑπ'  
Ἑρινύων; *Paus.* 8, 32, 4: τῷ δὲ Ἑρμῇ . . .  
πρόσεστιν ἐξ ἐπῶν τῶν Ὀμήρου φήμη . . . Διὸς  
τε αὐτὸν διάκονον εἶναι καὶ ὑπὸ τὸν Ἀἰδὸν ἄγειν  
τῶν ἀπογινομένων τὰς ψυχὰς; *Anth. Pal.* 11,  
124, 5-6: *κηρύκιον γὰρ ἔχων ξύλινον, καὶ πλα-*  
*στὰ πέδιλα, / ὥς Ἑρμῆς, κατάγει τοὺς θερα-*  
*πεινομένους*; *Auson. Perioch. Od.* 24 (p. 405  
Peiper): *Tartaream vocat in sedem Cyllenius*  
*umbras*; *Roscher in Ausführ. Lex.* 2 (1890),  
2373-2375; *Eitrem in P.-W.* 8 (1913), 789-  
790; also *Spenser, Mother Hubbard's Tale*,  
1291-1298.

Sparrow (in *Journ. of Roman Stud.* 21  
(1931), 166) thinks *mittit* a wrong reading,  
accepted on the authority of a majority of  
MSS and through the influence of 6, 543:  
*ad impia Tartara mittit*; 12, 14: *sub Tartara*  
*mittam*. Yet Virgil is perhaps in the verb  
*mittere* here recalling *πέμπειν* in the title of  
Hermes *ψυχοπομπός*, which, though less fre-

quent than *ψυχαγωγός*, is nevertheless well  
attested; cf. also Steiner, *Das Bedeutungsleh-*  
*wort in Vergils Äneis* (1921), 54-55.

244. somnos: cf. *Il.* 24, 343-344 (= *Od.*  
5, 47-48 (quoted above); cf. 24, 2-4); *Il.* 24,  
445: τοῖσι δ' ἔφ' ὕπνον ἔχευε διάκτορος ἀργεῖ-  
φόντης; *Od.* 7, 137-138: σπένδοντας δεπᾶσσειν  
εὐσκόπῳ ἀργεῖφόντῃ, / ᾧ πυμάτῳ σπένδεσκον,  
δτε μνησαίατο κοῖτου (cf. *Longus*, 4, 34; *Poll.*  
6, 100); *Ov. M.* 1, 671-672: *virgamque*  
*potenti / somniferam sumpsisse manu*; 1, 715-  
716: *firmatque soporem / languida permulcens*  
*medicata lumina virga*; 2, 735-736: *ut leres in*  
*dextra, qua somnos ducit et arcel, virga sit*;  
*Cornut. N. D.* 16 (on his sending dreams;  
cf. *C. I. L.* VI, 520, quoted in 4, 356, n.  
(*interpres divom*) below); *Stat. Theb.* 1, 306-  
308: *tum dextrae virgam inseruit, qua pellere*  
*dulces / aut suadere iterum somnos qua nigra*  
*subire / Tartara et exsangues animare adsue-*  
*verat umbras*; *Heliod.* 3, 5: τὸν Ἑρμῆν ἐπὶ  
πᾶσιν ἐπικαλούμενος, εὐναιρὸν τ' ἦται τὴν  
νύκτα καὶ φανῆναι αὐτῷ τοὺς φιλάτους κατὰ  
γοῦν τὸν ὕπνον ἰκέρει; *Eitrem in P.-W.* 8  
(1913), 788-789. The connection by analogy  
between a god of sleep and one who brings  
death is obvious.

244. adimit: used with *somnum* or *somnos*  
in *Cic. Ad Att.* 2, 16, 1; *Hor. C.* 1, 25, 3;  
*Prop.* 3, 10, 25; *Plin. N. H.* 35, 121; *Vida*,  
*Scacchia*, 643-644: *detque adimatque oculis*  
*somnos et funere in ipso / lumina Lethaeo*  
*claudat perfusa sopore*. For the phrase cf.  
*Hor. S.* 2, 3, 288: *Iuppiter ingentis qui das*  
*adimisque dolores*.

244. resignat: *Serv.*: *claudit, perturbat.*  
*est et aliud quod physici dicunt, pupillas, quas*  
*in oculis videmus, morituros ante triduum non*  
*habere; quibus non visis est summa desperatio.*  
*hoc ergo dicit 'resignat,' hoc est, aufert signa*  
*luminibus*; the *Schol. Dan.* add: *id est,*  
*signorum quibus quaeque noscuntur intellectum*  
*tolli. Cicero 'resignari' pro 'auferrī' ait in pro*

*Archia* (9) . . . *alii tradunt 'resignare' vetuste ita dictum ut nos 'adsignare' dicimus pro damno, ut est apud Catonem in Lucium Furium, etc.* But these explanations seem unlikely, and the phrase has been the subject of much discussion; cf. (in addition to the various commentators *ad loc.*) Hoegg, *De diffic. quibusdam Virgilii Locis* (1833), 7-10; Henry, *Aeneidea*, 2 (1873), 663-671; Schroeter, *Beiträge z. Krit. u. Erklär. von Vergils Aeneis*, 2 (1875), 14-16; Pöhlig, *Beiträge z. Erklär. von Vergils Aeneide*, 2 (1880), 13-16; Placek, *Re in den Compositis in Vergils Aeneis* (1882), 34; van Wageningen in *Mnemosyne*, 32 (1904), 43-48; Eitrem, *Hermes u. die Tolen* (1909), 49; Bell, *The Latin Dual* (1923), 334-335; and, for the meaning of *re-*, Fehrle in *Wiener Stud.* 49 (1932), 102-107 (and works there cited).

Discussion hinges upon whether *resignat* means 'unseal' or something else, and the two obvious ways of approach are by inquiring (a) what *resignare* elsewhere means and (b) what ancient customs were in regard to the eyes of the dead. Virgil does not elsewhere use *resignare*. In other authors several legal instances (= 'assign' or 'transfer') seem hardly in point, despite the attempt of the Scholia Danielis to connect them with this case. Other instances fall under the meanings of 'unseal,' either literally, as of letters and documents (Hor. *Ep.* 1, 7, 9), or figuratively, in the senses of 'destroy' (cf. Servius's third suggestion; Hier. *Comm. in Ez.* 9, p. 331 Vall.; etc.), 'cancel,' or 'reveal' (Ov. *F.* 6, 535; Pers. 5, 28). I find no good parallel to Servius's explanation (followed by Jahn and others) of *resignare* = *claudere*; that idea is rather expressed by *signare*, as in Stat. *Theb.* 3, 129: *hae pressant in tabe comas, hae lumina signant*.

Illustrating customs at death in regard to the eyes of the dead man may be cited *Od.* 11, 424-426, where the shade of Agamemnon says of Clytemnestra: ἡ δὲ κυνῶπις / νοσφίσσας οὐδέ μοι ἔτλη ἰόντι περ εἰς Ἀΐδαο / χερσὶ κατ' ὀφθαλμούς ἐλέεν σὺν τε στόμ' ἐρεῖσαι; 24, 294-295: οὐδ' ἄλοχος . . Πηνελόπεια / κῶκυς ἐν λεχέεσσιν ἔδν πόσιν, ὡς ἐπεόκει, / ὀφθαλμούς καθελούσα· τὸ γὰρ γέρας ἐστὶ θανόντων; Plat. *Phaed.* p. 118: ὀλίγον χρόνον διαλειπὼν ἐκινήθη τε καὶ ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἐξεκάλυψεν

αὐτόν, καὶ ὅς τὰ ὄμματα ἔστησεν ἰδὼν δὲ ὁ Κρίτων συνέλαβε τὸ στόμα καὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς; *Aen.* 9, 486-487: *nec te tua funera mater / produxi pressive oculos aut volnera lavi*; Ov. *Tr.* 3, 3, 43-44: *nec mandata dabo, nec cum clamore supremo / labentes oculos condet amica manus* (cf. *Aen.* 11, 818-819: *labuntur frigida leto / lumina*); 4, 3, 43-44: *supremoque die notum spectantia caelum / texissent digiti lumina nostra tui*; Plin. *N. H.* 11, 150: *morientibus illos (i.e., oculos) operire rursusque in rogo patefacere Quiritium magno ritu sacrorum est, illa more condito ut neque ab homine supremum eos spectari fas sit, et caelo non ostendi nefas* (cf. Caland in *Museum*, 10 (1902), 37); Samter, *Volkskunde im altsprachlichen Unterricht*, 1 (1923), 111-115.

Most editors have been troubled because, after Mercury has been said to lead souls from or to Orcus and then has been described as the god who brings or ends sleep, Virgil, in the word *morte*, seems to return to the notion of his escorting the dead (for other cases — e.g., 4, 173-189 — in which the poet returns to the idea with which a discussion has begun cf. Kvíčala, *Neue Beitr. z. Erkl. d. Aeneis* (1881), 94). Henry would avoid this by explaining *morte* as figuratively used for *somno*, but while sleep and death are often compared and poets speak of the sleep of death (cf. Ogle in *Mem. Am. Acad. in Rome*, 11 (1933), 81-117), the reverse figure, of the death of sleep, furnishes only unsatisfactory parallels (such as the use of *somno sepultus*, etc.). Nor is the interpretation of Gossrau et al. that *morte resignat* = *resignat* (i.e., *liberat*) a *morte* proved by the comparison of 4, 375 and 5, 476, for we lack evidence that *resignare* = *reducere* or *revocare*. Pöhlig's view of *resignare* as = λύνειν = *solvere* = 'relax' disregards too much its literal uses and its relation to *signare* (cf. Stat. *Theb.* 3, 129, quoted above).

A more probable explanation seems this. Relatives close the eyes of the dead; at some moment, however, perhaps on the pyre (according to Pliny, quoted above), the eyes are opened again by a friend or are thought of as opened by Mercury. In the underworld the shades (whose form corresponds to that of their earthly bodies) have the use of their eyes (e.g., 6, 469), and doubtless on the



245. illa fretus agit ventos et turbida tranat  
nubila. iamque volans apicem et latera ardua cernit

*Versum 245 ima p. add. F<sup>1</sup>, inter lineas add. cod. a. turbina P (turbida P<sup>2</sup>). t(ranat) F. nam a<sup>1</sup>b<sup>1</sup>. uolens p. apice(m . . . cernit) F.*

[238\*] 245. agit ventos: *Donat. in Ter. Ad. 319.* 245. tranat: *Gl. Ansil. 568, 101; q.v.*  
[238]

journey to Hades they needed to use them (for their physical activities on the way no examples need be cited); cf. van Wageningen, *l.c.* This explanation admits the somewhat awkward tautology by which the phrase becomes almost a doublet of *alias sub Tartara tristia mittit* (though in the unfinished condition of the poem this is not serious enough to disturb us), and it is consistent, I think, both with the other uses of *resignare* and with the customs obtaining at death, as shown in the passages cited. Prudentius seems to imitate our lines: *Adv. Symm. 1, 90-92: traditit extinctae sumplae moderamine virgae / in lucem revocasse animas, Cocytia leti / iura resignasse sursum revolantibus umbris.*

245. illa: Mackail (*ad loc.*) notes the awkwardness of this word, as though referring to something different from *hac* in line 242; and points out other signs in lines 245-258 of early or unfinished work; see notes below.

245. fretus: cf. 6, 120: *fretus cithara fidibusque canoris*; and the Homeric use of *πεποιδώς*.

245. agit ventos: Schol. Dan.: *non vocat aut transit, nam sequitur 'et turbida tranat.' an ergo ducit atque moderatur, ut (G. 4, 510) 'mulcentem tigris et agentem'; unde et paedagogos dicimus? an excludit ac pellit . . . an insequitur . . . an ante se agit, ne reflectant, ut equos agit, quia illis defertur? nam dixit 'rapido pariter cum flamine portant.' an 'agit' in actu est?* In 10, 634 we find Juno *agens hiemem*. La Cerda (*ad loc.*) and Henry (*Aeneidea*, 2 (1878), 671-675) well compare Mercury to a rider, the clouds to his steed, and the *virga* to his directing whip. For other cases of this verb (or a compound) used with winds or clouds borne by the wind cf. *Ov. M. 7, 207: ventos abigoque vocoque*; *Sil. 3, 489-490: illa undique nubes / huc atras agit et mixtos cum grandine nimbos.*

245. turbida . . . nubila: cf. *turbidus imber* (5, 696; 12, 685); contrast 7, 699: *liquida . . . nubila*; and cf. the use of *nubila* in 4, 177, above.

245. tranat: Serv.: *transvolat*; cf. 10, 265: *grues . . . aethera tranant*; *Enn. Ann. 21: transnavit cita per teneras caliginis auras*; *Lucr. 4, 177-178: quae mobilitas ollis (i.e., simulacris) tranantibus auras / reddita sit*; *Mart. Cap. 2, 126, 15-16: cum superna tranat / freta*; *Ennod. Carm. 1, 4, 97: ille (i.e., Cupido) volat celeri tranans per nubila vento*. The alliteration should be noted.

246. apicem: Serv.: *bene ei quae sunt hominis dat, nam rex fuit. qui cum audisset oraculo cavendum esse a Iovis filio et timore nullum susciperet, a Perseo in montem conversus est viso Gorgonis capite, eo quod illum noluit suscipere*; on this transformation cf. *Stoll in Roscher, Ausf. Lex. 1 (1884), 707*; *Wernicke in P.-W. 2 (1896), 2124-2125*; and for this use of *apex* for a mountain summit cf. *Ov. M. 13, 910*; *F. 1, 308: Peliacus sidera tangat apex*; *Juv. 12, 72*; *Solin. 24, 12 (of Atlas): apex Perseo et Herculi pervius, ceteris inaccessus*.

246. latera: Lünzner, *Ueber Personificationen in Vergils Gedichten* (1876), 14-15, discusses Virgil's personifications of mountains; in the present case various features should be noted: *latera* (246), *vertice* (247), *caput* (249), *umeros* (250), *mento* (250), *senis* (251), and *barba* (251), most of them paralleled in other ancient and modern metaphors concerned with mountains (*Cartault, L'Art de Virgile dans l'Énéide*, 1 (1926), 315). Cf. *Ov. M. 4, 657-660* (describing the transformation of Atlas): *quantus erat mons factus Atlas, nam barba comaeque / in silvas abeunt, iuga sunt umerique manusque; / quod caput ante fuit summo est in monte cacumen; / ossa lapis fiunt*; also *Val. Fl. 5, 411-413*; *Sil. 1, 201-*

## 247. Atlantis duri, caelum qui vertice fulcit,

adlantis γ, athlantis c. ue(rtice fulcit) F. fulgit M (fulcit M<sup>1</sup>), fucit (corr. in fulcit) a.

247. caelum . . . fulcit: Non. p. 263 M. (p. 402 L.).

210. The whole subject of these metaphors is elaborated by Donatus in a long note. Terzaghi, *Virgilo ed Enea* (1928), 137, condemns the passage for baroque style, but Cartault (*l.c.*) finds the total impression grand and picturesque. Donatus further remarks: *Mercurius igitur ad partis Carthagini tendens hic primum constitit, nec mirum; non debuit enim praeterire montem qui avi sui nomine consecratus esset et qui ex occasione urgentis transitus necessarius fuerat et oportunus*, from which Georgii, *Die antike Aneiskritik im Komm. d. Tib. Cl. Donatus* (1893), 19, infers that the following description had been censured by critics as an inapposite intrusion at this point. On Virgil's interest in mountains cf. 4, 147, n. (*iugis Cynthi*). With the verse-ending cf. Cyp. *Hept. Exod.* 749: (*montis*) *latera ardua fumant*.

246. *ardua*: cf. Stat. *Theb.* 1, 98-99: *arduus Atlans / horruit*.

247. *Atlantis*: which summit of the great mountain system known as the Atlas Virgil here has in mind is uncertain; the group extends for 1500 miles through northwestern Africa, rising to about 15,000 feet above the sea at its highest point, *Tizi n' Tagharat* or *Tinzár*, south of Morocco. The natives, according to Strab. 17, 3, called it *Δόρις* (it is unlikely that *duri* here is a pun upon this) or *Addiris* (Plin. *N. H.* 5, 13, where the MSS vary greatly, some reading *Dyrin*; Solin. 24, 15; Mart. Cap. 6, 667), which has been connected with the Berber term *Adrar n' Deren* for parts of the high Atlas. On the history and the Roman knowledge of the range cf. Ruge in *P.-W.* 2 (1896), 2118-2119; much additional information may be found in Bérard, *Les Phéniciens et l'Odyssée*, 1 (1902), 240-263.

Paus. 1, 33, 6, remarks: *ὁ δὲ Ἀτλας ὑψηλὸν μὲν ἔστιν, οὕτως ὥστε καὶ λέγεται ταῖς κορυφαῖς ψάδων τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, ἄβατον δὲ ἀπὸ ὕδατος καὶ δένδρων ἃ διὰ παντὸς πέφυκε*, and hence arose the common tradition that the

mountain, or a person transformed into a mountain or a pillar — *κλών* (cf. Meltzer, *Gesch. der Karthager*, 1 (1879), 453; Stoll in Roscher, *Ausf. Lex.* 1 (1884), 707; Wernicke in *P.-W.* 2 (1896), 2124) —, or even a person himself, bore, upon his head and hands, his shoulders, or his back, the weight of the heavens; Stoll. *op. cit.*, 705; Wernicke, *op. cit.*, 2122-2124; to the references cited by the latter add: Aesch. *Frag.* 312 Sidgwick; Eur. *Herc.* 403-407; Hdt. 4, 184; Apollod. *Bibl.* 2, 5, 11; Cic. *Pro Sest.* 19; Philodem. *De Piet.* 37 Gomperz; *Aen.* 8, 137-141; Vitruv. 6, 7, 6; Ov. *F.* 5, 83: *caelifero Atlante*; Germ. *Arat.* 264-265; Mela, 3, 101: *caelum et sidera non tangere modo vertice sed sustinere quoque dictus est*; Sen. *H. O.* 12; 1907-1908 (cf. *Dial.* 2, 2); Cornut. *N. D.* 26; Stat. *Theb.* 5, 430; *Silv.* 1, 1, 160; 4, 2, 19-20; *Sil.* 1, 201-210; 15, 142; Arnob. 2, 69; Avien. 2, 574-575; *Append. Planud.* 303, 5; Auson. *Ep.* 31, 228 (p. 302 Peiper); Sidon. *Carm.* 7, 3-5; Nonn. 2, 260-265; Procl. *In Tim.* 1, p. 53 (*Frag. Philos. Gr.* 1, 182); Priscian, *Carm.* 2, 74 (*Poet. Lat. min.* 5, 277); in Greek the idea was proverbial in the form Ἀτλας τὸν οὐρανὸν (*Paroem. Gr.* 1, 207, no. 67; 2, 149, no. 57; 2, 315, no. 23; Arsen. *Violet.* p. 83 Walz); for a photograph of the peak known as the Mont aux Singes apparently supporting a bank of clouds cf. Bérard, *op. cit.*, 1, 244, fig. 34. Virgil himself alludes to this story in 6, 796-797 (cf. 4, 481-482): *ubi caelifer Atlas / axem umero torquet stellis ardentibus aptum*; 8, 136-137: *Electram maximus Atlas / edidit, aetherios umero qui sustinet orbes*; 8, 141: *Atlas . . . caeli qui sidera tollit*. For other parallels cf. Frazer on Ov. *F.* 5, 169; Weiser in Hoffmann-Krayer, *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens*, 1 (1927), 1054-1055; and for the pedigree of Atlas Schol. Dan.: *Aetheris et Dei filius, cui poenae gratia caelum inpositum dicitur, quod ut quidam volunt, cum Titanibus steterit*; Stoll and Wernicke, *opp. cit.*

## 248. Atlantis, cinctum adsidue cui nubibus atris

adlantis γ, athlantis c. cinctum et γ, cinctum *disting.* Donat. assidue ac. cu(i . . . atris) F.

248-251. Atlantis . . . barba: Beda, *De Schem. et Trop. S. Script.* (1533 ed.), p. 80 — Athlantis; assidue cum; pinniferumque caput uento quassatur; humeros —. 248-249. Atlantis . . . imbri: Pomp. Comm. (G. L. K. 5, 305) — pinniferum BCSP; uentus quassauit P; uento quassatur cell. —. 248-249. Atlantis . . . caput: Donat. *Ars gram.* 3, 6 (G. L. K. 4, 399) — assidue; pinniferum (*corr. in piniferum*) S; caput uento quassatur et imbri P, caput et cetera L —; Iulian. Tolet. *De Vitiis et Figuris*, 6, 7 — atlantem —.

The name *Atlas* itself implies the bearing of a burden (ἄλῃναι), and is to be compared with the words *Tantalus* and *Telamon(es)*; cf. Vitruv. 6, 8, 6; Mayer, *Die Giganten u. Titanen in der ant. Sage u. Kunst* (1887), 88-89; 146; Bérard, *op. cit.*, 1, 244; Waser in *P.-W.* 3 Supplbd. (1918), 740; 758; Terzaghi, *Le Credenze relig. degli Antichi* (1927), 53.

According to a rationalizing explanation frequent in ancient times the bearing of the heavens by Atlas merely typifies poetically that he was a distinguished astronomer (or even the inventor of astronomy) who carried in his head a great weight of knowledge relative to the stars; cf. Wernicke, *op. cit.*, 2125, to which add: Herodorus ap. Clem. Strom. 1, 15; Cic. *Tusc.* 5, 8; Heraclitus, *De Incredib.* (*Myth. Gr.* 3, 2, p. 74 Festa); Alex. Polyhistor ap. Euseb. *Pr. ev.* 9, 17, p. 419 d; Plin. *N. H.* 7, 203; Sidon. *Ep.* 4, 3, 5; Hier. Chron. ann. Abr. 380; Syncell. p. 283 Dindorf; Aug. C. D. 18, 8; Isid. *Etym.* 5, 39, 9; 14, 8, 17; Eustath. in Dionys. Orb. Descr. 66 (*Geogr. Gr. min.* 2, 229 Müller); Bouché-Leclercq, *L'Astrologie grecque* (1899), 576, n. 1; Pease on Cic. *De Div.* 1, 2. Cartault (*L'Art de Virgile dans l'Énéide*, 1 (1926), 136) notes Virgil's inconsistency in representing Atlas (1, 741) as a 'professor of astronomy' who instructed Iopas, while here and elsewhere he makes Atlas a mountain; this results, Cartault thinks, from the use of various sources not completely reconciled.

247. *duri*: Schol. Dan.: *laboriosi; et merito, qui caelum sustinet; unde ait 'fulcitur,' hoc est, sustinet, propter altitudinem; nam altus est nimis.* The word may also refer to the rocky character of the range. Kvíčala

(*Neue Beitr. z. Erkl. d. Aeneis* (1881), 97) compares 3, 94; 5, 730; 9, 468; 9, 603; and the Homeric ἄλῃων; cf. also Knight in *Cl. Weekly*, 26 (1933), 202, n. 16.

247. *fulcit*: Ov. H. 9, 18: *sidera fulsit Atlans*; cf. Sil. 1, 201-204: *nec patitur nomen proferri longius Athlas, / Athlas subducto tracturus vertice caelum. / sidera nubiferum fulcit caput, aetheriasque / erigit aeternum compages ardua cervix*, etc.; Avien. 2, 1265-1266: *persistit pectore celso / cornipedis species et caelum vertice fulcit* (of Aquarius); 3, 100-102; 3, 110-111: *sic caelum vertice fulcit / Maura Abila* (opposite Gibraltar); 3, 250-252: *hic ardua Taurus / in iuga consurgit, caelumque cacumine fulcit / verticis, et celsis late caput inserit astris*; Claud. Carm. min. 53, 23-24: *hinc Atlantis apex flammantia pondera fulcit / et per canitiem glacies asperima durat*; von Andrian-Werburg, *Der Höhengcultus asiatischer u. europ. Völker* (1891), xv; Capelle, *Berges- u. Wolkenhöhen bei gr. Physikern* (1916), 32.

248. *Atlantis*: Schol. Dan.: *repetitio cum emendatione et actus*; so *Atlas* is repeated in 8, 140-141 and Sil. 1, 201-202. Cf. Ecl. 10, 72-73; Aen. 4, 25-26; 4, 173-174; 4, 182, n. (*tot, etc.*); 4, 345-346; Demetr. *De Eloc.* 61 (who cites the repetition of *Napeis* in Il. 2, 671-673); Stat. *Silv.* 1, 2, 198 and Vollmer's n. Mackail (ed. of Aen. (1930), 130) thinks lines 248-251 look "like an early draft meant to be struck out and replaced by the line *Atlantis . . . fulcit.*"

248. *cinctum*, etc.: Drexel, *Des Prudent. Verhältnis z. Vergil* (1907), 1, well compares the similar phraseology in Prud. Hamartig. 130-131: *cinctum cui nubibus atris / anguiferum caput et fumo stipatur et*

249. piniferum caput et vento pulsatur et imbri,  
nix umeros infusa tegit; tum flumina mento

pinniferum <sup>b1</sup>, pinni . ferum (f *erasa*) γ. capud <sup>a1</sup>. pul(satur . . . imbri) F, pulsantur (corr. in pulsatur) π.

umeros *ac*, umheros (umh *m. 2 in ras.*, o corr. ex u) γ. infussa γ<sup>1</sup>. (flumina mento) F. fulmina (flumina *m. rec.*) M.

[248\*] 249. piniferum: *Gl. Ansil.* 444, 155 — iniferum —. 249. pulsatur: *Gl. Ansil.* 473, 209; *q.v.*

[248\*] 250. mento: *Gl. Ansil.* 366, 385; *q.v.*

*igni*. Voss (in *Cl. Journ.* 29 (1933), 41-42) contrasts the picture of Olympus in *Od.* 6, 43-45.

248. *nubibus*: Plin. *N. H.* 5, 7, describes the top of Atlas as *elati super nubila atque in vicina lunaris circuli*; cf. Solin. 24, 8; Avien. 3, 102: *hic* (sc. *Atlas*) *circumsusis vestitur nubibus axis*.

248. *atris*: cf. *G.* 2, 308-309: *atram* / . . . *nubem*; *Aen.* 3, 572: *atram* . . . *nubem*; 10, 264: *sub nubibus atris*; 10, 664: *nubi* . . . *atrae*; Lucr. 6, 180; Hor. *C.* 2, 16, 2; 3, 29, 43-44; Sen. *Phoen.* 394: *atra nubes*; 422; *Oed.* 1000: *atra nube*; Paul. Nol. *Carm.* 32, 249: *nubibus inlona atris*.

249. *piniferum*: cf. *Ecl.* 10, 14-15: *pinifer* . . . *Maenalis*; *Aen.* 10, 708: *Vesulus* . . . *pinifer*; Sil. 1, 205-206 (of Atlas): *frontemque immanibus umbris / pinea silva premit*; Auson. *Ep.* 22, 21 (p. 262 Peiper): *pinifer Atlas*. Plin. *N. H.* 5, 14 (cf. Solin. 24, 8) speaks of forests of tall trees with leaves like those of cypresses, growing on the lower slopes of Atlas, and some editors have felt that Virgil here merely employs a traditional epithet of mountains in general (as in the cases cited and in *Ov. F.* 3, 84: *pinigerum Fauni Maenalis ora caput*; Stat. *Silv.* 3, 4, 12: *pinifera* . . . *Ida*; Val. Fl. 6, 392-393: *Othrys / piniger*), and have even doubted whether pines were found in the Atlas ranges. Mackail (*Cl. Studies* (1925), 111) remarks that Virgil's "Carthaginian landscapes, coast and inland, so far as not conventional, are merely those of Italy copied, and his Mount Atlas is like an Alpine mountain range, with pine-clad peaks and rivers fed from snow-fields or glaciers." But the *Encycl. Brit.* 11 ed., 2 (1910), 858 speaks of the Moroccan

Atlas as covered on the north side and on the top of the lower heights with dense forests of oak, cork, pine, cedar, and other trees; cf. Hooker and Ball, *Journ. of a Tour in Morocco* (1878), 256; Engler, *Die Pflanzenwelt Afrikas*, 1 (1910), 12, who remarks that Aleppo Pine — *Pinus halepensis* Mill. — is locally common in Morocco up to ca. 5500 feet, and is found on the north side of the Great Atlas; *Juniperus oxycedrus* L. and *J. phoenicea* L. are also found there, and *Cedrus atlantica* Manetti up to 4200 feet, while *Abies pinsapo* Boiss., var. *baborensis* Coss. occurs as high as 6500 feet. See Baedeker, *The Mediterranean* (1911), 210-211 for the large forests of *Cedrus atlantica* Manetti, particularly at Teniet el-Haâd, about 100 miles southwest of Algiers; he also states (*op. cit.*, 94) that the chief peaks of the Great and Lesser Atlas are covered with perpetual snow. While these descriptions apply to parts of the Atlas far removed from Carthage they may yet indicate that Virgil had heard reports of climatic and vegetative conditions which he here reproduced with some justification; cf. 4, 154, n. (*cervi*); Hardy, *Geogr. of Plants* (1920), 200, for Aleppo Pines in the Tell valley, and (p. 202) Cedar reaching a much higher elevation.

249. *vento*, etc.: cf. Ermoldus, *In Hon. Hludowici*, 3, 15 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 2, 41): *vento pulsatur et imbri*.

249. *imbri*: on the ablative form cf. *G.* 1, 393; Wotke in *Wiener Stud.* 8 (1886), 135.

250. *nix*: cf. *Ov. M.* 4, 772: *gelido sub Atlante*; Plin. *N. H.* 5, 14: *verticem* (sc. *Atlantis*) *altis etiam aestate operiri nivibus* (Solin. 24, 10: *vertex semper nivalis*); Stat. *Silv.* 4, 3, 157: *nives Atlantis*; Sil. 1, 205 (of

251. praecipitant senis, et glacie riget horrida barba.  
hic primum paribus nitens Cyllenius alis

precipitant γ. reget P (riget P<sup>2</sup>), regit γ<sup>1</sup>. glaci(e . . . barba) F.

(hic . . . paribu)s F. cylleniu F (cyllenius F<sup>1</sup>), cylenius (corr. in cyllenius) γ, cylenius α<sup>1</sup>π.

251. et . . . barba: Non. p. 422 M. (p. 683 L.). 251. praecipitant: Gl. Ansil. 455, 222 — precipitant —; q.v. 251. riget: Gl. Ansil. 498, 33-36; q.v.

252-253. hic . . . constitit: Non. p. 272 M. (p. 418 L.); p. 353 M. (p. 560 L.) — cyllenus L<sup>1</sup>A<sup>1</sup> —; Lact. Plac. in Stat. Theb. 1, 124. 252. paribus . . . alis: Schol. Dan. Aen. 4, 262 — syllenius F —. 252. nitens: Gl. Ansil. 392, 164; q.v.

Atlas): *canet barba gelu*; Dio Cass. 76, 13, 4 (of Atlas): *χίονος τε οὖν αἰετὶ διὰ ταῦτα πεπλήρωται, καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ ἐξ αὐτῆς παμπληθὲς ὑπὸ τὸ θέρος ἀφίησιν*; Opp. *Halicut.* 1, 622: *Ἀτλαντος νιφόνετα πάγον*; Claud. *Carm. min.* 53, 24: *per caniliem glacies asperrima durat*; Baedeker, *The Mediterranean* (1911), 94, who states that the Greater and the Lesser Atlas are covered, on their chief peaks, with perpetual snow; but also cf. Hooker and Ball, *Journ. of a Tour in Morocco* (1878), 290-291.

250. *tum*: in an enumeration of items; cf. *Ecl.* 6, 61-62; *G.* 2, 296; *Aen.* 1, 164; 2, 697; 6, 577; 10, 445.

250. *flumina*: giving the effect of a white beard; cf. 6, 299-300 (of Charon): *cui plurima mento / canities inculca iacet*.

250. *mento*: cf. Soph. *Trach.* 13-14: *ἐκ δὲ δασκίου γενειάδος / κρουνοὶ διερραίνοντο κρηναῖο ποτοῦ*. Some editors condemn the introduction of such human features as the chin, yet we must remember (1) that this is no ordinary mountain but one metamorphosed, as Ovid describes, from a person; and (2) that such terms as 'head,' 'arm,' 'shoulder,' 'knee,' and even 'nose' and 'chin' (as on Mt. Mansfield, Vermont) are even to-day used of parts of mountains, especially as seen in profile; for such terms in antiquity cf. Plin. *N. H.* 2, 115. Bignone (ap. Buscaroli *ad loc.*) suggests that Virgil is probably here recalling artistic representations he had seen of personified mountains. One might also compare Dante, *Inf.* 14, 94-120. For the omission of *de* with *mento*, when used in connection with the verb *praecipitare*, cf. 2, 8-9: *nox umida caelo / praecipitat*.

251. *praecipitant*: sc. *se*; cf. 2, 8-9 (quoted above); 4, 565; 6, 351; 9, 670; 11, 617.

251. *senis*: Donat.: *senem vero recte appellavit vel quod mons esset antiquus vel quod Mercuri avus esse diceretur vel quod semper canus esset ex nivibus*; cf. Serv., who cites *G.* 1, 43-44: *gelidus canis cum montibus umor / liquitur*. Claud. *De Cons. Stil.* 1, 146-147 speaks of the *senex* . . . Atlas.

251. *riget*, etc.: Schol. Dan.: *aut frigida est, aut recta est, unde et rigorem dicimus directionem*. Lact. Plac. *ad Stat. Theb.* 3, 264 cites *riget horrida tergo palla*, probably in reminiscence of this line. Cf. also *G.* 3, 366: *impexis induruit horrida barbis*; Petron. 122, 150: *glacie concreta rigent*; Mart. 7, 95, 1: *riget horridus December*; Wandalbertus Prumiensis, *De Mens. XII Nomin.* 24 (Poet. *Aevi Carol.* 2, 605): *glacies riget horrida campis*.

251. *horrida barba*: cf. Cic. *Pro Cael.* 33: *non hac barbula qua ista delectatur sed illa horrida*, etc.

252. *paribus* . . . *alis*: Serv.: *leni volatu, ut (9, 14) 'dixit et in caelum paribus se sustulit alis'* (cf. 5, 657; Ov. *M.* 2, 708: *hinc se sustulerat paribus caducifer alis*); Tasso, *Ger. lib.* 1, 14, 8: *e si librò sull' adeguate penne*. Henry (*Aeneidea*, 2 (1878), 680-682) contrasts at length the equally balanced motion of wings, used in pairs, with the alternating motion of arms or legs.

252. *nitens*: Schol. Dan.: *quidam pro 'volans' accipiunt*; cf. *G.* 2, 427-428: *ad sidera raptim / vi propria nituntur*; Hor. *C.* 4, 2, 2-3: *ceratis ope Daedalea / nititur pen- nis*; Ov. *Ex Pont.* 2, 7, 27: *quot aves motis nitantur in aëre pennis*; the participle may here = 'poising' or still 'winging his way,' or, as Mackail (*ad loc.*) suggests, "putting on pressure with equal wings," i.e. checking his flight and bringing himself up standing.

253. constitit; hinc toto praeceps se corpore ad undas  
misit avi similis, quae circum litora, circum

(constitut . . . p)raecept F. hic Donat.

(misit . . . qua)e F.

[252]

254-255. misit . . . iuxta: *Asper*, p. 538 *Hagen* — quae c. l. c. p. s. h. v. a. i. — 254-255. avi . . . iuxta: *Quintil. Inst.* 8, 3, 72 — similes; piscoslos *A<sup>1</sup>(?)b* — 254-255. quae . . . scopulos: *Quintil. Inst.* 1, 5, 25. 254. avi similis: *Schol. Dan. Aen.* 4, 262.

252. *Cyllenius*: cf. *G.* 1, 337 (of the planet Mercury); *Aen.* 4, 258; 4, 276; *Cir.* 108; *Ov. M.* 2, 720: *agilis Cyllenius*; 2, 818: *velox Cyllenius*; 14, 291: *pacifer . . . Cyllenius*; *Stat. Theb.* 2, 89: *volucer Cyllenius*; *Arnob.* 3, 32: *caduceator ille Cyllenius*; *Claud. De Rapt. Pros.* 1, 77: *Cyllenius adstitit ales*; cf. *Carm. min. Append.* 11, 5 (p. 306 Koch): *Cyllenius ales*; *Carter, Epitheta Deorum* (1902), 69. For the birth of Mercury on Mt. Cyllene cf. *Serv.*: *aut ab avia . . . aut a Cyllene, Arcadiae monte, ubi dicitur esse nutritus*; *Aen.* 8, 138-141: *vobis Mercurius pater est, quem candida Maia / Cylleneae gelido conceptum vertice fudit; / at Maïam, auditis si quicquam credimus, Atlas, / idem Atlas generat caeli qui sidera tollit*; also *Hes. frag.* 276 *Rzach*: *Κυλλήνης ἐν ὄρεσσι θεῶν κήρυκα τέχ' Ἑρμῆν*; *Mythogr. Vat.* I, 119.

253. constitit: cf. 1, 226.

253. *hinc*, etc.: with this bird-like swoop and subsequent flying near the surface of the water cf. *Od.* 5, 50-54: *Περὶν δ' ἐπιβάς ἐξ αἰθέρος ἔμπεσε πόντῳ / σέβας' ἔπειτ' ἐπὶ κῆμα λάρῳ ὄρνιθι ἐοικώς, / ὅς τε κατὰ δεινούς κόλπους ἄλός ἀτρυγέτοιο / ἰχθύας ἀγρώσων πυκνὰ πτερὰ δέβεται ἄλμυρ' / τῷ ἔκελος πολέσων ὀχῆσατο κύμασιν Ἑρμῆς*; *Juvenc.* 3, 406: *praecipitemque maris sese iaculetur in undas*; *Tasso, Ger. lib.* 1, 15, 1-2: *e ver le piagge di Tortosa poi / drizzò precipitando il volo in giuso*. In *Ov. M.* 2, 714-721 Mercury (called *Cyllenius*) is again compared to a bird in flight. *Buscaroli (ad loc.)* would explain *hinc* as temporal, following *primum* in the line above, and compares *Ecl.* 4, 37; etc., but a parallelism with *hic* seems quite as probable, and I should treat the word as local.

253. *toto . . . corpore*: cf. 5, 683; 6, 494; 7, 459; 9, 410; 9, 812; 10, 127; 11, 87; 11,

313; 11, 828-829; 12, 728; 12, 920 (in several cases the phrase denotes, as here, the use of all one's physical strength); *Lucr.* 4, 1021: *qui praecipitent ad terram corpore toto*.

253. *se . . . misit*: cf. 9, 644-645: *ab alto / aethere se mittit*; 10, 633-634: *caelo se protinus alto / misit*; *Ov. M.* 8, 251: *praecipitem misit*; 11, 340: *cum se . . . misisset*.

254. *avi similis*: for this simile cf. *Hornbostel, Die Gleichnisse bei Vergil* (1870), 6; 12; *Houben, De Comparat. Vergilianis* (1876), 4; *Kopetsch, De Comparat. Vergilianis* (1879), 5; *Caspers, De Comparat. Vergilianis* (1883), 7; *Mackail, ed. of Aeneid* (1930), 130, who thinks that "the doubled simile of the sea-bird in ll. 254-5 and 256-8 can hardly have been intended to stand" (of this I am not convinced; *Mackail* is arguing against lines 248-264 in general, and seems unnecessarily severe). *Micaella (in Boll. di Filol. class.* 9 (1902), 14-17) would place a period after *misit* and a lesser pause after *iuxta*, making *haud aliter* introduce the second member of the comparison, and supposing that Mercury coming from Olympus sees the mass of Atlas reaching from opposite Sicily to the Atlantic, and that he alights upon a high peak, perhaps Zaghouan, whence he swoops down to the east coast near Cape Bon (in a sandy region) and along the coast to Carthage. This presupposes a rather exact knowledge on Virgil's part of the local topography, though perhaps not more than we have a right to expect. The comparison of the motion of a god to that of a bird is found in *Homer* (e.g., *Il.* 15, 237-238 (Apollo); *Od.* 1, 320 (Athena); 5, 52-54 (Hermes); 22, 240 (Athena)), while the bird as the type of swiftness in general is frequent; e.g., *Il.* 2, 764 (horses); *Od.* 7, 36 (ships); etc. *Servius*

255. piscosos scopulos humilis volat aequora iuxta.  
haud aliter terras inter caelumque volabat

(piscosos . . . humi)ilis F. umilis a.

256-258 recentiore atramento scripti in b. haut M<sup>p</sup>. (haud . . . int)er F.

- [254\*] 255. humilis . . . iuxta: Non. p. 321 M. (p. 504 L.); p. 414 M. (p. 668 L.).  
255. volat . . . iuxta: Schol. Dan. Aen. 4, 262. 255. aequora iuxta: Gl. Ansil. 37, 236.  
256. terras . . . volabat: Lact. Plac. in Stat. Theb. 2, 59 — om. M —.

remarks: *incongruum heroo credidit carmini si mergum diceret, ut alibi ciconiam per periphrasin posuit* (G. 2, 320) 'candida venit avis,' etc. The attempt of some editors to identify the kind of bird (e.g., the *mergus*) is unprofitable, nor is it likely that Virgil, who does not hesitate to introduce similes drawn from bees (1, 430-436) and ants (4, 402-407) and to write a fourth book of the *Georgics* and a *Culex* (whether or not ours is by him), was unwilling to name the species of a sea-bird had he so desired, lest the dignity of the poem might be impaired.

254. *circum . . . circum*: the repetition of this word finely reproduces the repeated swoopings of the bird, like the repeated phrases in G. 1, 406-409 (= *Cir.* 538-541); cf. Irvine (*ad loc.*) on the effective rhythm. Krafft, *Zur Wortstellung Vergils* (1887), 30, notes that only disyllabic prepositions are placed by Virgil at the end of one line governing a noun in the next; such examples of *circum* are 1, 667-668: *circum / lilora* (= 7, 763-764); 9, 584-585: *circum / flumina*; 12, 476-477: *circum / stagna*.

255. *piscosos*: cf. 11, 457; 12, 518. Schol. Dan.: *pisculentos; causa cur volet*; which Homer states (*Od.* 5, 53) in the words *ἰχθῆας ἀγρώσσων*.

255. *humilis*: Schol. Dan.: *humiliter; et tractum est ab humo*, comparing G. 3, 8-9; cf. also Val. Fl. 4, 515: *humili . . . volatu*.

255. *iuxta*: cf. 4, 240: *aequora supra*. Virgil usually places this preposition after its noun; cf. 3, 506; 4, 480; 4, 517; 6, 430; 6, 815; Moret. 56; Tac. Ann. 2, 41, 1.

256. *haud aliter*: beginning a line in 1, 399; 9, 65; 9, 554; 9, 797; 10, 360; 10, 714; 11, 757; the phrase here corresponds to *τῷ ἵκελος* in *Od.* 5, 54. The reasons for rejecting this line and the next (chiefly because of a

supposed awkwardness in the first half of line 257, the threefold repetition of *ter* in 256, and the repetition of the adjective *Cyllenius*) seem inadequate; cf. Belling, *Stud. ii. d. Compositions-kunst Vergils i. d. Aeneide* (1899), 201-202. We perhaps have here a trace of two versions by Virgil himself of which he would eventually have suppressed one, or we may see the expansion of a simple theme; cf. Sikes, *Roman Poetry* (1923), 21-22.

256. *terras inter caelumque*: cf. 4, 184, and n. (*caeli medio*); *Il.* 5, 769 (= 8, 46): (*περὶ ἑσθῆν*) *μεσσηγὺς γαλῆς τε καὶ οὐρανοῦ ἀστερόεντος*; Alc. frag. 58 Hiller: *γαλᾶς καὶ νιφόντων ὀρράνω μέσσοι*; Luc. 9, 6: *terras inter lunaeque meatus*; also, for the position of the preposition, G. 1, 33: *Erigonen inter chelasque*; Aen. 2, 632: *flammam inter et hostis*; 2, 681: *manus inter maestorumque ora*; 4, 480: *Oceani finem iuxta solemque*; 5, 152: *turbam inter fremitumque*; 5, 663: *transtra per et remos*; 6, 114: *viris ultra sortemque*; 9, 202: *terrorem inter Troiaeque labores*; 10, 778: *latus inter et ilia*; Caes. B. G. 6, 36, 2; Tac. Ann. 12, 32, 1 (other cases in Schmaus, *Tacitus ein Nachahmer Vergils* (1887), 31); Paul. Nol. Carm. 19, 423; 23, 124; von Boltenstern, *Bemerk ii. d. Wortstellung . . . in Vergils Aeneis* (1880), 16; Krafft, *Zur Wortstellung Vergils* (1887), 31. A popular etymology derived *Mercurius* from *medius currens*; cf. Aug. C. D. 7, 14; Mythogr. Vat. III, 9, 1; Isid. Etym. 8, 11, 45: *Mercurius quasi medius currens dicitur appellatus, quod sermo currat inter homines medius*.

256. *volabat*: on the rhyme in this line and the next cf. 4, 54, n. (*amore*), above. Note also an internal rhyme between *aliter* and *inter*.

257. litus harenosum ad Libyae ventosque secabat  
materno veniens ab avo Cyllenia proles.  
ut primum alatis tetigit magalia plantis,

257-258 *inverso ordine c, dett.* {*litus . . . lib*}yae *F.* haberenosum *M* (harenosum *M*<sup>2</sup>), arenosum (*corr. in harenosum*) *c*, arenosum *ab.* ao *P* (ad *P*<sup>2</sup>), ad *py*<sup>1</sup> *dett.*, at *M* (ac *m. rec.*; cf. Fairclough in *Trans. Am. philol. Assoc.* 63 (1932), 220), at *abc*, ac (*corr. ex ad*) *π*, ac. *Schol. Veron.* uentosque secabat *per parenthesim disting. Sabbadini.* lybyae *M*, lybiae *γ*, libie *a*, libiae *π*.

258-285: *MP.* cillenian *a*, cylenian *π*.

257. litus . . . Libyae: *Schol. Dan. G. 2, 105* — *om. ad*; arenosum libiae *V* —; *Schol. Veron. G. 2, 105* — ac (*fortasse legendum at?*) *V* —; *Anth. Lat. no. 12, 1* (1, p. 47 Riese) — arenosum *A*; ad *om.*; libiae *A* —. 257. harenosum: *Gl. Ansil. 274, 86*; *q.v.* 257. ventosque secabat: *Serv. Aen. 4, 223*.

[257\*] 258. materno ab avo: *Gl. Ansil. 360, 883*. 258. Cyllenia proles: *Anth. Lat. no. 15, 157* (1, p. 55 Riese).

259. magalia: *Gl. Ansil. 352, 157*; *q.v.*

257. harenosum: *Serv.*: bene 'arenosum,' addidit; nam in Libya erat, sed non in arena; Maurelania enim aspera et silvestris est; cf. *Ov. M. 4, 617*: cumque super Libycas victor penderet harenas.

257. ad: von Boltenstern (*op. cit.*, 16) cites as parallels for this position 4, 671: culmina per . . . hominum; 6, 58: corpus in Aeacidae; 7, 234: fala per Aeneae; 9, 643: gente sub Assaraci. Some editors omit *ad* and make *volabat* govern *litus*, on the analogy of 3, 191: currimus aequor; 5, 235: aequora curro. This seems less probable.

257. secabat: cf. *G. 1, 406* (= 1, 409 = *Cir.* 538; 541): secat aethera pennis (suggesting *Cic. Arat.* 48: geminis secat aethera pinnis); *Aen.* 5, 658 (= 9, 15): secuit sub nubibus arcum; 12, 267-268: cornus . . . auras / certa secat. Greek parallels are *Hom. Hymn. Cer.* 383: βαθὺν ἀέρα τέμνον ἰόντες; *Eur. ap. Athen.* 2, p. 61 b: ὦ τὸν ἀγήρατον πόλον αἰθέρος, Ἥλιε, τέμνων; *Ar. Av.* 1400: αἰθέρος αἰλακα τέμνων; *Callistr. Descr.* 3: τὸν ἀέρα τέμνειν πτέρυγι; 6: τὴν ἀέριον λήξει τέμνειν . . . ταῖς πτέρυξι; 7: τὸν αἰθέρα τέμνουσαι; *Tasso, Ger. lib.* 1, 14, 3: fende i venti e le nubi; *Steiner, Das Bedeutungslehne-wort in Vergils Aeneis* (1921), 37.

258. avo: *Serv.*: per Maiam, Atlantis filiam — a genealogy attested by many authors, e.g., *Hom. Hymn.* 18, 3-5; *Eur. Ion.* 1-4; *Apollod. Bibl.* 3, 10, 2; *Aug. C. D.* 18,

8; *Serv. Aen.* 8, 134. La Cerda compares *Sidon. Carm.* 7, 20-22: iamque ut convenient superi, Tegeaticus ales / nunc plantis, nunc fronte volat; vix contigit arva; / et toto descendit avo.

258. Cyllenia proles: cf. 4, 252, n. (Cyllenius). This phrase occurs in *Ov. Ars am.* 3, 725; *Petron.* 124, 269; *Stat. Theb.* 1, 293; 7, 74; *Sil.* 13, 630; and, in reversed order, in *Val. Fl.* 1, 436; *Stat. Silv.* 2, 1, 189; cf. *Carter, Epitheta Deorum* (1902), 69; for similar ones cf. 4, 236, n. (*prolem Ausoniam*), above; *Sen. H. F.* 268: Cadmea proles; *Oct.* 278: Claudia proles; *Arnob.* 1, 36: Dioneia . . . proles; *Hier. Ep.* 54, 4, 2: proles Furiana; *C. I. L.* VIII, 4635, 17: Saturnia pro(les). *Quintil.* 8, 3, 26 regards proles as an archaism retained in verse. This whole line is rather Alexandrian in quality, by reason of its indirect and frigid allusiveness.

259. alatis: cf. *Ov. F.* 5, 666: alato qui pede carpis iter; *Min. Fel.* 22, 5: pedibus Mercurius alatis; *Avien.* 2, 564; *Lact. Plac.* in *Stat. Theb.* 1, 304.

259. tetigit, etc.: cf. *Sedulius, Carm.* 2, 66, 29 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 3, 220): alatis volitare plantis; *Carm. de S. Cassiano*, 384 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 4, 191): ut vero sacris tetigit magalia plantis.

259. magalia: two similar words must be noted, māgālia and mǎpālia. The former, which the metre shows to be the form here



## 260. Aenean fundantem arces ac tecta novantem

tecta (c ex corr.) γ.

260. tecta novantem: Schol. Dan. Aen. 8, 189. 260. novantem: Gl. Ansil. 396, 305; q.v.

intended, is found in 1, 421: *miratur molem Aeneas, magalia quondam*, where Servius remarks: '*magalia*' vero antistoechon est; nam debuit '*magaria*' dicere, quia '*magar*,' non '*magal*,' Poenorum lingua villam significat; and the Schol. Dan. add: *Cato Originum quarto* (frag. 2 Jordan; but Fest. p. 146 M. (p. 132 Lindsay) has the same citation from Cato with the form *mapalia*) '*magalia aedificia quasi cohortes rotundas*' dicit. alii *magalia* casas Poenorum pastorales dicunt. †de his Sallustius (see below) quae *mapalia* sunt circumiecta civitati suburbana aedificia *magalia*. †et alii Cassius Hemina (frag. 38 Peter) †docet ita '*Sinuessae magalia addenda murumque circum ea*'; Serv. Aen. 4, 259: '*magalia*' Afrorum casas; et '*mapalia*' idem significant; sed '*magalia*' '*ma*' producit, '*mapalia*' vero corripit, ut (G. 3, 340) '*et raris habitata mapalia tectis*.' Cf. also Isid. Etym. 15, 12, 4: *magalia aedificia Numidarum agrestium oblonga, incurvis lateribus tecta, quasi navium carinae sunt* (thus far copying the description of *mapalia* in Sall. Iug. 18, 8), sive rotunda in modum furnorum. et '*magalia*' dicta quasi '*magaria*,' quia '*magar*' Punici novam villam dicunt, una littera commutata, L pro R, *magalia*, *magaria*.

From these huts or 'shacks' one of the suburbs of Carthage derived its name; cf. Plaut. Poen. 86: *cum nutrice una periere a Magaribus*; App. Lib. 117: χωριον δ' ἐστὶν εὐμέγεθες ἐν τῇ πόλει τὰ Μέγαρα, τῷ τείχει παρῆενγμένον; Zonar. 9, 29: ὁ μόντος Σκιπίων τὰ μὲν Μεγάλια τὸν Μαγκίων φρουρεῖν κατέλιπεν; etc.; Oehler in P.-W. 10 (1917), 2194-2195. Some identify this suburb with that NW of the city, known as *La Malga*; cf. Baedeker, *The Mediterranean* (1911), 345. On the derivation of the word cf. Müller-Graupa in *Philologus*, 73 (1914), 314; *id.*, in *Philologus*, 85 (1930), 311-312; whether it is the same as *mapalia* he is uncertain.

The word *mapalia* is more frequent, and is defined by Festus (p. 146 M. (p. 132 Lind-

say)): '*mapalia*' casae Poenicae appellantur; in quibus quia nihil est secreti solet solute viventibus obici id vocabulum (so Petron. 58, 13). Other cases are Sall. Iug. 18, 8; 46, 5; Liv. 29, 31, 8; 41, 27, 11; Mela, 1, 41; Calpurn. 5, 90; 7, 42; Sen. Apocol. 9, 1; Luc. 2, 89; 4, 684-685; 9, 945; Val. Fl. 2, 460 (in the singular); Frontin. Strat. 4, 1, 14; Plin. N. H. 5, 22; 16, 178 (who describes them as thatched); Sil. 2, 85; 3, 287; 14, 7; 15, 418; 17, 89; Mart. 8, 55, 3; 10, 20, 7; Tac. Ann. 3, 74, 5; 4, 25, 1; H. 4, 50; Paul. Nol. Ep. 10, 245; Auson. Perioch. Od. 16 (in the singular); Serv. Aen. 4, 40; Hier. Ep. 130, 6, 3; In Amos, prol. pp. 219-220 Vall.: *agrestes quidem casae et furnorum similes, quas Afri appellant mapalia*; Prud. Psych. praef. 46 (of the hut of Abram and Sarah); Claud. De Bell. Gild. 1, 360; De Cons. Stil. 3, 344; Sidon. Ep. 2, 2, 7; Carm. 5, 591; Ennod. Carm. 1, 8, praef.; Schol. Dan. G. 3, 340: *mapalia casae Maurorum, qui in eremo habitare dicuntur*, etc.; Philargyr. in Ecl. 2, 29 (who thinks them underground huts); Prob. in G. 3, 339. Müller-Graupa (in *Philologus*, 73 (1914), 302-317) believes that the word means (1) a tent of hides; (2) a covered wagon used by nomads; or (3) a nomadic encampment; cf. *id.*, in *Philologus*, 85 (1930), 303-312. Like *magalia* this word is applied to certain localities in Africa; cf. Müller-Graupa in *Philologus*, 73 (1914), 308, n. 15; *id.*, in *Philologus*, 85 (1930), 312; Dessau in P.-W. 14 (1930), 1403; to which add the *Via Mappaliensis* at Carthage (*Acta procons. S. Cypr.* 5, in *Patr. Lat.* 3, 1565).

These two words, then, constantly confused in MSS, perhaps separate in etymology and prosody rather than in meaning (cf. Sabbadini, preface to 1930 edition, 1, x), used of North African huts, of lowly and temporary character, here at Carthage describe the first rude and hasty dwellings of the immigrants, not yet replaced by the

## 261. conspicit. atque illi stellatus iaspide fulva

tellatus γ<sup>1</sup>. fulue c<sup>1</sup>.

261-262. atque . . . erat: *Asper*, p. 538 *Hagen* — adque *codd.*; iaspide f. e. e. — 261-262. stellatus ensis: *Gl. Ansil.* 516, 232 — sellatus —; *Gl. Abol.* 167, 24 — sellatus —. 261. iaspide fulva: *Serv. Aen.* 5, 309 — falua *NH* —. 261. iaspide fulva: *Gl. Ansil.* 600, 11 — iaspides —.

newer houses which are in the next line represented as under construction. For this contrast of the temporary and the permanent styles of building cf. 1, 421, quoted above.

260. *fundantem*: cf. 1, 428: *fundamenta locant alii*; 4, 266: *fundamenta locas*. We need not press the slight inconsistency with 4, 86-89, where the infatuation of Dido is represented as stopping all work on the town. It is significant, as Heinze (*Virgils epische Technik*, 3 ed. (1915), 488) notes, that Aeneas is here building the city which is later to harbor the mortal enemy of his country; cf. Terzaghi, *Virgilio ed Enea* (1928), 77.

260. *arces*: plural, though probably only one is meant; cf. Braumüller, *Ueber Trophen u. Figuren in Vergil's Aeneis*, 1 (1877), 11, who cites several Virgilian parallels. *Arces* and *lecta* include the public and the private buildings of the city; cf. 4, 186, n. (*culmine lecti*), above.

260. *novantem*: here evidently of making new houses, perhaps by replacing *mapalia* by *lecta*; cf. *Sil.* 15, 416-418: *dies . . . / . . . quo, primum orsi Carthagini altae / fundamenta, novam coepere mapalibus urbem*. With the internal rhyme cf. *Ecl.* 8, 80; etc.

261. *conspicit*: *Donat.*: *vidit, inquit, non oculis sed animo, existimans ipsum esse novorum operum conditorem; ceterum noctis fuerat tempus, quo ille dormiebat*. This is probably wrong, for this theophany, unlike the night dream in 4, 553-570, occurs by day; cf. 4, 358-359: *ipse deum manifesto in lumine vidi / intrantem muros*.

261. *atque*: *Voss* (*Anmerk. u. Randglossen z. Gr. u. Römerm* (1839), 209) thought this = 'but', comparing 6, 162; others think that it, almost like *ecce*, introduces a sudden or unexpected thought (cf. 1, 227; 4, 663; 6, 162; 6, 494; 7, 29; also *Ecl.* 7, 7; Knapp in *Cl. Weekly*, 26 (1933), 199, n. 8); Heyne, fol-

lowed by Gercke (*Die Entstehung der Aeneis* (1913), 69, n. 1), objected to the presence of the word here; while Mackail (ed. of the *Aeneid* (1930), 130) thinks 4, 261-264 an infelicitous parenthesis which later polishing would have excised.

261. *stellatus*: *Schol. Dan.*: *Gaius Memmius de triumpho Luculli Syriaci calceoli gemmarum stellati coloribus*; cf. *Plin. N. H.* 37, 118: *iasponyx . . . stellata rutilis punctis*; 37, 179: *Ponticarum plura sunt genera; est stellata nunc sanguineis, nunc auratis guttis . . . alia pro stellis eiusdem coloris lineas habet*; *Amm. Marc.* 19, 1, 2: *armis stellantibus coruscabant*. *Juvenal*, in parody (*Gehlen, De Iuvenale Vergilii Imitatore* (1886), 41), recalls this passage in 5, 42-45: *da veniam, praeclara illi laudatur iaspis; / nam Virro, ut multi, gemmas ad pocula transfert / a digitis, quas in vaginae fronte solebat / ponere zelotypo iuvenis praelatus Iarbae* (cf. *schol.*); see also *Vida, Christias*, 5, 593: *stellantique procul micat ensis iaspide fulgens*. This sword, probably a present from Dido (though *Page* on 4, 647 denies this) in exchange for one given by him to her (4, 647 and n.), typifies, like the purple cloak, the wealth of Carthage; cf. 4, 75, n. (*opes*); 4, 134, n. (*ostro*). Whether merely the hilt — a part often decorated — the scabbard (as *Juvenal* (*l. c.*) and *Serv.* (on 4, 262) understood; cf. *Sen. Ep.* 76, 14: *gladium . . . cuius vagina gemmis distinguitur*), or, as *La Cerda* thought, the whole sword is studded with gems we need not inquire; cf., however, *Val. Fl.* 5, 514: *accinctum gemmis fulgentibus ense*. The appearance of Aeneas is all Tyrian, not at all Trojan (or Roman); cf. *Irvine ad loc.*

261. *iaspide*: quadrisyllabic, as in *Mart.* 5, 11, 1; 9, 60, 20. In Latin the word first occurs here. *Fronto* (*ap. Gell.* 2, 26, 11) has

262. ensis erat, Tyrioque ardebat murice laena  
demissa ex umeris, dives quae munera Dido

*Versum 262 abras. M rursusque scr. M<sup>1</sup>. enses M, ensys γ. tīrio M (tyrio M<sup>2</sup>). myricae c. lena Pγ. humeris a.*

[261\*] 262. Tyrioque . . . laena: *Schol. Iuv.* 3, 283 — uarioque —; 11, 155 (*ed. Heinrich*); *Non.* p. 240 *M.* (p. 359 *L.*); p. 541 *M.* (p. 868 *L.*); p. 549 *M.* (p. 881 *L.*) — ardebant A<sup>a</sup>; lene B<sup>a</sup> —; [*Acro*] in *Hor. Epod.* 12, 21 — tīrioque AV; lena A —; *Donat. Aen.* 9, 580; *Lact. Plac. in Stat. Theb.* 5, 438 — tyrioque om. Pb; muriceque MPa —.

263. demissa ex umeris: *Gl. Ansil.* 168, 729 — humeris —. 263. dives . . . Dido: *Schol. Dan. Aen.* 9, 26; 9, 641 (p. 366 *Thilo*); 11, 74 — didiues F, didues G —.

this passage in mind when he says: *sic poeta verborum diligentissimus fulvam aquilam* (*Aen.* 11, 751–752) *dicat et iaspidem*, etc. Servius comments: *iaspide fulva pro viridi, ut* (5, 309; where Virgil really reads *flavaque*) *fulvaeque caput nectentur oliva. dicat etiam Plinius in naturali historia multa esse iaspidum genera, in quibus etiam fulvum commemorat*; and the *Schol. Dan.* add: *alii tradunt iaspidem in smaragdum saepe transire*. Pliny's account of jasper is found in *N. H.* 37, 115–118; though he mentions many colors and compares some types to the *smaragdus*, he seems not to use the adjective *fulvus* of any of them (cf. Dessau in *Hermes*, 49 (1914), 524). Jasper was not a peculiarly Phoenician or Punic gem; Pliny mentions as sources India, Persia, the regions of the Caspian and the Black Seas, Phrygia, Cappadocia, and Cyprus. For a possible parallel to this passage in the *Nibelungenlied* cf. Zappert, *Virgil's Fortleben im Mittelalter* (1851), 42. With the use of the singular *iaspide*, with a collective or plural force, Conington (*ad loc.*) compares *Juv.* 5, 38–39: *inaequales berullo / . . . phidias*. The *Scholia Danielis* discuss at length the use of jasper in amulets (cf. Olbrich in Hoffmann-Krayer, *Handwörterbuch d. deutsch. Aberglaubens*, 4 (1932), 634), but that Virgil had such an idea in mind is doubtful.

262. Tyrioque: cf. 4, 75, n. (*Sidonias*). With the phrase *Tyrio . . . murice* cf. *Ov. Ars am.* 3, 170; *Remed.* 708; and with the whole clause *Apoll. Rh.* 1, 721–723: *ἀντάρ ὄγ' ἀμφ' ὤμοισι θεᾶς Τριτωνίδος ἔργον / διπλακα πορφυρέην περονήσατο, τήν οἱ ὄπασσεν /*

Παλλὰς. Aeneas is here described as having adopted foreign garb, as Antony had done in Egypt (cf. *App. B. C.* 5, 11; *Dio Cass.* 50, 5, 3; *Plut. Ant.* 33, 4; 54, 5; *Flor.* 2, 21, 3) and as Romans held especially unbecoming; cf. *Hor. C.* 3, 5, 10–11; *Liv.* 29, 19, 12; *Herrmann in Aus Unterricht u. Forschung*, 1 (1929), 124 and n. 121. *Buscaroli (ad loc.)* compares the way in which Rinaldo in the gardens of Armida (*Tasso, Ger. lib.*, Book XVI) wears apparel more befitting a woman than a hero.

262. ardebat: cf. 9, 614: *fulgenti murice*; *Val. Fl.* 3, 340: *ardentes murice vestes*; 6, 526: *barbarica chlamys ardet acu*; *Sil.* 4, 324–325: *aurato praefulgens murice ductor / Sidonius*; 15, 676: *ardebat gemma Garamantide caerulea vestis*; *Stat. Theb.* 5, 438: *chlamys huic, chlamys ardet et illi*; *Juv.* 11, 155: *quos ardens purpura vestit*; *Prud. Cathem.* 7, 156–157: *Coos aestuantem murices / laenam*.

262. murice: on purple and gold (4, 264) cf. 4, 134, n. (*ostro*). Virgil uses *murex* as the word for purple in *Ecl.* 4, 44; *Aen.* 9, 614: *fulgenti murice vestis*; cf. *Price in Am. Journ. of Philol.* 4 (1883), 15.

262. laena: described by Servius as *toga duplex* (cf. *Fest.* p. 117 *M.*) *omictus auguralis*, and the *Scholia Danielis* attempt at great length to find in the details of this passage subtle allusions to Roman pontifical rites. *Laena* is related to the Greek *χλαῖνα*, and applies to a thick (*Mart.* 14, 136) woolen cloak, of varying size, for winter wear (for its appropriateness here cf. 4, 52; 4, 193; 4, 309), described by Nonius (p. 541 *M.* = p. 868 *Lindsay*) as *vestimentum militare quod*

264. fecerat et tenui telas discreverat auro.  
continuo invadit: 'tu nunc Karthaginis altae

carthaginis *Pe*, chartaginis *γb*, cartaginis *a*.

265-266. tu . . . locas: *Donat. in Ter. Ad. 256* — nunc c. a. f. l. — 265. continuo invadit: *Cento Probae, 213*. 265. tu . . . altae: *Schol. Dan. Aen. 4, 576* — muros (*pro nunc*) *T*; carthaginis —; *Donat. Aen. 6, 575* — carthaginis —.

*supra omnia vestimenta sumitur*. In it Roman poets sometimes dressed their heroes; so Hannibal in *Sil. 15, 421-424* (modelled on the present passage): *fraternum laena nitebat / demissa ex humeris donum, quam foederis arti / Trinacrius Libyco rex inter munera pignus / miserat* (cf. 2, 166). On its forms and uses cf. *Lange in P.-W. 12 (1924), 419-420*; also *Zwicker, De Vocab. et Rebus Gallicis sive Transpadanis apud Verg. (1905), 51*. The luxury of a purple or a scarlet *laena* is noted by *Pers. 1, 32*; *Juv. 3, 283-284*; yet cf. *Il. 10, 133* (of Nestor): ἀμφὶ δ' ἄρα χλαῖναν πεπονήσατο φοινικέσσαν.

263. *demissa ex umeris*: so *Sil. 15, 422* (quoted in the last note). *Henry (Aeneidea, 2 (1878), 684)* compares 8, 460: *demissa ab laeva pantherae terga retorquens*; *Stat. Silv. 1, 1, 43*: *il tergo demissa chlamys*; *Apul. Met. 11, 24*: *et umeris dependebat pone tergum talorum tenuis pretiosa chlamida*. The phrase seems to mean 'hanging from the shoulders' rather than 'let down off his shoulders' (as *Henry* at first suggested); cf. 6, 301: *sordidus ex umeris nodo dependet amictus*.

263. *dives* . . . *Dido*: cf. 4, 75, n. (*opes*), above. It is no serious objection which the *Scholia Danielis* raise that *Virgil* does not here specify, as he commonly does elsewhere, in what particular *Dido* is rich; *Mackail*, who raises the same objection as the *scholia*, compares, however, 7, 11: *dives* . . . *Solis filia*; 11, 213: *praediviis* . . . *Latini*; *Stat. Silv. 3, 1, 74*: *dives Elissa*.

263. *munera*: cf. 11, 72-75: *tum geminas vestes auroque ostroque rigentis / extulit Aeneas, quas illi laeta laborum / ipsa suis quondam manibus Sidonia Dido / fecerat, et tenui telas discreverat auro* (when *Aeneas* placed this robe over the bier of *Pallas* he contributed, as emphasized by *Ogle in Cl. Journ. 20 (1925), 270*, one of the things most

precious to him); *Val. Fl. 3, 9-11*: *oneratque superbis / muneribus primas coniunx Per-cosia vestes / quas dabat et picto Clyte varia-verat auro*. Other references to the exchange of gifts between *Dido* and *Aeneas* are found in 1, 647-655; 1, 659; 4, 646-647; 5, 571-572; 9, 266; 11, 72-75. Whether *munera* here applies only to the *laena*, as *Braumüller (Ueber Tropen u. Figuren in Vergil's Aeneis, 1 (1877), 12)* supposes, who cites analogous uses of *dona* and *dotes* for a single gift, or whether it should include the sword, as seems more likely, can hardly be proved; cf. *Hahn, Coordination of non-coordinate Elements in Vergil (1930), 7, n. 30*. With the elaborate equipment of *Aeneas* *Guillemin (L'Originalité de Virgile (1931), 95)* contrasts the humble dress of *Evander* (8, 459-460).

264. *fecerat et . . . discreverat*: our line is repeated at 11, 75. Of the coordinate clauses in classical prose one would probably have been subordinated. *Dido* apparently interwove with the wool fine threads of gold; cf. 3, 483: *picturatas auri sublemine vestes*; *Val. Fl. 1, 427-429*: *illis Taenario pariter tremuit ignea fuco / purpura; quod gemina mater spectabile tela / duxit opus*; *Stat. Theb. 11, 401-402*: *Maeoniis Argia modis ac pollice docto / stamina purpureae sociaverat aurea telae*.

265. *continuo*: introducing speeches also in 7, 68 and 7, 120; here, coupled with *invadit*, it gives the effect of brusqueness (cf. *Terzaghi, Virgilio ed Enea (1928), 64-65*). *Servius* remarks of *invadit*: *habitu futurae orationis ostendit*; cf. *Donat.*: *invektivam fore dictionem poeta ipse pronuntiavit dicendo 'continuo,' dicendo 'invadit'; nam impatientia commotionem mentis ostendit, ideo quae animo gerebat differre non potuit*; etc.; also 4, 30, n. (*sic effata*), above. For this use of *invadit*

266. fundamenta locas pulchramque uxorius urbem  
exstruis, heu, regni rerumque oblite tuarum?  
ipse deum tibi me claro demittit Olympos

pulcrum (*corr. in pulchram*) *a*, pulcrum *c*. uxori *M* (uxorius *M*<sup>1</sup>).  
exstruis *MPp*. eu (*corr. in heu*) *b*. ignare *P* (oblite *P*<sup>2</sup>); cf. 3, 382.  
demittit *Pγ<sup>1</sup>cπ*.

[265\*] 266-267. pulchramque . . . exstruis: *Non. p.* 105 *M.* (*p.* 150 *L.*) — pulcrum;  
exstruis —; [*Acro*] in *Hor. C.* 1, 2, 20 — pulchramque *A*; exstruis (extruit *c*, construit *v*) —.  
266. locas: *Gl. Ansil.* 344, 11; *q.v.* 266. uxorius: *Gl. Ansil.* 599, 3-4.

[266\*] 267. heu regni: *Donat. Aen.* 4, 191 (*p.* 377 *Georgii*). 267. oblite: *Gl. Ansil.* 402,  
249; *q.v.*

268-269. ipse . . . regnator: *Schol. Dan. Aen.* 5, 726 — timet (*corr. in tibimet*) *N*, timet  
*LH*, tibimet *M*; demittit *FN*, d. *LHM*; olimpho *F*; regnatur *F* —. 268. ipse . . . Olympos:  
*Serv. Aen.* 4, 356 — demittit *FNLH* —. 268. claro Olympos: *Gl. Ansil.* 121, 83. 268. de-  
mittit: *Gl. Ansil.* 178, 477 — demittit —; *q.v.*

(= 'accost'), suggesting *adgreditur* in 4, 92, cf. Tac. *Ann.* 6, 4: *Halerius Agrippa consules . . . invasit cur . . . silerent*; *Hist.* 1, 33: *Vinium Laco minaciter invasit*; 2, 53. The theophany, in which Virgil, a former Epicurean, can hardly be supposed to have believed too implicitly (cf. Glover in *Cl. Journ.* 26 (1930), 35), is less used by Virgil than by Homer (Pfister in *P.-W.* 4 Supplbd. (1924), 286), but may here poetically represent, in its words, the articulate expression of what the mind of Aeneas had already been shaping to itself; cf. Glover, *Virgil*, 2 ed. (1912), 195; also the famous incident in 2, 588-620, where the conclusions to which conscience is leading Aeneas are described by the poet as the utterances of his divine mother in a supernatural appearance. For a list of theophanies in Virgil, in human form when seen by several, in divine form when seen by the hero alone, cf. Ladewig, *Ueber einige Stellen des Vergil* (1853), 12, n.

265. tu nunc: *Schol. Dan.*: 'tu' *invectio est*, et 'nunc,' *id est, hoc tempore, quo tibi navigandum vel pro tua spe laborandum est*. In this speech Billmeyer (*Rhet. Stud.* z. d. *Reden in Vergils Aeneis* (1932), 22) recognizes four arguments, based upon *καλόν* (265-267; 272), *ἀναγκαῖον* (268-270), *συνμφέρον* (271-273), and *δίκαιον* (274-276).

265. *Karthaginis altae*: cf. 4, 97, n. (*Karthaginis altae*); *Schol. Dan.*: *quam altam*

*vis fieri*; also the force of *pulchram . . . urbem* in the next line.

266. fundamenta locas: cf. 1, 428: *fundamenta locant*; 4, 260: *fundantem*; *Plin. N. H.* 36, 95.

266. pulchram: elsewhere of towns, e.g., *G.* 2, 534: *pulcherrima Roma*; *Aen.* 11, 270: *pulchram Calydon*; doubtless here sarcastic, as in 4, 432.

266. uxorius: *Schol. Dan.*: *nimum uxori deditus vel serviens, ut Horatius (C. 1, 2, 19-20): uxorius amnis*; cf. Terzaghi, *Virgilio ed Enea* (1928), 17, n. 17, who points out that Virgil and Horace were using the word in this sense at about the same time; cf. Quintil. *Decl.* 388: *maritus nimum uxorius*; *Sen. Rhet. Controv.* 1, 6, 7: *ego contra refugio uxorem quia uxorius sum*; *Claud. De Nupt. Hon. Aug.* 59. Aeneas, though not Dido's husband, here acts as if he were; cf. Guillemin, *L'Originalité de Virgile* (1931), 94.

267. regni: cf. 4, 194: *regnorum immemores*; also, for the political implications in Virgil's own day, *Georgii, Die polit. Tendenz der Aeneide Vergils* (1880), 29.

267. oblite: perhaps a vocative standing for a nominative, as in 2, 283: *expectate venis*; 12, 947: *tunc hinc spoliis indute meorum*, etc. With the forgetfulness of one's land and its interests in absorption by a foreign infatuation cf. *Hor. C.* 3, 5, 10-11: *anciliorum et nominis et logae / oblitus aeter-*

269. regnator, caelum et terras qui numine torquet,  
ipse haec ferre iubet celeris mandata per auras:  
'quid struis, aut qua spe Libycis teris otia terris?'

ac *Pγa*, et *Mbcp.* terram *Pγ*.

quid *Pγ*<sup>1</sup>. lybycis *M.* oeris (*corr. in teris*) *P.* . otia *γ*, ocia *π*.

[268\*] 269. caelum . . . numine: *Cento Probae*, 214 — ac (ετ π); lumine *PL*, nominae (*corr. in numine m. 2*) *S*; numine firmat (lumine format *in marg. m. 2 π*) —.

270. ipse . . . auras: *Anth. Lat. no. 719a*, 126 (2, p. 193 *Riese*) — haec manifesta fides celeris (*ex v. praeced.*) *P* —.

271. quid . . . spe: *Anth. Lat. no. 17*, 178 (1, p. 68 *Riese*) — quid stabis *A* —. 271. Libycis . . . terris: *Schol. Lucan. 2*, 488 — ripis *G*<sup>1</sup> —.

naeque Vestae. With the whole line cf. *Stat. Theb. 7*, 547: *heu, nimium mitis nimiumque oblite tuorum*.

268. ipse deum, etc.: cf. 7, 306: *ipse deum . . . genitor*; *Stat. Theb. 2*, 115–116: *ipse deum genitor tibi me miseratus ab alto / mittit*. In 5, 726 the shade of Anchises says: *imperio Iovis huc venio*; cf. *Iris in Il. 11*, 201: *Ζεὺς με πατήρ προέηκε τείν τάδε μυθήσασθαι*. *Ipse*, repeated in 4, 270, is very emphatic.

268. claro . . . Olympo: cf. *Il. 1*, 532: *ἄπ' αἰγλήεντος Ὀλύμπου* (= *Od. 20*, 103); *Mar. Victor, Aleth. 1*, 134: *claro radiabat Olympo*.

268. demittit Olympo: cf. 4, 694: *Irim demisit Olympo*; 9, 2: *Irim de caelo misit Saturnia Iuno*; 12, 634–635: *Olympo / demissam*; *Sil. 9*, 551: *Irim propere demittit Olympo*. *Servius* says: *sive mons sil Macedoniae, qui dicitur esse diversorium deorum, sive caelum*; but surely Virgil here means the latter, which would be especially appropriate with the epithet *claro*, elsewhere applied to the heavens (cf. *Thes. Ling. Lat. 3* (1912), 1272, 20–21; so *Od. 6*, 42–45 emphasizes the λευκή . . . αἰγλή of Olympus); cf. *Braunmüller, Über Trofen u. Figuren in Vergils Aeneis*, 2 (1882), 16.

269. regnator: cf. 2, 799: *superi regnator Olympi*; 7, 558: *summi regnator Olympi*; 10, 437: *magnum regnator Olympi*; *Plaut. Amphit. 45*: *deorum regnator*; *Stat. Theb. 5*, 688: *deum regnator*; *Mart. 14*, 175, 1: *regnator Olympi*; *Carter, Epitheta Deorum* (1902), 54–55.

269. caelum, etc.: cf. 6, 724: *caelum ac*

*terras*; these words Virgil commonly uses in the reverse order.

269. numine: cf. 12, 180: *cuncta tuo qui bella, pater, sub numine torques*; *Hor. C. 3*, 1, 8: (*Iovis*) *cuncta supercilio moventis*; *Fabrizius, De Iove et Fato in P. V. M. Aeneide* (1896), 7.

269. torquet: *Schol. Dan.*: *utrum quia mundus volubilis est? an 'torquet' regit, sustinet? Ihm (Vergilstudien, 1 (1902), 8)* remarks that the phrase fits Atlas (4, 482 (= 6, 797): *axem umero torquet*) better than Jupiter; cf. also 9, 93: *filius huic contra, torquet qui sidera mundi*; *Ov. M. 2*, 70–71: *assidua rapitur vertigine caelum / sideraque alta trahit celerique volumine torquet*; *Stat. Theb. 8*, 82–83: *non fortius aethera vultu / torquet et astriferos inclinat Iuppiter axes*. There may be a physical sense, as some editors have thought, in *torquet* as used with *caelum*, and an administrative one as used with *terras* (for such zeugma in Virgil cf. *McCartney in Philol. Quart. 8* (1929), 84; 86, n. 26), for presumably Jupiter is thought of by Virgil either as turning the heavens around the earth (the older astronomical view) or as revolving the earth itself, rather than as doing both.

270. haec: *Serv.*: *quae dicturus est; nam supra dicta ex se dixerat*.

270. iubet, etc.: cf. 4, 226 and n. (*celeris . . . auras*); 4, 357–358: *celeris mandata per auras / detulit*; also *Il. 11*, 201: *Ζεὺς με πατήρ προέηκε τείν τάδε μυθήσασθαι*.

271. quid struis, etc.: cf. 4, 235: *quid struist, aut qua spe inimica in gente moratur*

272. si te nulla movet tantarum gloria rerum,  
[nec super ipse tua moliris laude laborem,]  
Ascanium surgentem et spes heredis Iuli

*Versum 273* (cf. 4, 233) om. MPpyab, Serv., Donat., Lamprid. *Ant. Diadum.* 8, 7; *habet in textu c, ima pag. add. dein abras. m. rec. M, add. in marg. γ, m. rec. in ras. b, m. rec. inter lin. add. a.*

heredes γ<sup>1</sup>, haeredi b<sup>1</sup>, heredi a<sup>1</sup>.

272. quid . . . rerum: *Lamprid. Ant. Diadum.* 8, 7; *Macrob. Sat.* 6, 6, 13; *Anth. Lat. no. 17, 238* (1, p. 70 Riese).

274-276. Ascanium . . . debentur: *Lamprid. Ant. Diadum.* 8, 7 — Iulii BP<sup>1</sup>; debetur —. 274-275. Ascanium . . . respice: *Non. p. 397 M.* (p. 637 L.). 274. Ascanium surgentem: *Schol. Dan. Aen.* 1, 556.

(and my n. on *inimica*); 12, 796: *quid struis, aut qua spe gelidis in nubibus haeres*. The message, in epic style, is based on the words of Jupiter, yet with considerable changes, perhaps for variety.

271. *teris otia*: cf. *Liv.* 1, 57, 5: *otium . . . inter se terebant*; *Luc.* 2, 488: *lentus terat otia*; *Stat. Silv.* 3, 5, 61: *otia iam pulchrae terit infecunda iuventae*; 4, 6, 2: *cum . . . lererem . . . otia*; *Rut. Nam.* 1, 621: *otia vicinis terimus navalia silvis*; the phrase is analogous to *tempus terere*, and the *Schol. Dan.* say of *teris*: *est verbum ad ignaviam positum*. Elsewhere we have *otia agunt* (*G.* 3, 377), *otia . . . degentem* (*Cul.* 73), and, in general, the plural form is that commonly used by Virgil, doubtless for metrical reasons; cf. also Spitta, *Quaest. Vergilianae* (1867), 37; Löfstedt, *Syntactica*, 1 (1928), 42.

271. *terris*: *Schol. Dan.*: 'terra' totum orbem significat, 'terrae' autem partes sunt. The jingle (*teris . . . terris*) would have been less striking to a Roman, who pronounced his double consonants as such, than to races which do not. Conington (*ad loc.*) compares 2, 494: *via vi*; 4, 238: *parere parabat*; 10, 191-192: *canil . . . canentem*; 10, 417-418: *canens . . . canentia*.

272. *si te nulla movet*: = 6, 405; cf. *Cir.* 378: *verum ubi nulla movet*; *Dracont. Rom.* 5, 306: *si ratio te nulla movet*. Our line echoes 4, 232: *si nulla accendit tantarum gloria rerum*. Dante, *Ep.* 7, 4, quotes lines 272-276 (*si te . . . debentur*, including line 273.)

272. *tantarum . . . rerum*: what these

are is rather inadequately explained by the *rerum . . . tuarum* of line 267. With the phrase cf. *Juvenc.* 1, 400: *cernis, ait, quae sit tantarum gloria rerum?*

273. *nec, etc.*: the evidence against this line, made up from 4, 233 (*nec super ipse sua molitur laude laborem*), with mere changes from the third to the second person, seems convincing. On the tendency of MSS to interpolate lines from parallel passages cf. Heinze, *Virgils epische Technik*, 3 ed. (1915), 93, n. 2 (who cites various instances from the *Aeneid*, including 4, 528); Sparrow, *Half-lines and Repetitions in Virgil* (1931), 111-154. The defence of the line by Wagner (in *Philologus*, Supplbd. 1 (1860), 383) and by Terzaghi (*Virgilio ed Enea* (1928), 64-65, n. 110) is fair in general principle but unconvincing in the face of the evidence cited above.

274. *Ascanium . . . Iuli*: on lines beginning and ending with different words for the same person or thing cf. Bell, *The Latin Dual* (1923), 362; another case in this book is 4, 634: *Annam . . . sororem*. Cf. 1, 267, where Ascanius and Iulus are identified; 4, 140, n. (*Iulus*).

274. *surgentem*: *Serv.*: *crescentem, ul* (10, 725) '*surgentem in cornua cervum*,' et (1, 366) '*surgentemque novae Carthagini arcem*'; cf. 6, 364 (= 10, 524): *per spes surgentis Iuli*; *Sil.* 1, 112: *te surgente, puer*; *Politian, Manto*, 230. Similarly *Ov. M.* 14, 583 (= *Anth. Lat.* no. 83, 92 (1, p. 117 Riese)): *crescentis Iuli*. The verb probably has here both a physical meaning, of bodily growth,

275. respice, cui regnum Italiae Romanaque tellus  
debentur.' tali Cyllenius ore locutus  
mortalis visus medio sermone reliquit

debentur *MPp*, *Serv.*, debetur *M<sup>2</sup>P<sup>2</sup>γabc*, *Donat.*, *Lamprid. Ant. Diadum.* 8, 7. cullenius *P* (cyllenius *P<sup>2</sup>*), cylenius *γ*, cillenius *a*, cilenius *π*.  
mortalis (*corr. in* mortalis) *P*. reliquit *bc*.

[274] 275-276. cui . . . debentur: *Serv. Aen.* 1, 678; 10, 47. 275. Romana tellus: *Gl. Ansil.* 500, 112.

[274\*, 275]

277. mortalis . . . reliquit: *Schol. Dan. Aen.* 4, 388; *Anth. Lat. no.* 15, 68 (1, p. 52 Riese) — uisus *A*; reliquit (n *supra* iq *manu antiqua*) *A* —; *Cento Probae*, 684 — mortales; me diu (*corr. m.* 3) *P*; in sermone (in *π add. m.* 2); relinquit *P* —. 277. mortalis visus: *Anth. Lat. no.* 719, 10 (2, p. 185 Riese).

and a political one, of increase of princely powers.

274. *spes* . . . *Iuli*: cf. 1, 556: *nec spes iam restat Iuli*. Does *spes* . . . *Iuli* mean the hopes which Iulus may fairly have of being his father's successor (possessive genitive; cf. 4, 354-355) or the hopes others have of him (objective genitive, like 12, 168: *magnae spes altera Romae*)? Editors differ, but the context, with its emphasis upon *heredis* and *debentur*, favors the former view. With this line cf. 4, 236, n. (*prolem Ausoniam*), above.

275. *respice*: the run-over position of this word and *debentur* in the next line are especially emphatic. On the figurative use of *respicere* cf. 12, 43: *respice res bello varias*; *Ov. H.* 1, 113; 3, 137; 12, 187: *communis respice natos*.

275. *regnum Italiae*: cf. 11, 219: *regnum Italiae*; *Ov. H.* 7, 10: *quaeque ubi sint nescis, Italia regna sequi*; also *Juvenc.* 1, 456-457: *mites . . . / quorum debetur iuri pulcherrima tellus*. Mackail (*ad loc.*) remarks: "The union and consubstantiation of Italy and Rome which is the key-note of the whole *Aeneid* is here fully declared as the ordinance of destiny," and on this principle he would justify the reading *debetur* in the next line; cf. *MacInnes in Cl. Rev.* 26 (1912), 5-8; 4, 276, n. (*debentur*), below.

275. *Romana*: cf. 4, 234, n. (*Romanas*).

276. *debentur*: cf. 4, 275, n. (*regnum Italiae*). *Servius* remarks: *honestius plurali numero respondit*; but various modern editors defend the singular on the ground that

Italy and Rome constitute a unified idea. This word is used for the ordinances of fate in 3, 184; 6, 714; 7, 120; 7, 145; 11, 166; 11, 759; 12, 795; etc.

276. *tali*, etc.: cf. 4, 30, n. (*sic effata*).

276. *Cyllenius*: cf. 4, 252, n. (*Cyllenius*).

276. *locutus*: cf. *G.* 4, 444: *tandem ore locutus*; *Aen.* 1, 614: *sic ore locuta est*; 9, 5: *ore locuta est*; 9, 319: *sic ore locutus*; *Serv. Aen.* 1, 695: *neque festinantibus personis neque minoribus est respondendi facultas, ut hoc loco Cupidini, Mercurio supra, item in quarto, ut in septimo Furiae*.

277. *mortalis visus*: cf. 2, 605: *mortalis hebetat visus*; 9, 657-658: *mortalis medio adspectu sermone reliquit / et procul in tenuem ex oculis evanuit auram*; *Paul. Nol. Carm.* 6, 132: *dixerat et visus pariter terrasque reliquit*. *Servius* comments: *aut oculis se Aeneae sustulit; aut humanam reliquit effigiem, quam sumpserat, ut ab Aenea posset videri; quod melius est*. So in 1, 402-406 *Venus* is revealed as a goddess only as she disappears from view. The sight of a deity was considered as disturbing or dangerous for mortal eyes; cf. *Il.* 20, 131: *χαλεποί δὲ θεοὶ φαίνεσθαι ἐναργές*; *Hor. C.* 2, 19, 1-8; also *Exod.* 33, 20.

277. *medio sermone*: cf. 4, 388: *his medium dictis sermonem abruptit*; *Val. Fl.* 6, 679: *haec fantem medio in sermone reliquit*; *Stat. Achill.* 1, 737: *medio sermone intercipit ille*; *Cypr. Hept. Iudic.* 285: *virum medio sermone reliquit*; *Mar. Victor, Aleth.* 3, 681: *in medio famulum sermone reliquit*; *Dracont. Romul.* 8, 505-506: *medio sermone Lacaena /*



278. et procul in tenuem ex oculis evanuit auram.

At vero Aeneas aspectu obmutuit amens

(et p)rocul P. n P (in P<sup>1</sup>). oculi M (oculis M<sup>1</sup>).  
ad P, tum Donat. ommutuit MP (obmutuit M<sup>2</sup>).

278. et . . . auram: Non. p. 417 M. (p. 672 L.). 278. evanuit: Gl. Ansil. 213, 15; q.v.  
279. aspectu: Gl. Ansil. 68, 117; q.v.

iam tacet; Serv.: *aliqui exsecutus est omnia quae Iuppiter dixerat; sed sermo est consertio orationis et confabulatio duorum vel plurium; medius ergo est sermo, cum persona cum qua quis loquitur non respondet, ut nunc fecit Aeneas*; and Donatus develops the thought at length: *non expectavit responsum Mercurius, sed finem suis verbis inponens ante discessit. medius sermo dividitur, qui exoriri potest inter duos vel pluris, cum sibi invicem proponunt invicemque respondent. hoc fieri Mercurius non passus est; non enim ad hoc fuerat missus ul peractis mandatis referret etiam ipse responsum. quod igitur esse medium potuit dimisit et abscessit, vel maxime quia, si aliquid ab Aenea vellet audire, vigilantis vox fuerat necessaria, quam mortali non licuit habere cum deo*; etc. Conington well remarks that here, as in 4, 388, there is no incompleteness in the speech, *medio* merely showing the abruptness of its ending.

278. et, etc.: this line = 9, 658.

278. *tenuem*, etc.: on vanishing at the end of a speech cf. G. 4, 499–500 (Eurydice): *dixit et ex oculis subito ceu fumus in auras / commixtus tenuis fugit diversa*; Aen. 2, 791 (Creusa): *deseruit tenuisque recessit in auras*; 4, 570: *sic fatus nocti se immiscuit atrae*; 5, 740 (the shade of Anchises): *dixerat, et tenuis fugit ceu fumus in auras*; also Hdt. 7, 13: τὸν μὲν ταῦτα ἐπὶ νότῳ ἔδοκει ὁ Ξέρξης ἀποπτάσθαι; Ov. F. 2, 509: *iussit, et in tenues oculis evanuit auras*; Sil. 8, 184: *sic fata in tenuem Phoenixa evanuit auram*; Juven. 1, 42: *haec ait et sese teneris immiscuit auris*; 1, 79: *nuntius abscedens vacuis se condidit auris*; Marin. Vit. Procli, 7: ἀφανὴς αὐτῷ ἐγένετο; Paul. Nol. Carm. 6, 84: *haec ait et tenues elabitur ales in auras*; Deubner, *De Incubatione* (1900), 13; 74; 83; Gerhard of Soissons, *Vit. S. Romani*, 500 (cited by Manitius, *Gesch. d. lat. Lit. d. Mittelalters*, 2 (1923),

496, n. 2): *evanuit umbra per auras*; Vida, *Christias*, 3, 446; *sic fatus subito in tenues evanuit auras*; Milton, *P. L.* 1, 497–499: “Satan, bowing low / His gray dissimulation, disappear’d, / Into thin air diffus’d.” The phrase *tenuis* (-es) *aura*(e) is a stock one; e.g., G. 4, 311; Aen. 5, 861; 7, 646; Lucr. 1, 1087; 3, 232; Manil. 1, 152; 1, 157; Ov. H. 1, 79: *tenues vanescat in auras*; Rem. Am. 653: *in tenues evanidus exeat auras*; M. 14, 432: *inque leves paulatim evanuit auras*; Val. Fl. 7, 157; Sil. 6, 39; Il. Lat. 114; Stat. Theb. 1, 309; Mart. 5, 79, 4; Hier. Ep. 84, 5, 1; Comm. in Ezech. 3, p. 120 Vall.; Rufin. Apol. 1, 4; Thes. Ling. Lat. 2 (1906), 1478, 62–66; Shakesp. *Tempest*, Act 4, Sc. 1, 150: “Are melted into air, into thin air”; *Macbeth*, Act 1, Sc. 3, 79–82.

278. *ex oculis*: cf. 4, 389, n. (*ex oculis*), below.

279. *at*: cf. 4, 1, n. (*at*). This clause is perhaps contrasted with 4, 296, beginning *at regina*, but more likely with 4, 571 (after Mercury’s second appearance): *tum vero Aeneas*. Terzaghi, however (*Virgilio ed Enea* (1928), 70–73), notes the similarities and differences between this line and 4, 393.

279. *obmutuit*: cf. 6, 155: *pressoque obmutuit ore*. Heinze (*Virgils epische Technik*, 3 ed. (1915), 327) discusses Virgil’s descriptions of the surprise caused by theophanies, and Pfister (in *P.-W.* 4 Supplbd. (1924), 318) calls attention to speechlessness as an occasional result of such appearances, comparing Od. 19, 42–43; Eur. *Bacch.* 1084–1085; Apul. *Met.* 11, 14: *at ego stupore nimio defixus tacitus haerebam*, etc.; Luke, 1, 20–22; etc.; cf. also Il. 11, 545: *στῆν δὲ ταφῶν*.

279. *amens*: bewildered rather than frenzied, as noted by Conington; cf. Panthus (2, 321), Nisus (9, 424), and Turnus (12, 776: *amens formidine*).

280. *arrectaeque horrore comae et vox faucibus haesit.*  
ardet abire fuga dulcisque relinquere terras,

arrecte γφ. horrore (ο post. m. 2) γ. paucibus P (faucibus P<sup>2</sup>).  
ab ira (corr. in ab ire) p.

280. *arrectaeque . . . haesit:* Anth. Lat. no. 17, 316 (I, p. 73 Riese). 280. *arrectae:* Gl. Ansil. 62, 269; q.v. 280. *vox . . . haesit:* Anth. Lat. no. 17, 172 (I, p. 67 Riese).  
281. *ardet . . . fuga:* Sacerd. Art. gram. 3 (G. L. K. 6, 498); Schol. Dan. Aen. I, 423.

280. *arrectae, etc.:* this line = 12, 868; cf. also 2, 774 (= 3, 48): *obstipui steteruntque comae et vox faucibus haesit*. Hair standing on end is a commonplace; the cause is usually fear, but sometimes other emotional excitement; e.g., Il. 24, 359: ὀρθαὶ δὲ τρίχες ἔσταν; Hes. Op. 539-540 (from cold); Aesch. Sept. 564: τριχὸς δ' ὀρθίας πλόκαμος ἴστανται; Choeph. 32: τορὸς γὰρ ὀρθότριξ φόβος; Soph. O. C. 1464-1465: ἐς δ' ἄκραν / δέλμ' ὑπῆλθε κρατὸς φόβαν; 1624-1625: ὥστε πάντας ὀρθίας / στήσαι φόβῳ δέσαντας ἐξαίφνης τρίχας; Frag. 875 Pearson (with his note, and Shewan in Cl. Philol. 22 (1927), 174-175): ὀρθόκερων φοίειν; Eur. Hel. 632-633 (from surprise); Ov. H. 7, 67: *obstipui, gelidusque comas exerebat horror*; M. 3, 100: *gelidoque comae terrore rigeant*; 7, 630-631: *pavido mihi membra timore / horruerant stabantque comae*; Sen. Dial. 3, 1, 4 (from anger); 4, 2, 1 (at bad news); Agam. 712: *mollis horrescit coma*; H. O. 707: *erectus horret crinis*; Luc. 1, 192-193: *tum perculit horror / membra ducis, rigueret comae*; Petron. 63, 1: *mihi pili inhorruerunt*; Pers. 3, 115: *cum excussit membris timor albus aristas*; Stat. Theb. 5, 238: *rigueret comae*; 8, 389: *galeaeque tremunt horrore comarum*; 10, 606: *stant tristes horrore comae*; Pastor Hermae, Vis. 3, 1, 5: τρόμος με ἔλαβεν καὶ αἱ τρίχες μου ὀρθαί; Philostr. Vit. Soph. p. 536 Ol. (of anger); Eunap. Vit. Philos. p. 502 Boiss. (of excitement): τῆς τε τριχὸς ὑποφριττοῦσης αὐτῷ; Vida, Christias, 5, 332-333: *surrectaeque comae steterunt gelidusque per ossa / horror iit; genua aegra labant; vox faucibus haesit*; Shakesp. 2 Hen. VI, Act 3, Sc. 2: "Mine hair be fixed on end"; Rich. III, Act 1, Sc. 3: "My hair doth stand on end to hear her curses"; Hamlet, Act 1, Sc. 5: "Each particular hair to stand on end, / Like quills upon the fretful porpentine";

Act 3, Sc. 4; Keats, *Lamia*, 2: "And not a man but felt the terror in his hair." For such awe (*horrore*) Buscaroli (*ad loc.*) compares Lucr. 3, 29; Liv. 1, 16, 6; Ov. Ep. 15, 67; Val. Fl. 2, 433; Stat. Theb. 5, 505.

280. *vox faucibus haesit:* = 2, 774; 3, 48; 12, 868; cf. Od. 4, 705: θαλερὴ δὲ οἱ ἔσχετο φωνή; Sen. Ep. 82, 21: *non haesit in faucibus*; Stat. Theb. 10, 688: *vox haesit utrimque*; Hier. Ep. 130, 5, 5: *haesit vox faucibus*; Anon. Vita Leudegarii, 1, 621-622 (Poet. Aevi Carol. 3, 22): *vox faucibus haesit, / erectae steterantque comae*; also Sappho, 2, 9 Bergk: ἀλλὰ κάμ μὲν γλῶσσα φέαγε; Aug. Ep. 140, 37: *lingua mea adhaesit faucibus meis . . . eius faucibus adhaerent* (cf. Ps. 22, 15; 137, 6); Dante, Purg. 31, 7-9; Leopardi, Il Sogno, 85-86: *nelle fauci stava / la voce*.

281. *ardet abire:* for the infinitive with *ardere* cf. I, 515; 1, 581; 2, 105; 2, 315-316; 8, 163; 11, 895; Ov. M. 5, 166; Val. Fl. 6, 46; C. I. L. IX, 952, 4 (Carm. Lat. epigr. no. 1340, 4): *ardet adire*; Preuss, Die metaphor. Kunst Vergils in der Aeneis (1894), 10; Thes. Ling. Lat. 2 (1906), 486, 61-71.

281. *dulcis, etc.:* Schol. Dan.: *minus est 'quamquam' per quod intellegi vult Aeneae animum, unde est (6, 460) 'invitus, regina, tuo de litore cessi.' et ne videatur ingratus, deorum excusatur imperio; sic ipse in sexto (461) 'sed me iussa deum'; Donat.: non inanis deliberatio apud eum fuit quem constabat deorum esse cultorem. cuius rei contemplatione permotus tractabat non minus etiam aliam partem. occurrebant enim Didonis humanitas et ipsa qualiscumque coniunctio et terrae iam dulces ex mora. cumque uno ex latere metus divinae iussionis insisteret, ex altero pudor, quid facere deberet in tali negotio cogitabat; etc. Terzaghi (Virgilio ed Enea (1928), 70, n. 1) notes the striking contrast between *dulcis**

282. attonitus tanto monitu imperioque deorum.  
heu, quid agat, quo nunc reginam ambire furem

munitu *M* (monitu *M*<sup>2</sup>). mperio (*corr. in imperio*) γ.  
quit γ.

282. attonitus . . . deorum: *Prisc. Inst.* 11, 34 (*G. L. K.* 2, 571) — adtonitus (attonitu *BDHGr*); magno imperio monituque (imperio nominatuque *B*) —.

283–284. heu . . . adfatu: *Asper*, p. 534 *Hagen* — regin. a. f. a. a. —. 283–284. quo . . . sumat: *Non.* p. 30 *M.* (p. 44 *L.*) — quonam —. 283–284. quo . . . adfatu: *Non.* p. 242 *M.* (p. 363 *L.*) — quonam; audire *L* ante *corr.* —; *Donat. Aen.* 4, 290. 283. quid agat: *Gl. Ansil.* 479, 17.

and *ardet abire*, while Ogle (in *Cl. Journ.* 20 (1925), 268) points out that it expresses the conflict in the mind of Aeneas between love and duty. With the phrase *dulcis . . . terras* cf. *Ecl.* 1, 3: *dulcia linquimus arva*.

282. attonitus: cf. 3, 172: *talibus attonitus visis et voce deorum*; 5, 529: *attonitis haesere animis*; 5, 659; 7, 580; 12, 610; also Schol. Dan.: *proprie, iuxta quem deus missus a Iove stetit, a quo et fulmina iaciuntur quae attonitos faciunt; attonitus enim est proprie iuxta quem fulmen cadit*.

282. monitu . . . deorum: cf. 6, 533: *monitu divom*. The word applies particularly to warnings in dreams, and many inscriptions contain the phrase *somnio monitus*. Here *deorum* probably refers to Jupiter and Mercury rather than to the gods in general. Masera (*ad loc.*) finds in *-que* a force almost equal to *etiam*, “a warning and (even a positive) command of the gods.”

283. heu: cf. 4, 13, n. (*heu, etc.*), above; 12, 486: *heu, quid agat*; Val. Fl. 1, 71 (= 7, 309): *heu, quid agat*; Claud. *In Rufin.* 2, 14: *heu, quid agam*; Paul. Nol. *Carm.* 18, 267: *heu quid agam nunc*; Ov. *F.* 3, 609: *quid agat*; also in 4, 534, below, the even more pathetic *en, quid ago*; and, for the form of question, *G.* 4, 504–505; *Aen.* 9, 399–400. As Dido started to speak to Aeneas of her love but stopped (cf. 4, 76, n. (*incipit, etc.*)), so Aeneas here hesitates to tell her of his departure, their friendship being one lacking in mutual confidence; cf. 4, 390–391. *Donat.*: *remanserat igitur consilii ratio, utrum sciente an inscia Didone discedi deberet aut posset*.

283. reginam: Valmaggi (in *Riv. di*

*Filol.* 25 (1897), 40) observes that it is not the lovesick woman but the queen who is uppermost in Aeneas's thoughts, and considers this a momentary flash of political feeling which discloses the elements on which the whole episode is founded.

283. ambire: Schol. Dan.: *blanditiis vel subdole circumvenire*. The verb denotes an indirect rather than a direct approach; cf. 7, 333; Hor. *C.* 1, 35, 5; Val. Fl. 7, 256: *dumque illam variis maerentem vocibus ambit*; *Thes. Ling. Lat.* 1 (1900), 1850, 29–43; Rand, *The magical Art of Virgil* (1931), 355, n. 1, who notes that it is used of a worshipper who implores.

283. furem: cf. 4, 8, n. (*male sana*).

284. adfatu: a word of poets and orators, first appearing here.

284. prima exordia: pleonastic as in 7, 40: *primae . . . exordia pugnae*; Lucr. 3, 380: *exordia prima*; Auson. *Ecl.* 15, 15: *exordia prima*. With *exordia sumat* cf. Lucr. 1, 149: *principium cuius hinc nobis exordia sumet*; 5, 331: *exordia cepit*; Claud. *De III Cons. Hon.* 1: *sumant exordia*; *Carm. de S. Cassiano*, 242 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 4, 187): *quae prima exordia sumat*; and for the plural cf. Quintil. 11, 3, 161; Juven. 2, 200; Spitta, *Quaest. Vergilianae* (1867), 35–36, who thinks that the plural *ostendit multas illas ambages, quae opus erant Aeneae, ut Didoni consilium proficiscendi pedetentim ac leniter insinuaret; variatur igitur id quod antea ambiendi verbo expresserat poeta*. Conington compares with this phrase Eur. *I. A.* 1124–1125: *τίς ἂν λάβοιμι τῶν ἐμῶν ἀρχὴν κακῶν; / ἀπασι γὰρ πρῶτοισι χρῆσασθαι πάρα*. *Exordium* is de-

284. audeat adfatu, quae prima exordia sumat?  
atque animum nunc huc celerem nunc dividit illuc

adfatu *MP*, adfatu *M<sup>ba</sup>p*, affatu *a<sup>2</sup> et (f pr. ex corr.) γ*, afatum (*m erasa*) *c.* et quae *an dett.*  
adque *b*, utque *Heinsius*; *vid. explic. infra.* uidit (*corr. in diuidit*) *π.*

[283\*] 284. audeat . . . sumat: *Anth. Lat. no. 11, 74 (1, p. 44 Riese)* — affari (*effari q; A*) — 284. adfatu: *Gl. Ansil. 26, 168; q.v.*

285. atque . . . illuc: *Anth. Lat. no. 8, 66 (1, p. 36 Riese)* — adque *A* — 285. dividit: *Gl. Ansil. 185, 1257; q.v.*

finied by Auct. ad Herenn. 1, 3, 4, as *principium orationis, per quod animus auditoris constituitur ad audiendum.*

285. atque, etc.: this line and the next = 8, 20–21 and have been deleted by many editors (also by Sparrow, *Half-lines and Repetitions in Virgil* (1931), 143), because (1) they are here ignored by Servius (though not by Donatus); (2) they are thought more appropriate at 8, 20–21; (3) line 286 is omitted by *F<sup>1</sup>P<sup>1</sup>γ<sup>1</sup>*; (4) *atque* is criticized as awkward (Heinsius conjectured *utque*, removing the period after 286); (5) line 285, like 287, implies hesitation between two possible courses of action, while 286 (*in partis . . . varias* and *omnia*) suggests more. I do not find these objections conclusive, however, and it should be noted that there are, as remarked by Donatus, two main possibilities, to go away without or with the knowledge of Dido, either of which would imply various possible courses for carrying it into effect. The main contrast appears in *fuga* (281) and *adfatu* and *exordia* (284), but not so clearly that, if we should delete 285–286, *alternanti* would not appear rather awkward in 287. Cf. also the defence of the line by Wagner, *Lectionum Vergilianarum Libellus* (1859), 35–36; Gladstone, *De Vergilio ipsius Imitatore* (1921), 29. With the thought cf. *Il.* 1, 189 (= 8, 167; 13, 455): *διάνδιχα μεμῆριξεν*; 14, 20–21: *δαΐζόμενος κατὰ θυμόν / διχθαδί*; *Od.* 22, 333: *δίχα δὲ φρεσὶ μεμῆριξεν*; *Pind. Frag.* 197 (213), 4: *δίχα μοι νόος ἀτρεκέλιαν εἰπεῖν*; *Caull.* 62, 15: *nos alio mentes, alio divisimus aures*; *Aen.* 4, 630: *partis animum versabat in omnis*; 5, 701–702: *nunc huc ingentis, nunc illuc pectore curas / mutabat versans*; 5, 720: *in curas animo diducitur omnis*; 10, 680: *haec memorans animo nunc huc, nunc fluctuat illuc*; *Sen. Ep.* 26, 6: *remove exi-*

*stimationem hominum; dubia semper est et in partem utramque dividitur*; *Stat. Achill.* 1, 200: *huc illuc divisa mente volutat*; *Gesta Apollonii*, 284 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 2, 492): *cito versantem late . . . divide mentem*; *Anon. Vita Leudegarii*, 1, 243 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 3, 12): *huc animum celerem spargit seu dividit illuc*; *Ekkehard, Waltharius*, 383: *et nunc huc animum tristem nunc dividit illuc*; *Vida, Christias*, 5, 2; *huc mentem dividit atque huc*; *Tasso, Ger. lib.* 6, 81, 5–6: *mentre in varii pensier divide e parte / l'incerto animo suo, che non ha posa*; *Ariosto, Orl. fur.* 8, 71, 2; *Tennyson, Morte d'Arthur*, 60 (= *Passing of Arthur*, 218): “This way and that dividing the swift mind.” *Maphaeus Vegius, Aen.* 13, 499 reads: *nunc hac nunc volvitur illuc.*

285. *celerem*: proverbial of the mind and its processes; cf. *Od.* 7, 36: *ὠκέϊα ὥς εἰ περὸν ἢ νῆμα*; *Thales ap. Diog. L.* 1, 35: *τάχιστον νοῦς, διὰ παντὸς γὰρ τρέχει*; *Xen. Mem.* 4, 3, 13: *θᾶπτον δὲ νοήματος*; *Theocr.* 2, 7: *ταχινὰς φρένας*; *Arist. De Lin. insect.* p. 968 a 25–26: *ταχίστη δ' ἡ τῆς διανοίας κίνησις*; *Lucr.* 3, 182–183: *nil adeo fieri celeri ratione videtur / quam sibi mens fieri proponit et inchoat ipsa*; *Cic. Tusc.* 1, 43: *nil est animo velocius*; *De Sen.* 78: *cum tanta celeritas animorum sit*; *Orat.* 200: *mens eadem qua nihil est celerius*; *Ov. Rem. Am.* 89: *celeri circumspice mente*; *Sen. De Benef.* 2, 29, 5: *animum . . . sideribus velociorem*; *Thes. Ling. Lat.* 3 (1912), 750, 71–751, 3; *Shakesp. Hamlet*, Act 1, Sc. 5, 29–30: “With wings / As swift as meditation”; *Love's Labour's lost*, Act 5, Sc. 2, 261; *Henry V*, Act 3, prol.: “In motion of no less celerity / Than that of thought”; etc. The Scholia Danielis *Aen.* 8, 20 remark: “*celerem* autem ad corporis comparationem, quod tardum est, ut (6, 720–721) ‘*ilorumque ad tarda reverti / corpora.*’”

286. in partisq[ue] rapit varias perque omnia versat.  
haec alternanti potior sententia visa est:

286-301: FMP. Versum 286 om. FPγ, add. maiusculis Carolinis F<sup>4</sup>, litteris saec. XV minusc. F<sup>8</sup>, in γ add. m. rec.; tradit M<sup>p</sup>, Donat.; tacet Serv. partes cp. que om. a<sup>1</sup>p. alternanti M (alternanti M<sup>2</sup>). sentia (corr. in sententia m. 2) π.

286. in . . . varias: Anth. Lat. no. 11, 73 (1, p. 44 Riese).

287. alternanti: Gl. Ansil. 46, 325; q.v.; cf. 46, 326-327; Gl. Abol. 101, 22; Gl. Abstr. 8, 35; Gl. Affatim (C. G. L. 4, 475, 50). 287. potior . . . est: Cento Probae, 50 — sententiam (m exp. m. 2) S, setencia P —. 287. visa est: Gl. Ansil. 591, 373.

285. dividit: of the διαίρεσις of a logical genus into species; cf. Ar. Nub. 722: ὁρθῶς διαίρων. With the idea of uncertainty cf. Cyril. Alex. In Ionam, 8 (Patr. Gr. 71, 612): διαποροῦσι λοιπὸν καὶ μερίζονται τὰς γνώμας.

286. partis, etc.: cf. Ter. Andr. 260: tot me impediunt curae, quae meum animum divorsae trahunt; Ov. M. 8, 188: ignotas animum dimittit in artes; Amm. Marc. 20, 4, 6: perque varias curas animum versans; Carm. de S. Cassiano, 218 (Poet. Aevi Carol. 4, 187): in partisq[ue] rapit varias perque omnia versat; also the note on atque, etc. above.

286. omnia versat: also a verse-ending in Lucr. 2, 882; Ecl. 9, 5.

287. alternanti: Serv.: varia mente traktanti. et per hoc ostenditur cogitasse eum etiam amorem, sed praetulisse voluntatem deorum. From our passage, as noted by Thes. Ling. Lat. 1 (1900), 1753, 2, the grammarians derived a new signification for this verb; cf. the gloss: cogitanti, dubitanti, λογίζομαι ὁ ἐστίν, ἐνθυμούμαι, σκέπτομαι; and Mart. Cap. 1, 6 says: cunctamento longae deliberationis alternat; cf. Ambros. De Abraham. 2, 87: cordi suo dixerit quasi alternanti secum; Carm. de S. Cassiano, 243 (Poet. Aevi Carol. 4, 187): sic alternanti potior sententia visa est. It is not certain whether haec is the object of alternanti or, as La Cerda and Conington hold, modifies sententia, but the Homeric parallels about to be cited favor the latter view.

287. potior, etc.: cf. Il. 2, 5 = 10, 17 = 14, 161 (cf. Od. 9, 318; 9, 424; 11, 230): ἦδε δέ οἱ κατὰ θυμὸν ἀρίστη φάινετο βουλὴ; 13, 458 (= 14, 23; 16, 652): ὦδε δέ οἱ φρονέοντι δοάσσατο κέρδιον εἶναι; Apoll. Rh. 3, 399-

400: τὸ οἱ εἴσατ' ἀρεῖον / φραζομένῳ; Aen. 11, 550-551: omnia secum / versanti, subito vix haec sententia sedit; Milton, P. L. 9, 87-88: "After long debate irresolute / Of thoughts revolvd, his final sentence chose."

288. Mnesthea: this line is repeated at 12, 561; cf. the similar 1, 510: Anthea Sergestumque videt fortemque Cloanthum; Ma-phaeus Vegius, Aen. 13, 410: Sergestus fortisque Gyas fortisque Cloanthus. On the Greek declensional form cf. Quintil. 12, 10, 33: tanto est sermo Graecus Latino iucundior ut nostri poetae, quotiens dulce carmen esse voluerunt, illorum id nominibus exornent; Macrobi. Sat. 5, 17, 19: adeo autem et declinationibus Graecis delectatur ut 'Mnesthea' dixerit pro 'Mnestheum' sicut ipse alibi (10, 129) 'nec fratre Mnestheo.' Mnestheus is the most frequently mentioned of Aeneas's lieutenants (23 times as compared with 21 for Achates), but has the rather shadowy personality of all such satellites. He is called genus Assaraci (12, 127), the ancestor of the Memmii (5, 117), is mentioned with Serestus (9, 171; 9, 779-781; 12, 549; 12, 561), sometimes as a rector iuvenum (cf. 9, 306), being one of those left by Aeneas to command the camp during his absence, and is combined with Sergestus in 5, 184. In the regatta at the funeral games he commanded the ship Pristis (5, 116; 5, 189; 5, 194; 5, 210; 5, 218; 5, 493-494; 5, 507); elsewhere he appears in accounts of battles (9, 812; 10, 143; 12, 127; 12, 384; 12, 443; 12, 459). In general he is an energetic officer; cf. Cartault, L'Art de Virgile dans l'Énéide, 1 (1926), 153-154.

On Virgil's complimentary purpose in presenting in the Aeneid as comrades of Aeneas the eponymous ancestors of prominent Ro-

288. Mnesthea Sergestumque vocat fortemque Serestum,  
classem aptent taciti sociosque ad litora cogant,

mnesthea *Mγabb.* uacat *M* (uocat *M<sup>1</sup>*). fortemque cloanthum *πρ* (cf. 1, 510).  
apten *M* (aptent *M<sup>2</sup>*). que *om. Ppyc, plerique Pieriani, aliquot Heinsiani, Donat.* cogat  
(corr. in cogant) *a.*

288. Mnesthea et Sergestum (*sic*): *Gl. Ansil.* 380, 6.

289-290. classem . . . parent: *Schol. Veron. Aen. 1, 1* — *verba classem . . . taciti evanida restituit Herrmann* —. 289. aptent: *Gl. Ansil.* 19, 477; *q.v.*; *Gl. Abba*, 26, 32.

man families of his day — it should be noted that Mnestheus, Sergestus, and Serestus are not named by Homer — cf. Cauer, *Die römische Aeneassage* (1886), 142-144; Heinze, *Virgils epische Technik*, 3 ed. (1915), 152; Frank, *Virgil* (1922), 73-74. There were fifty such Trojan families, discussed in Varro's lost work *De Familiis Troianis* and in the work of Hyginus bearing the same title (cf. Serv. *Aen.* 5, 389), as possibly in the *De Familiis* of M. Valerius Messalla Rufus (cf. Norden in *Neue Jahrb. f. d. kl. Alt.* 7 (1901), 263-264; Schanz-Hosius, *Gesch. d. röm. Lit.* 1, 4 ed. (1927), 600), of which eleven are known to us, according to Cauer (*op. cit.*, 142): the *Sulpicii*, *Memmii* (from *Mnestheus*), *Sergii* (from *Sergestus*), *Cluentii* (*Cloanthus*), *Cloelii* (*Clonius*; cf. Paul. ex Fest. p. 55 M. = p. 48 Lindsay), *Caecilii* (*Caeculus?*), *Aemilii* (from *Aemylos*, son of Iulus; cf. Paul. ex Fest. p. 23 M. = p. 22 Lindsay), *Iunii*, *Nautii* (*Nautes*), *Geganii* (*Gyas*), and *Iulii* (*Iulus*). To this number, however, should be added the *Atii* (*Atys*; cf. *Aen.* 5, 568). Other Roman *gentes* and *stirpes* not of Trojan but Italic origin Virgil also occasionally suggests or implies; e.g., the *Claudii* (*Clausus*; *Aen.* 7, 707-708); the *Camilli* (*Camilla*); the *Lamiae* (*Lamus*; *Aen.* 9, 334).

288. *Sergestum*: *domus tenet a quo Sergius nomen* (5, 121); a member of the deputation to Dido (1, 510), commander in the regatta of the ship *Centaureus* (5, 121-122), which ran aground (5, 204; 5, 221-222); cf. Cartault, *op. cit.*, 2, 153. As an ancestor of L. Sergius Catilina this figure would have interested Roman readers; cf. Heinze, *op. cit.*, 3 ed., 152.

288. *vocat*: rather than arouse suspicion

of the Carthaginians by undertaking the work himself Aeneas gives orders to his aides (cf. Donat. *ad loc.*), but we are hardly justified with DeWitt (*The Dido Episode in the Aeneid of Virgil* (1907), 50) in inferring that he had lodged in the royal palace since his arrival, nor does *revisit* in 4, 396 justify such a supposition.

288. *fortem*: 'stout'; a not infrequent adjective (e.g., 1, 222; 1, 510; 1, 612), the presence of which with one of the proper names helps to offset the fact that the other two remain without characterization.

288. *Serestum*: thrice (9, 171 = 9, 779 = 12, 549) described as *acer* and coupled with Mnestheus (with whom he is also linked here and in 12, 561). He participated in the deputation to Dido (1, 611), commanded a ship (5, 487), set up a trophy (10, 541), and occasionally appeared in other connections. The less well attested reading *Cloanthum* was perhaps suggested by the similar line, 1, 510: *Anthea Sergestumque videt fortemque Cloanthum*. Cloanthus also appears in eight other lines and was the eponymous ancestor of the Cluentii (5, 122-123). The arguments for *Cloanthum* by Kvičala, *Virgil-Studien* (1878), 186-188 (cf. his *Neue Beitr. z. Erkl. d. Aeneis* (1881), 99), and Chatelain (in *Bibl. de l'École des hautes Études*, 73 (1887), 379) hardly outweigh the testimony of the best MSS.

289. *classem aptent*: *Schol. Dan.*: *deest 'praecipit.' et 'aptent' modo 'parent,' alibi 'adnectere,'* quoting 7, 731; see also Guillemin, *L'Originalité de Virgile* (1931), 29. Cf. 3, 471-472: *remigium supplet, socios simul instruit armis. / interea classem velis aplare iubebat*; 4, 299: *armari classem*; 5, 753: *aplant remosque rudentisque*; 8, 79-80: *legit de classe biremis / remigioque aptet, socios*

290. arma parent et quae rebus sit causa novandis  
dissimulent; sese interea, quando optima Dido  
nesciat et tantos rumpi non speret amores,

parant *M* (parent *M*<sup>2</sup>). sit rebus *abm*π.  
dissimulent (nt *m. 2 in ras.*) γ. optima γ.

[289] 290–291. quae . . . dissimulent: *Serv. Aen. 4, 305.* 290. novandis: *Gl. Ansil. 306, 304; q.v.*

[290] 291–294. sese . . . tempora: *Donat. Aen. 4, 300.* 291–292. sese . . . amores: *Prisc. Inst. 18, 92 (G. L. K. 3, 248)* — rumpit *P*; sperat *MD*; mores *M* —. 291. dissimulent: *Gl. Ansil. 182, 888; q.v.*

[291\*] 292. rumpi: *Gl. Ansil. 502, 138; q.v.* 292. non speret: *Gl. Ansil. 395, 196.*

*simul instruit armis*; Segebade, *Vergil als Seefahrer* (1895), 3. At 1, 551–552 Ilioneus had asked for the Trojans permission *subducere classem / et silvis aptare trabes et stringere remos*, but apparently this work, like that upon the walls of Carthage (4, 86–89), had lagged from lack of superintendence.

The syntax of this sentence is “a sort of oratio obliqua depending on the sense rather than on the expression of the previous line,” according to Conington, who compares 2, 652.

289. *taciti*: *Serv. sine strepitu celantes consilia*; cf. Dido’s reproach in 4, 306: *tacitus . . . mea decedere terra*, and Aeneas’s disavowal (4, 337–338): *neque ego hanc abscondere furto / speravi — ne finge — fugam* — perhaps not altogether candid, in view of 4, 281 and the present lines.

289. *socios*: for the size of Aeneas’s force cf. *Solin. 2, 14: nec omisum sit Aenean aestate ab Ilio capto secunda Italiciis litoribus adpulsum, ut Hemina tradit, sociis non amplius sescentis, in agro Laurenti posuisse castra*; Jäkel, *Zur Aeneassage* (1879), 17–18; Cauer, *Die röm. Aeneassage* (1886), 110–111. Virgil himself furnishes no definite figures. With the phraseology cf. *Juvenc. 2, 7: populosque ad litora cogunt*.

290. *arma parent*: *Serv.: contra impetum iratae forte reginae*. Cf. 7, 468: *iubet arma parari*. *Buscaroli (ad loc.)* understands *arma* of the utensils, etc. necessary for the equipment of the ships and scoffs at the explanation of *Servius*. Lines 592–594, however, show that the danger of armed conflict was a real one.

290. *rebus . . . novandis*: *Schol. Dan.:*

*Sallustius (Hist. Frag. inc. 58 Kr.) ‘quae causa fuerit novandis rebus.’ nos ‘quae causa novandarum rerum’ dicimus.*

291. *dissimulent*: cf. 4, 305.

291. *interea*: on Virgil’s use of this word cf. Reinmuth in *Am. Journ. of Philol. 54* (1933), 333.

291. *quando*: causal; cf. 4, 315; 10, 366; *Serv.: non est temporis sed significat ‘siquidem’ et est coniunctio ratiocinantis.*

291. *optima*: not merely, as the Scholia *Danielis* say, *pro ‘adhuc optima,’* for this superlative is a favorite epithet with Virgil; cf. *Cartault, L’Art de Virgile dans l’Énéide*, 1 (1926), 519, who notes its application to Aeneas (1, 555; 5, 358; 9, 40–41), Anchises (3, 710), Latinus (11, 294; 11, 353; 12, 48), Evander (8, 127), Teuthras (10, 402), *et al.* The adjective here, as Heinze says (*Virgils epische Technik*, 3 ed. (1915), 124, n. o), is used from the point of view of Aeneas himself, as the context shows. Mackail, like La Cerda and, apparently, Hahn (in *Trans. Am. philol. Assoc. 56* (1925), 205, and n. 144), thinks it here means ‘gracious’ or ‘benignant,’ but whether Aeneas would just at this moment have emphasized that characteristic of Dido seems somewhat doubtful (though *Masera (ad loc.)* believes that it is intended to stress the difficulty of Aeneas in acting ungratefully toward her). Is it not, perhaps, in the (slightly disparaging) sense of “that excellent woman, Dido”? Hahn (in *Cl. Weekly*, 25 (1931), 19, n. 113) thinks the epithet “may be a wistful bit of retrospection to the days when she was still bearing herself with decorum.”

293. temptaturum aditus et quae mollissima fandi  
tempora, quis rebus dexter modus. ocius omnes  
imperio laeti parent et iussa facessunt.

qui *Donat.*, qui (*corr. in quis*) *a.* quibus *F* (quis rebus *F*<sup>4</sup>). omnis *F.*  
et *FMPγacp*, ac *M<sup>1b</sup>*, *Donat.* facessunt (*scunt m. rec. in ras.*) π.

[291] 293-294. et . . . tempora: *Non. p.* 346 *M.* (*p.* 549 *L.*); *Serv. Aen.* 4, 423. 293-294. mollissima . . . tempora: *Gl. Ansil.* 374, 201.

[291, 293] 294. dexter modus: *Gl. Arma*, 14, 65.

295. imperio . . . facessunt: *Non. p.* 306 *M.* (*p.* 477 *L.*) — ac; iusta *corr. E* —.  
295. iussa facessunt: *Paul. ex Fest. p.* 86 *M.* (*p.* 77 *L.*).

292. tantos . . . amores: perhaps plural because implying a mutual relation of love on the part of both Dido and Aeneas (cf. Knapp in *Cl. Journ.* 26 (1930), 108), or, more likely (since this is said from the point of view of Aeneas), referring only to Dido's passion for him, the plural being poetically used for the singular; cf. 4, 28, n. (*amores*), above.

292. rumpi: the love-relation may be regarded as a contract (*coniugium vocat*, 4, 172), and as we have the phrase *foedera rumpere* (8, 540; 12, 202; 12, 582) so here the verb is used with *amores*. Cf. also *Lucr.* 3, 83-84: *vincula amicitiae / rumpere*.

292. speret: not 'hope' but 'anticipate'; cf. ἐλπίειν and its cognates; *Ecl.* 8, 26: *quid non speremus amantes*; *G.* 1, 36; *Aen.* 1, 543: *at sperate deos memores*; 4, 419: *tantum sperare dolerem* (and the note); 11, 275; etc. This use is especially common with a negative.

293. temptaturum aditus: cf. 4, 423: *sola viri mollis aditus et tempora noras*; 9, 67: *qua templet ratione aditus*; *Macrob. Sat.* 1, 2, 1: *temptanti mihi . . . aditus tuos et mollissima consultant tempora*; *Vida, Christias*, 6, 639-640: *quaerendum quae tempora fandi, / quis modus aptus*; *Spitta, Quaestiones Vergilianae* (1867), 36 (on the plural).

293. mollissima: cf. 4, 423; from some lost work of Cato the Scholia Danielis quote: *qua mollissimum est adoriantur*; cf. *Ov. Ex Pont.* 3, 3, 84: *et veniet votis mollior hora tuis*; *M.* 9, 611-612: *non adiit apte, nec legit idonea, credo, / tempora*; *Sil.* 4, 491: *mollis aditus*.

293. fandi: cf. *Val. Fl.* 3, 651: *dum iura dares, dum tempora fandi*; 5, 389: *ac tu prima*

*doce fandi tempusque modumque*. *Quintil.* 8, 3, 27 mentions *fari* as an archaism occasionally justifiable in poetry.

294. tempora: cf. *Hor. S.* 1, 9, 56-58: *difficilis aditus primos habet . . . / . . . / . . . tempora quaeram*.

294. dexter: *Schol. Dan.*: *quis sit optimus rebus eventus, ut* (8, 302) 'et tua dexter adi pede sacra secundo,' *id est, bonus et per hoc propitius, ut 'laevum' pro malo*, etc.; also *Aen.* 2, 388: *quaque ostendit se dextra* (*sc. fortuna*), *sequamur*; 4, 578-579: *sidera caelo / dextra feras*; *Hor. S.* 2, 1, 18-19: *nisi dextro tempore, Flacci, / verba per attentam non ibunt Caesaris aurem*; *Wagner, Popular Associations of Right and Left in Roman Literature* (1912), 56, for other parallels.

294. modus: as Conington notes, = *ratio* (as in 12, 157: *si quis modus*) rather than *terminus*, as the Scholia Danielis assert, and as Virgil uses it in *Ecl.* 2, 68; 10, 28.

294. ocius omnes: a verse tag found in 5, 828; 8, 278; *Ov. M.* 12, 226; cf. *Aen.* 8, 444: *ocius incubere omnes*. The comparative is possibly a shortening of *dicto ocius*; cf. 1, 142: *dicto citius*; *Otto, Die Sprichwörter . . . der Römer* (1890), 112; *Hunziker, Die Figur der Hyperbel in d. Ged. Vergils* (1896), 89, and n. Kvičala, however (*Neue Beitr. z. Erkl. d. Aeneis* (1881), 99-100) would explain *ocius* as meaning "more quickly than would otherwise have been the case," and compares certain Greek instances of θάσσον, used like a positive.

295. imperio . . . parent: cf. 3, 189; 4, 238-239; 4, 577; *Juvenc.* 2, 98: *imperio Christi paret gaudetque secutus*.

295. laeti: the joy of the Trojans con-



296. At regina dolos (quis fallere possit amantem?)  
praesensit motusque exceptit prima futuros,

quisquis *M* (quis *M*<sup>1</sup>).

praesenssit *Fc*<sup>1</sup> (praesensit *F*<sup>1</sup>), presensit *γ*, presenssit *p*. amotus *M* (motus *M*<sup>1</sup>). excipit *FM* (exceptit *M*<sup>1</sup>).

296-297. at . . . praesensit: *Sacerd. Art. gram.* 1 (G. L. K. 6, 466). 296. quis . . . amantem: *Serv. Aen.* 1, 352; *Lact. Plac. in Stat. Theb.* 2, 335 — qui *Pb*; posset *L* —.

[296] 297. praesensit . . . futuros: *Cento Probae*, 361 — pressensit *P*; futura (futuros *m.* 2) *S*. 297. praesensit: *Cento Probae*, 212 — presentisit (*corr. in presensit*) *Lb* —.

trasts with the perplexity of their leader, somewhat as the interests of Dido and those of her subjects run in different directions (4, 467; 4, 545); cf. Ogle in *Cl. Journ.* 20 (1925), 261. The adjective several times expresses the delight of the Trojans in making progress toward their goal, especially in starting again after a rest; cf. 1, 35; 1, 554; 4, 418; 5, 34; also Haeckermann, *Explicationum Vergilianarum Specimen* (1853), 3. Donatus remarks: *laeti autem hoc faciebant quia contra voluntatem apud Carthaginem tenebantur*. We may also see the joy of a force at getting to sea again after an interruption of their journey; cf. *Ov. M.* 16, 695.

295. *facessunt*: cf. *G.* 4, 548: *matris praecepta facessit*; *Aen.* 9, 45: *et praecepta facessunt*; also *Enn. Ann.* 59: *dicta facessunt*; Angilbertus, *Carm.* 6, 447 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 1, 377): *iussa facessans*; Candidus, *De Vita Aegili*, 2, 11, 20 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 2, 103): *iussa facesso*; Walafridus Strabo, *De Vita Mammae*, 6, 20 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 2, 280): *iussa facessere*; Anon. *Vita Leudegarii*, 1, 82 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 3, 8): *tum iussa facessit*; Albertus Stadensis, *Troilus*, 2, 486: *imperio laeti parent, ac iussa facessunt*; Vida, *Christias*, 1, 224; 4, 975; Maphaeus Vegius, *Aen.* 13, 28: *iussa facessere*. The verb is stronger than *facio* and refers to eager, hasty action.

296. *at regina*: cf. 4, 1, n. (*at*); 4, 279, n. (*at*). The following passage, containing the speech of Dido to Aeneas, with its fine psychological description, owes several details to the speech of Medea to Jason in Apoll. Rh. 4, 350-390; cf. Rütten, *De Vergilii Studiis Apollonianis* (1912), 70-72. E.g., with 4,

296-300 cf. Apoll. Rh. 4, 350-352: *ἔρθα δ' ἐπεὶ τὰ ἕκαστα νόῳ πεμπάσσοτο κόρη, / δὴ ῥά μιν ὀξείαι κραδίην ἐλέλιξαν ἀνταί / νοσημέης*. Val. Fl. 8, 410-411 imitates: *ac prior ipsa dolos et quamlibet intima sensit / non fidi iam signa viri*, etc. *At* contrasts the attitude of Dido with the indecision of Aeneas (Masera, *ad loc.*).

296. *quis*, etc.: cf. 4, 85: on the parenthesis cf. 4, 116, n. (*advert*). The Scholia Danielis remark: *quamvis de Didone loquatur generalem sententiam posuit* — possibly a slight recognition of the intrusion into the usually impersonal epic of a subjective element; cf. 4, 65, n. (*heu*, etc.); 4, 90, n. (*quam*, etc.); Cartault, *L'Art de Virgile dans l'Énéide*, 1 (1926), 350. For the use of *fallere* cf. 4, 96; Dracont. *Romul.* 10, 343-344: '*quam, callide, fraudem / quodve nefas moliris?*' ait, '*non fallis amantem.*' *Ov. M.* 4, 68, has, also parenthetically, the phrase, *quid non sentit amor?* Cf. *H.* 4, 130: *unde hoc conpererim tam bene, quaeris? amo*.

297. *praesensit*: *Serv.*: *ac si diceret, ante quam ille moliretur. et nimia in hoc vis amantis exprimitur*. On rare compounds of *prae-* in Virgil, cf. Shipley in *Trans. Am. philol. Assoc.* 56 (1926), 183.

297. *exceptit*: of catching wind of a secret, as Conington suggests; cf. *Cic. Pro Reg. Deiot.* 25: *mittebat qui rumores Africanos exciperent*; *Ov. Am.* 1, 4, 18: *excipe furtivas et refer ipsa notas*; *Liv.* 2, 4, 5: *sermonem eorum ex servis unus exceptit*; *Juv.* 6, 408-409: *famam rumorisque illa recentis / excipit ad portas*; *Tac. H.* 2, 78: *has ambages et statim exceperat fama et tunc aperiebat*.

297. *prima*: 'at the very outset.'

298. omnia tuta timens. eadem impia Fama furenti  
detulit armari classem cursumque parari

impia (*supr. lin. m<sup>1</sup>*) *p.* fama *add. F<sup>1</sup>*. furentis *M* (furenti *M<sup>2</sup>*).  
classe *F* (classem *F<sup>1</sup>*).

298-299. eadem . . . detulit: *Schol. Dan. Aen. 4, 195* — aedem (*pro eadem*) *F* —.  
298. omnia . . . timens: *Anth. Lat. no. 11, 127* (1, *p. 45 Riese*) — timmens *A* —; *Donat. in Ter. Ad. 702* — omnia t. t. —; *Gl. Ansil. 411, 34*.

[298] 299. detulit: *Gl. Ansil. 173, 1227-1228; q.v.* 299. cursum parari: *Gl. Arma, 10, 161*.

298. omnia tuta timens: cf. *Catull. 30, 7-8: certe tute iubebas animam tradere, inique, me / inducens in amorem, quasi tuta omnia mi forent*; *Ov. M. 7, 47: quin tuta times*; *7, 719: cuncta timemus amantes*; *Ep. 18, 109: omnia sed vereor; quis enim securus amavit?* *Tr. 4, 3, 13: desine tuta vereri*; *Ex Pont. 3, 6, 15: dum tuta times*; *F. 5, 133-134: causa lamen positi fuerat cognominis illis* (sc. *Laribus Praestitibus*) / *quod praestant oculis omnia tuta suis*; *Prop. 2, 19, 16: omnia ab extremo sint modo tuta viro*; *Tac. Ann. 12, 17, 2: nihil tutum ratis*; *Paul. Nol. Carm. 18, 393: tuta etiam timuit*; *Claud. In Rufin. 2, 295: omnia tuta ratus*; *Hier. Ep. 7, 4, 1: huic ego, ut ait gentilis poeta, omnia etiam tuta timeo*; *50, 1, 1: amorem tuum, quo sedulo monens etiam quae tuta in nobis sunt, pertimescis*; *54, 13, 5: pietatis affectu etiam quae tuta sunt pertimescam*; *130, 8, 1: pavidi cautique monitoris officio ea quoque in te quae tuta sunt formidantis*; *Venant. Fort. Misc. 3, 6, 36: omnia tuta timens*; *Joseph of Exeter (Iscanus), Bell. Troianum, 5, 443* (cf. *Sedgwick in Speculum, 5* (1930), 67): *omnia certa timet*; *Vida, Poet. 3, 473: omnia tuta timens*; *Christias, 3, 865: animo timeo omnia tuta*; also *Publil. Sent. 116 Wölfflin: caret periculo qui etiam cum est tutus caret*.

For the interpretation of the phrase cf. *Donat.: amans enim perpetuo ducitur metu, etiam si tuta sint omnia*; *Schol. Dan.: deest 'etiam'; nedum illa quae timebat. et est exaggeratio*. This explanation, with which agree several of the parallels just quoted, is well set forth by Conington: "fearing every safety, much more every danger; a natural exaggeration of the unquiet suspiciousness of love," and seems far preferable to the view

of Henry (*Aeneidea, 2* (1878), 689-692; cf. also below, 4, 419, n. (*si potui*)) that "Dido's only ground of uneasiness is that things are too safe, going too smooth; she fears (*timens*) the perfect safety (*omnia tuta*) which she sees about her, viz., such perfect safety without even the slightest ground for suspicion as Aeneas, on the point of issuing from the cloud, sees about him, 1, 587: *omnia tuta vides*; the only difference between the two *omnia tuta*, the two perfect safeties, being that the one is the object of Aeneas's vision, and the other of Dido's fear." Henry's interpretation (with which cf. that of McCartney in *Cl. Weekly, 13* (1920), 218) rests on a commonplace for which he easily adduces parallels, namely, uneasiness in a success or happiness which cannot be expected to endure indefinitely, but the traditional view is equally well reconciled with lines 419-420, upon which he lays some stress. Some editors (e.g., Irvine and Mackail) suggest that *tuta* might be a feminine nominative, but that explanation violates all the ancient understandings of the line and lacks appropriateness in the context.

298. eadem . . . Fama: cf. *Ov. M. 12, 200: eadem hoc quoque fama ferebat*; I should not accept the view of Kvičala (*Neue Beitr. z. Erkl. d. Aeneis* (1881), 102-103) that *eadem* is the object of *detulit*.

298. impia: so called because of her disregard of the truth (4, 188-195), though she here speaks truly. Cf. *Val. Fl. 5, 82: Fama per extremos quin iam volat improba manes*; *Sil. 4, 5: diros canil improba* (sc. *Fama*) *motus*.

298. furenti: cf. 4, 69, though there is also a possibility (cf. the Scholia Danielis)

300. saevit inops animi totamque incensa per urbem  
bacchatur, qualis commotis excita sacris

inobs *FP*<sup>γ</sup>*a*, inops *P*<sup>2</sup>. totam *M* (que add. *M*<sup>4</sup>). incensam *F* (incensa *F*<sup>1</sup>). orbem *F* (urbem *F*<sup>1</sup>).  
bachatur *p*.

300-301. saevit . . . bacchatur: *Comm. Cruq. in Hor. C. 1, 25, 11.* 300. saevit . . . animi: *Prisc. Inst. 18, 18 (G. L. K. 3, 216)* — senit *DNS*; inobs *S* —; *Arus. Ex. Eloc. (G. L. K. 7, 480)*; *Donat. Aen. 9, 290; 12, 665*; *Schol. Dan. Aen. 4, 203*; *Gl. Abba, 77, 242.* 300. inops animi: *Gl. Ansil. 306, 1166.* 300. incensa: *Gl. Ansil. 293, 128-129; q.v.*

[300] 301-303. qualis . . . orgia: *Comm. Cruq. in Hor. C. 1, 18, 12* — thyas; *Aldhelmus, De Septen. (Patr. Lat. 89, 213)* — thuias —. 301-302. bacchatur . . . Thyias: *Eutyech. Ars, 2, 3 (G. L. K. 5, 470)* — thyas —. 301-302. qualis . . . Thyias: *Macrob. Sat. 4, 5, 7* — quales *P*<sup>1</sup>; conmotis; thyas (thiras *corr. in thias cod. Cantabr.*, thais *P*) —. 301-302. com-motis . . . Thyias: *Mythogr. Val. III, 6, 33* — thyas —. 301. bacchatur: *Gl. Aa, 186, 13.*

that this is proleptic, showing the effect of Rumor's message.

299. armari: cf. 4, 289, n. (*classem aptent*). The arma here implied are, as in *G. 1, 255 (armatas deducere classis)* and *Aen. 6, 353 (spoliata armis)*, not weapons but the steering-gear and rigging of the ships; cf. *Caes. B. G. 3, 13; 5, 1; Sil. 6, 365*; Greek *ὄπλα*; Henry, *Aeneidea*, 3 (1889), 7.

299. cursum: *Serv.: navigationem, ut (3, 686) 'ni teneant cursum.'*

300. saevit: a favorite word with Virgil, and often, as here, initial in the line or clause; cf. *Val. Fl. 4, 296: saevit inops Amycus*; *Carm. de S. Quintino, 90 (Poet. Aevi Carol. 4, 201): saevit inops animi furiis bacchatus acerbis*; *Vita Godofridi Capenberg. 68 (Acta Sanctorum, Jan. 1, 860): saevit inops animi.*

300. inops animi: for the construction cf. 4, 203, n. (*animi*); also *mentis inops (Ov. Rem. Am. 127; F. 4, 457; Sil. 5, 631; Vida, Poet. 2, 480)*; *Liv. 26, 18, 6: inops consilii*; *Stat. Theb. 1, 373: rationis inops*; *11, 152: ardet inops animi*; *Vida, Christias, 2, 922: tristis, inops animi*; further cf. *Catull. 64, 197: cogor inops, ardens, amanti caeca furore*; and the Greek *ἀμήχανος, ἀμηχανῶ*; *Donat.: inops animi est qui in adversis cūius deficit nec stabili quo potest consilio subvenire. ecce Didoni duplicatum est malum, amanti quippe et insperato malo commotae accessit saevitia alioque mentis agitatio*; *Serv.: sine animo, sine consilio.*

300. totamque, etc.: cf. 4, 67-68: *totaque vagatur / urbe furens*; 7, 377 (in a passage for which Mackail (ed. of *Aeneid* (1930), 130) would consider the present lines a first sketch): *immensam sine more furit lymphata per urbem*; *Cir. 167: infelix virgo tota bacchatur in urbe*; *Hier. Comm. in Is. 5, p. 224 Vall.: cuius scelera in tota civitate bacchantur*; *Vida, Poet. 2, 479-480: tota passim bacchabitur urbe / mentis inops*; and, for the hyperbole, *Hunziker, Die Figur der Hyperbel in d. Ged. Vergils (1896), 58*; *Heinze, Virgils epische Technik, 3 ed. (1915), 287, n. 1*; also for Virgil's descriptions of frenzied women, *Preuss, Die metaphorische Kunst Vergils in der Aeneis (1894), 12-13.* Further cf. 4, 376: *heu, furiis incensa feror!*

301. bacchatur: a metaphor closely followed by a more formally developed simile. *Serv.: furit more Bacchantum. et bene uno sermone praeoccupavit futuram comparisonem.* For Virgil's use of the word cf. *G. 2, 487; Aen. 3, 125; 4, 666; 6, 78; 10, 41* (and *Serv.*, who renders it *perfurit*); also *Cir. 167: infelix virgo tota bacchatur in urbe*; 480; *Cul. 113.* Like its compound *debacchari* (e.g., *Hor. C. 3, 3, 55*) and the Greek *βακχᾶω, βακχεῖω, ἀναβακχεῖω*, and *ἐκβακχεῖω*, it may be used, literally, of religious ecstasy, or, figuratively, of madness or excitement comparable to it (cf. *Cic. Brut. 276: furere atque bacchari*; *Prob. G. 2, 2: bacchari est furere*). In a figurative case similar to ours Henry (*Aeneidea*, 4 (1889), 14) well renders the

## 302. Thyias, ubi audito stimulant trieterica Baccho

302-305: *AFMP*. thyias *F*, thyas *F<sup>M</sup>*. stimula *F* (stimulant *F<sup>1</sup>*). trietherica *FM*, trieterica *a<sup>1</sup>*, trieteri . a γ, triaterica *b*, trieteria (*corr. in triaterica*) π. bacchi *F* (baccho *F<sup>1</sup>*), bacho γβρ.

[301\*] 302-303. Thyias . . . Cithaeron: *Macrob. Sat.* 5, 17, 16 — thyas (thias *P*); aubi *P<sup>1</sup>*; stimulat *P*; bacho *P*; citheron *P* —. 302-303. trieterica . . . Cithaeron: *Malal. Chronogr.* 12 (*Corp. Script. Hist. Byz.* 14 (1831), 285) — τριετηρικὰ Βάκχῃ ὄργια νοκτοῦρονος κούε βοκάτ κλάμωρε Κυθαίων —. 302-303. trieterica . . . orgia: *Schol. Lucan.* 5, 74 — triaterica *G<sup>1</sup>*; bachia *G<sup>1</sup>* —. 302-303. Baccho . . . Cithaeron: *Lact. Plac. in Stat. Theb.* 1, 114 — bachi *M*, barchi *Pa*; clamore *om. P*; cithaeron *om. Pb* —. 302. Thyias . . . Baccho: *Vel. Long. De Orthogr.* (G. L. K. 7, 55) — thyas *R*; audito trepidant —. 302. Thyias . . . audito: *Consent. Ars* (G. L. K. 5, 389) — thias *M* —. 302. trieterica Baccho: *Anth. Lat.* no. 17, 299 (1, p. 73 Riese) — bacco *A* —. 302. trieterica: *Gl. Verg.* (C. G. L. 4, 467, 26) — trieterica (trieterica *bfg*, trieteria *de*, triecaria *a*) —; cf. *Gl. Philox.* 282, 112.

word 'riots.' The Greek words in this passage are noteworthy: *bacchatur* . . . *Thyias* . . . *trieterica Baccho* . . . *orgia* . . . *Cithaeron*; cf. Nettleship, *Vergil* (1897), 80; 91-92, on Virgil's predilection for Greek.

301. *qualis*: cf. 4, 69, n. (*qualis*); Hornbostel, *Die Gleichnisse bei Vergil* (1870), 8; Houben, *De Comparationibus Vergilianis* (1876), 11; Schubardt, *Die Gleichnisse in Vergils Aeneis* (1904), 12. The comparison of Dido to a Bacchic votary is closely paralleled by the raving of Amata (7, 373-405), with its orgiastic setting; cf. Heinze, *Virgils epische Technik*, 3 ed. (1915), 182-187; 287, n. 1. The poet does not, of course, assert that the Bacchic worship was already at Carthage in the heroic age, which would have been too serious an anachronism; cf. Fowler, *The Death of Turnus* (1927), 114, n. 1. From the time of the *Bacchae* of Euripides (e.g., 32-38; 115-119), however, such religious ecstasy was a favorite literary topic, and Patin (*Étude sur les Tragiques grecs. Euripide*, 2 (1894), 239) notes allusions to it in Latin poetry, including: Catull. 63, 23; 64, 61; 64, 251-264; Hor. C. 2, 19, 1-16; 3, 25, 1-20; S. 2, 3, 303-304; Prop. 3, 17, 23-24; 3, 22, 33; Ov. M. 3, 511-576; 4, 1-30; 6, 587-600; Pers. 1, 100-102; Sen. Oed. 432-443; Stat. Theb. 4, 565-569; add also Val. Fl. 8, 447-448. Respectable Roman sentiment was opposed to such *ἄσχημοσύνη*, and the *Senatus Consultum de Bacchanalibus* in 186 B. C. (C. I. L. I, 196 = Dessau, *Inscr. Lat. sel.*

no. 18) carefully restricts participation in Bacchic rites. In similes, however, these revels or their accompanying excitement are frequently mentioned, e.g., *Il.* 22, 460 (of Andromache): ὡς φαιμένη μεγάρου διέσσυτο μαινάδι ἴση; Aesch. Sept. 498: βακχῇ πρὸς ἄλκην Θυιάς ὡς φόνον βλέπων; Eur. Hippol. 550; Pacuv. 422-423 Ribbeck: *flexanima tamquam lymphata aut Bacchi sacris / commota*; Aen. 6, 517-518: *illa chorum simulans euhantis orgia circum / ducebat Phrygias*; Hor. C. 3, 15, 10: *pulso Thyias uli concita tympano*; Ov. H. 10, 48 (of Ariadne): *qualis ab Ogygio concita Baccha deo*; Ars am. 1, 311-312: *in nemus et saltus thalamo regina relicto / fertur, ut Aonio concita Baccha deo*; 3, 709-710: *per medias passis furibunda capillis / evolat, ut thyrsu concita Baccha, vias*; M. 4, 521-523; 9, 641-645; F. 4, 457-458: *mentis inops rapitur, quales audire solemus / Threicias fusis maenadas ire comis*; Sen. Tr. 673-676: *qualis deo / percussa Maenas entheo silvas gradu / armata thyrsu terret*, etc.; Med. 382-386; Luc. 1, 674-676: *qualis vertice Pindi / Edonis Ogygio decurrit plena Lyaeo, / talis et attonitam rapitur matrona per urbem*, etc.; Stat. Theb. 5, 92-94: *insano veluti Teumesia thyias / rapta deo, cum sacra vocant Idaeaeque suadet / buxus et a summis auditus montibus Euhai*; 12, 791-792: *quales Bacchea ad bella vocatae / Thyiades amentes*; Val. Fl. 8, 444-449 (of Medea); Plut. Brut. 15, 4 (of Porcia): ὥσπερ αἱ κατὰσχετοὶ τοῖς βακχικοῖς πάθεσιν ἐξάρτουσα, κτλ.; also Aug. C. D. 18,

## 303. orgia nocturnusque vocat clamore Cithaeron.

nocturnos γ, nocturque ρ. cithero A, citheron F, chiteron M, cytheron M<sup>7</sup>γ, cyteron a, cythaeon ρ.

[301, 302\*] 303. orgia . . . Cithaeron: *Lact. Plac. in Stat. Theb.* 1, 329. 303. nocturnusque . . . Cithaeron: *Lact. Plac. in Stat. Theb.* 8, 346. 303. orgia: *Gl. Ansil.* 416, 185; q.v. 303. nocturnus: *Gl. Ansil.* 393, 63; q.v.

13: *feminas quae Bacchae appellatae sunt, non tam virtute nobiles quam furore*; cf. 6, 9.

301. commotis . . . sacris: Schol. Dan.: *verbo antiquo usum tradunt; moveri enim sacra dicebantur, cum sollemnibus diebus aperiebantur templa instaurandi sacrificii causa; cuius rei Plautus in Pseudolo* (109–110) *meminit 'scis tu profecto, mea si commovissem sacra, / quo pacto et quantas soleam turbas dare'* hoc vulgo *apertiones appellant*; Serv.: *'commotis' autem 'sacris' ideo dixit quia in sacrorum renovatione commovebantur simulacra*; etc.; Val. Fl. 3, 231–232: *at barbara buxus / si vocet, et motis ululantis Dindyma sacris*; 3, 540: *thiasos et sacra moventem*; 5, 399; Sen. *Med.* 86; cf. Hor. C. 1, 18, 11–13: *non ego te, candide Bassareu, / invitum quam nec variis obsita frondibus / sub divum rapiam*.

301. excita: cf. 7, 376: *ingentibus excita monstribus*.

302. Thyias: Serv.: *Baccha; nam sicut a Baccho Bacchae, sic et a Thyoneo Thyiades dicuntur*; Schol. Dan.: *quidam ἀπὸ τοῦ θύειν, quod est insane currere dictas volunt*; cf. Paus. 10, 6, 4; 10, 32, 7; etc. The term is used in Latin by Catull. 64, 392; Hor. C. 2, 19, 9; 3, 15, 10; Ov. F. 6, 514; Stat. *Theb.* 5, 92; 12, 792; Sen. *Oed.* 442. A fragmentary but remarkable mosaic from Sousse, now in the Bardo Museum in Tunis (cf. Gauckler in *Mon. et Mem. (Monum. Piot)*, 4 (1897), 233–244, especially 241–244 and fig. 2; Engelmann in *Berl. philol. Woch.* 26 (1906), 381; Ussani in *Atti del II Congresso nazionale di Studi Romani*, 3 (1931), 162), shows Aeneas and Dido at their parting, while behind the figure of Anna, who accompanies them, stands a Bacchant with a tympanon, suggestive of the present passage.

302. audito . . . Baccho: probably not

hearing 'the voice of Bacchus' but the Bacchic cry 'Io Bacche,' or 'euhoe Bacche' (7, 389); cf. Lehrs, *Kl. Schr.* (1902), 340–341: *amant veteres ubi forma tantum vocabuli respicitur, non, ut nos solemus, facere in vocibus citandi, extra constructionem illud ponere sed cum oratione connectunt*; he cites also Cic. *Tusc.* 3, 8: *nomen insaniae significat*; Calp. 4, 97: *audito Caesare*; Longus, 1, 28: μέγα Χλόην καλοῦντα; Xen. *Eph.* 5, 13: βοῶν Ἄνθεια; etc.; cf. Hahn in *Cl. Weekly*, 22 (1929), 132. Note the interlocked order: *audito . . . trieterica Baccho / orgia*.

302. trieterica . . . orgia: as noted by Kern (in *P.-W.* 5 (1905), 1018), women who constituted a college of Thyiades, in the early winter, in alternate years, celebrated on the top of Parnassus the birth of Dionysus, the local ἱερός λόγος representing the god as born every third (according to our reckoning, every second) year. To these *trieterica sacra* there are many allusions, and though not a part of Attic ritual they appear at Thebes, Delphi, in Crete (Davis, *The Asiatic Dionysos* (1914), 218), and elsewhere; cf. Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States*, 5 (1909), 307–308. Various explanations have been offered for the celebration in alternate years; e.g., (a) that Dionysus is a vegetation-spirit and that this period corresponds to some natural one; (b) that it may be connected with the practice of letting land lie fallow in alternate years (Farnell, *op. cit.*, 5 (1909), 181); (c) that it represents the trip of Dionysus to India (Diod. 4, 3, 1–2; Hygin. *Fab.* 131), at the end of which he appears again in the West; (d) that it corresponds to his absence in the underworld.

On the whole subject cf. also Hom. *Hymn.* 1, 11–12: σοὶ (sc. Διονύσῳ) πάντως τριετηρίσιν αἰεὶ / ἄνθρωποι ῥέξουσιν τελέσσας ἑκατόμβας; Orph. *Hymn.* 30, 5, where the

god is called τριετής; 44, 7; 45 (τριετηρικὸς as an epithet of Dionysus; cf. *Anth. Lat.* no. 751, 2 (2, p. 233 Riese)); 52 (title: τριετηρικοῦ θυμιάμα); 52, 8: βακχεῖων ἀγίας τριετηρίδας; 53, 4-5: κοιμίζει τριετήρα χρόνον Βακχῆϊον ἀγνόν. / αὐτὸς δ' ἤνικα τὸν τριετὴ πάλι κῶμον ἐγείρη, κτλ.; 54, 3; Eur. *Bacch.* 132-134: ἐς δὲ χορεύματα / συνῆψαν τριετηρίδων, / αἷς χαλρεῖ Διδόνυσος; Aristonous, *Paeon in Apoll.* 37 (*Collectanea Alexand.* 163 Powell): τριετέσων φαναῖς Βρόμος; Cic. *N. D.* 3, 58: *quintum* (sc. *Dionysum*) a quo *trietlerides constitutae putantur*; Censorin. 18, 2: *idque tempus trielerida appellabant, quod tertio quoque anno intercalabatur, quamvis biennii circuitus et re vera dieteris esset; unde mysteria quae Libero alternis fiunt annis trielerica a poetis dicuntur*; Ov. *Rem. Am.* 593: *Edono referens trielerica Baccho*; M. 6, 587-588: *tempus erat quo sacra solent trielerica Bacchi / Sithoniae celebrare nurus; nox conscia sacris*; 9, 642: *Ismariae celebrant repetita triennia Bacchae*; F. 1, 393-394:  *festa corymbiferi celebrabas, Graecia, Bacchi, / tertia quae solito tempore bruma refert*; Luc. 5, 74: *Delphica Thebanae referunt trielerica Bacchae*; Val. Fl. 2, 624-625: *Ogygii quam nec trielerica Bacchi / sacra, etc.*; Opp. *Cyneg.* 1, 24: οὐκ ἔθελω τριετὴ σε τὰ νῦν Ὀρβασαχὸν ἀεῖδεν; Sil. 4, 776-777: *Edonis ut Pangaea super trieleride mota / il iuga, etc.*; Stat. *Theb.* 2, 661; 9, 479-480: *cum Bacchica mugit / buxus et insanae maculant trielerida matres*; Achill. 1, 593-596: *lucus Agenorei sublimis ad orgia Bacchi / stabat et admissum caelo nemus; huius in umbra / alternam renovare piae trielerida matres / consuerant*; Artemid. *Oniocr.* 4, 39: τῷ θεῷ (sc. Διονύσῳ) τριετηρίδες ἀγονταὶ ἑορταί; Ael. V. H. 13, 2; Plut. *Quaest. conv.* 4, 6, 1; Auson. *Griph. tern.* Num. 35 (p. 202 Peiper): *trierica Baccho*; Sidon. *Carm.* 9, 207-209: *non Bacchum trielerica exerentem / describam et tremulas furore festo / ire in Bassaridas, etc.*; Amm. Marc. 22, 8, 23: *superatis post triennium Indicis nationibus ad eos tractus Liber reversus . . . orgia pristina reparavit et choros; trielerica huius modi sacra quidam existimant appellari*; Weniger, *Ueber das Collegium der Thyaden von Delphi* (1876), 6-8; Farnell, *ll. cc.*; Cook, *Zeus*, 1 (1914), 690 (and works there cited); 2 (1925), 242-243. That the

festival here described is pictured as at Thebes appears from the allusion to Mt. Cithaeron.

302-303. **Baccho orgia**: on this type of hiatus, when one line ends with a vowel with which the next begins, cf. Gell. 6, 20, 3-5; also 4, 665-666 *infra*.

303. **orgia**: Serv.: *sane sciendum 'orgia' apud Graecos dici sacra omnia, sicut apud Latinos 'caerimoniae' dicuntur. sed iam abusive sacra Liberi 'orgia' vocantur, vel ἀπὸ τῆς ὀργῆς, id est, a furore, vel ἀπὸ τῶν ὀρέων* (a more probable etymology derives the word from ἔργον; cf. ἔρδew); cf. G. 4, 521: *inter sacra deum nocturnique orgia Bacchi*; Aen. 6, 517-518: *orgia circum / ducebat*; 7, 403: *capite orgia mecum*; etc. Florus Lugdun. *Carm.* 29, 21 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 2, 565) imitates: *orgia Tebanus vel agit nocturna Cithaeron*.

303. **nocturnus**: cf. παννύχιος, πάννυχος, etc. On the transfer of the epithet from the adverbial phrase to the subject cf. 4, 143, n. (*hibernam*); Bell, *The Latin Dual* (1923), 319; also G. 3, 538: *nec gregibus nocturnus obambulat*; Aen. 4, 490; 4, 609; 6, 252; Hor. S. 1, 3, 17: *qui nocturnus sacra divom legerit*; and many similar Greek and Latin examples with other adjectives of time collected by Forbiger and Buscaroli *ad loc.*

For such nocturnal dances cf. Soph. *Ant.* 1150-1152: *προφάνηθ', ὦναξ, σαῖς ἅμα περίπολοις / Θυῖαισιν, αἱ σε μαυρόμεναι πάννυχου χορεύουσι / τὸν ταμίαν Ἰακχόν*; Eur. *Ion.* 718: *νυκτιπόλοις ἅμα σὺν Βάκχαις*; Bacch. 485-486: *τὰ δ' ἱερὰ νύκτωρ ἢ μεθ' ἡμέραν τελεῖς; / νύκτωρ τὰ πολλὰ σεμνότηρ' ἔχει σκότος*; Liv. 39, 15, 9 (of Bacchic rites at Rome in 186 B.C.): *vigiliis vino strepibus clamoribusque nocturnis adtoniti*. Serv. (*ad loc.*) remarks: *'nocturnusque' nocte celebratus; unde ipsa sacra nyctelia dicebantur; quae populus Romanus exclusit causa turpitudinis*.

303. **vocat**: Lünzner, *Ueber Personificationen in Vergils Gedichten* (1876), 15, compares Ecl. 5, 62-63: *voces ad sidera iactant / intonsi montes, etc.*; G. 3, 43: *vocat ingenti clamore Cithaeron*; Aen. 3, 566: *scopuli clamorem . . . dedere*; 7, 590; 12, 591; to which add 3, 70: *vocat auster in altum*.

303. **Cithaeron**: a traditional site for Bacchic reveals from the time of Pentheus

## 304. tandem his Aenean compellat vocibus ultro:

aeneam *c.* compellat *Ab*, compellet *c*, compellit *a*.

304. Aenean . . . compellat: *Anon. De dub. Nomin. (G. L. K. 5, 573)* — erican *L*; uocibus compellat —.

(Eur. *Bacch.* 62–63; 661; etc.); cf. Ar. *Thesm.* 995–996: ἀμφὶ δὲ σοὶ κτυπεῖται / Κιθαίωνιος ἥχώ; Apollod. *Bibl.* 3, 5, 2 (of Pentheus spying on the Bacchanals on Cithaeron); Stat. *Theb.* 4, 371: *te, bacchate Cithaeron*. Such orgies were often associated with mountains and wild country (cf. Strab. 10, p. 474; Cornut. *N. D.* 30: ὀρέφοιτο δ' εἰσὶ καὶ φιλέρημοι αἱ βάκχαι διὰ τὸ μὴ ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῶν χωρίων γεννᾶσθαι τὸν οἶνον; Plut. *De E apud Delphos*, 9; 4, 147, n. (*iugis Cynhi*), above) and with Cithaeron in particular; cf. Stark, *Niobe u. d. Niobiden* (1863), 364–365; Beer, *Heilige Höhen d. alten Gr. u. Römer* (1891), 18; 46–47; Albers, *De Diis in Locis editis cultis apud Graecos* (1901), 54. They seem to have constituted one of the ways in which a classic people found a romantic outlet for its life. The whole allusion, which would suggest to the educated reader the story of Pentheus, is one of those in which this book so strongly shows the influence of Greek tragedy.

304. tandem: Donat.: 'tandem' pertinet ad furorem, qui Didonis vocem distulerat; 'ultro' ad impatientiam doloris; 'vocum' vero commemoratio exclamationem futuram significat progressuram in ingratum; nesciebat enim facti causas Mercurium peperisse.

304. his, etc.: cf. 4, 30, n. (*sic effata*), above. As noted by Cartault (*L'Art de Virgile dans l'Énéide*, 1 (1926), 318), the hour and place of this interview are not explicitly stated by Virgil, attention being, in true classic manner, concentrated upon the thing said rather than on its setting. From 4, 388–389 (*auras / aegra fugit*), however, we might perhaps infer that the colloquy took place out of doors. Rütten (*De Vergilii Studiis Apollonianis* (1912), 70) compares Apoll. Rh. 4, 352–354: αἰψα δὲ νόσφιν Ἰήσωνα μόνον ἐταίρων / ἐκπροκαλεσσαμένη ἄγην ἄλλυδις, ὅφρ' ἐλίσσεν / πολλὸν ἑκάς, στονόεντα δ' ἐνωπαδὶς ἐκφατο μῦθον.

304. compellat: cf. 2, 279–280; 2, 372:

*ultro verbis compellat amicis*; 5, 161: *compellat voce Menoeten*; 6, 499: *compellat vocibus ultro*; 10, 606: *compellat Iuppiter ultro*; 11, 534; Venant. Fort. *Vit. S. Mart.* 1, 306: *compellant vocibus ultro*; 1, 416: *compellens vocibus iisdem*. These are perhaps suggested by Enn. *Ann.* 44: *exim compellare pater me voce videtur*; cf. Bowra in *Cl. Quart.* 23 (1929), 72.

304. ultro: i.e., without being previously addressed; cf. Wagner, *Quaest. Virgilianae*, no. 27 (in the Heyne-Wagner ed., 4, 503–505).

305. dissimulare, etc.: cf. 4, 291: *dissimulent*. The exchange of speeches in lines 305–387 is one of the most oratorical as well as one of the most famous parts of the *Aeneid*, and belongs in a tradition which includes *Il.* 6, 343–368; Eur. *Med.* 446–626 (with the present line cf. especially 586–587); Apoll. Rh. 4, 355–420; Catull. 64, 132–201; *Cir.* 404–458; Ov. *H.* 7, 1–195; 10, 1–152; 12, 1–212; *M.* 8, 108–142; *F.* 3, 471–514. Other detailed reminiscences will be found in Heinze, *Virgils epische Technik*, 3 ed. (1915), 134, n. 1; cf. also Henry, *Aeneidea*, 2 (1878), 693. As noted by Heinze (*op. cit.*, 425), this speech falls into two main divisions: (a) *indignatio* (305–313) and (b) *misseratio* (314–330), the second in turn divided into appeals based on the past (315–318), the present (320–323), and the future (324–326). Heinze (*op. cit.*, 433, n. 2) and Terzaghi (*Virgilio ed Enea* (1928), 44, n. 64) properly reject the view of Penquitt (*De Didonis Vergilianae Exitu* (1910), 10) that this speech is essentially a *suasoria*, the form of its beginning not favoring that explanation; cf. Gross, *Krit. u. exeget. z. Vergils Aeneis* (1883), 23, who contrasts the two speeches, thinking the first, despite many sharp reproaches, to be in a begging but affectionate tone, the second in bitterness and rage. Cf. rather the Schol. Dan.: *hic quasi reus Aeneas a Didone accusatur . . . et quasi ab actu criminis coepit; nam qui dissimulat aliquo-*

## 305. 'dissimulare etiam sperasti, perfide, tantum

305-306. dissimulare . . . terra: Albericus Casin. *Flores rhet.* (cf. Willard in *Anniv. Essays* . . . by Students of C. H. Haskins (1929), 363). 305. dissimulare . . . perfide: Serv. *Aen.* 4, 366; *Cento Probae*, 448 — dissimulare (corr. in dissimulare m. 2) π. 305. dissimulare . . . sperasti: Schol. *Dan. Aen.* 4, 337 — desimulare F; speranti F —.

*tiens cogitat; et, quasi non sit dubium, cum proficiscendo Didonem laedat Aeneas, ita incipit: dissimulare, id est, non tantum proficisci, quod est per se malum, sed ut me falleres.* On this speech cf. also Cartault, *L'Art de Virgile dans l'Énéide*, I (1926), 318.

Virgil does not explain, here or elsewhere, through what medium of language the Semite Dido and the Trojan Aeneas conversed. Justin, 20, 5, 13 states that in the time of Hanno Carthage decreed that no Carthaginian should study Greek, so that they might not be able to deal with an enemy without an interpreter. We cannot, of course, imagine any interpreter as attending at the present scene, though in actual life such must often have been employed (cf. 4, 78, n. (*audire*), above). In Homer, however, Trojans and Greeks are mutually intelligible (as in *Aen.* 2, 423), though differences of dialect might be observed; in Apoll. Rh. 4, 731, Medea addresses Circe in Colchian, but everywhere else she is readily understood by Greeks; in the latter part of the *Aeneid* the Trojans confer easily with the various Italian peoples, though 12, 825 recognizes their fundamental linguistic difference; cf. Zaubhgin, *Vergilio nel Rinascimento ital.* 2 (1923), 22; 59-60, n. 152. In the convention of the epic, as in that of the beast-fable (with dialogues between animals of different species), the fundamental linguistic barrier is quietly disregarded.

305. *etiam*: i.e., not only to do the deed but to conceal it; cf. Donat. *ad loc.*; Schol. *Dan.* quoted above.

305. *sperasti*: answered by *neque . . . / speravi* in lines 337-338. Cf. 9, 560-561: *nostrasne evadere demens / sperasti te posse manus?*

305. *perfide*: Schol. *Dan.*: *muliebre verbum; hoc enim frequenter ulitur*, quoting 4, 421; cf. also 4, 366; 4, 542; 4, 597; 7, 362, where Amata calls Aeneas *perfidus* . . . *praedo*. The terms *perfidus* and *periurus* are

commonly used by ladies in addressing or apostrophizing absconding lovers (especially by Ariadne to Theseus; cf. Alciph. 2, 4, 10; Pichon, *De Sermone amatorio* (1902), 231); e.g., Catull. 30, 3: *iam non dubitas fallere, perfide*; 64, 132-135: *sicine me patriis avectam, perfide, ab aris, / perfide, deserto liquisti in litore, Theseu? / sicine discedens neglecto numine divum, / immemor, ah, devota domum periuria portas?* (cf. 64, 174); *Ecl.* 8, 91; Ov. *H.* 7, 67: *falsae periuria linguae*; 7, 79: *quae mihi, perfide, iactas*; 7, 118: *quod tibi donavi, perfide, litus emo*; 11, 37, where Medea calls Jason *perfide*; F. 3, 473: *periure et perfide Theseu; Aelna*, 582: *perfide Theseu*.

Deceit sometimes appears as inherent in the Trojan race from the time of Laomedon; cf. 4, 542: *Laomedontae sentis periuria gentis*; Hor. *C.* 3, 3, 21-24: *ex quo destituit deos / mercede pacta Laomedon, mihi / castaeque damnatum Minervae / cum populo et duce fraudulentio*; 3, 3, 26-27: *Priami domus / periura*. Roman faith was, to the Romans themselves, a matter of boast, despite some disgraceful incidents like those in Val. Max. 9, 6, 1-4; cf. Mackail, *Cl. Studies* (1925), 182-183. Gellius (6, 18) recites examples of Roman good faith in relations with the Carthaginians, of which the case of Regulus is, of course, the great type.

On the other hand, 'Punic faith' was proverbial (Addison, *Cato*, 1034-1035: "Our Punic faith / Is infamous, and branded to a proverb") among the Romans; cf. 1, 661: *Tyrios . . . bilinguis*; 4, 105, n. (*simulata mente*), above; the many instances in Otto, *Die Sprichwörter . . . der Römer* (1890), 291; Wölflin in *Archiv f. lat. Lexikog.* 7 (1890), 136; Heinze, *Virgils epische Technik*, 3 ed. (1915), 10, n. 2; Canter in *Cl. Journ.* 24 (1929), 568, n. 4; 573-575; Kroll, *Die Kultur d. ciceron. Zeit.*, 1 (1933), 127, n. 60; also Sall. *Iug.* 108, 3; Val. Max. 9, 6, Ext. 1, who calls the Carthaginians *ipsum fontem*



306. posse nefas tacitusque mea decedere terra?  
nec te noster amor nec te data dextera quondam

306-310: FMP. facitus *M* (tacitus *M*<sup>1</sup>).

[305]

307. nec . . . amor: *Anth. Lat. no. 17, 399* (1, p. 77 Riese); *Schol. Dan. Aen. 4, 347*.  
307. noster amor: *Gl. Ansil. 395, 231*. 307. nec te data . . . quondam: *Donat. Aen. 4, 315*; *Schol. Dan. Aen. 4, 305*. 307. data dextera: *Gl. Ansil. 161, 150*.

*perfidiae*; Sil. 11, 596-597; Justin, 18, 6, 2. Virgil would perhaps have considered that charge made by the Romans against Punic faith in general and that of Hannibal in particular (cf. Hor. C. 4, 4, 49: *perfidus Hannibal*) as offset in poetic justice to Dido's accusation against Aeneas, which he answers by a strong asseveration in 6, 458-460: *per sidera iuro, / per superos et si qua fides tellure sub ima est: / invitus, regina, tuo de litore cessi*. Cf. also 4, 311, n. (*crudelis*). Eitrem (in *Festschrift til H. Kohl* (1933), 30) thinks we should not overlook Dido's own duplicity in 4, 476; 4, 500; 4, 552; 4, 675. Cf. also Kowalski, *De Didone Graeca et Latina* (1929), 5; 12.

306. *tacitus*: cf. 4, 289: *taciti*; Donat.: *nec saltem, inquit, sic discedere ut gratiam vel verbis referres meritis meis. nam quid erat abire tacitum nisi beneficiorum inmemorem confiteri*; etc. For the nominative in the predicate with the infinitive, as in Greek, cf. 2, 377: *sensit medios delapsus in hostis*; 6, 313: *orantes primi transmittere cursum*; 11, 503-504: *promitto occurrere turmae / solaque Tyrrhenos equites ire obvia contra*; 12, 568: *ni frenum accipere et victi parere fatentur*; Catal. 9, 24: *altera non fama dixerit esse prior*; 10, 2 (after Catull. 4, 2): *ait fuisse mulio celerrimus*; Krause, *De Vergilii Usurpatione Infinitivi* (1878), 91-92; Kühner-Stegmann, *Ausf. Gram. d. lat. Spr. 2, 1* (1912), 679; Lohmann, *De Graecismorum Usu Vergiliano* (1915), 87-88.

306. *mea*: Schol. Dan.: *dicendo 'mea' stultum ostendit, qui putavit quod amanti se possit subripere*. I should rather explain it by suggesting that her sense of injured dignity leads her to stress, as women often do, the importance of her own rights of possession. Lejay (*ad loc.*) remarks that *perfidie* is the

word of the woman and *mea . . . terra* that of the queen.

306. *decedere*: a more dignified term (like *procedere* in 4, 587, and *cessi* of 6, 460, which is perhaps a reminiscence of the present line) than the *flight* of which Dido presently speaks (4, 314; 4, 328; 4, 430; 4, 543), and which Aeneas adopts as a term used by Dido (4, 338) and later in real earnest (4, 575). Cf. Catull. 64, 134: *sicine discedens*, etc.

307. *nec te . . . nec te*: cf. Otto, *De Anaphora* (1907), 50. Here the anaphora is (a) of a group of two words within a line and (b) of single initial words of two successive lines. Cf. also *Anth. Lat. no. 83, 32-33* (1, p. 114 Riese): *non ille torus, non conscia lecti / sacramenta tenent*?

307. *noster*: Donat.: *aut de suo solo dixit 'noster,' ut plerumque fit cum unus plurali numero se appellat* (instancing Eccl. 3, 108) . . . *et hoc magis probandum est, quia sola amaverat; aut 'noster' dixit ut amor mutuus videretur ex coniunctione intervenisse perindeque quod unius fuit duobus factum esse commune*. I prefer the second explanation; Dido wishes to represent their love as something in which Aeneas, and not she alone, participated, otherwise she might have appealed to his pity but not to his sense of justice.

307. *amor*: often of illicit passion, as frequently in Plautus; cf. Knapp in *Cl. Journ.* 19 (1924), 207, n. 10. But here, in the mouth of Dido, of her own love, it can hardly have this meaning (4, 532, which Knapp also cites, is quite a different case).

307. *data dextera*: Serv.: *foedus amiliarum*. Virgil here and in 4, 314 and 4, 597 refers to this pledge exchanged between Dido and Aeneas, though he has not previously alluded to it, either at 1, 627-630 (a natural

## 308. nec moritura tenet crudeli funere Dido?

*Hunc vers. in marg. add. c.*

308. nec . . . Dido: *Schol. Dan. Aen. 4, 323.* 308. crudeli funere: *Gl. Arma, 10, 163.*  
 308. funere: *Gl. Ansil. 259, 194; q.v.; cf. 570, 246.*

place, if it refers to a pledge of hospitality or friendship, as Servius understands it — and probably rightly), or later, in the cave scene (if it means the plighting of troth, though, as we have seen, Aeneas recognized in that incident nothing implying a marriage rite). Other cases in Virgil seem to suggest a pledge of hospitality or friendship rather than one of troth; e.g., 3, 83; 3, 610; 6, 613; 7, 366; 8, 467; 9, 289; 10, 517; 11, 178; for many other classical instances cf. Wagener, *Popular Associations of Right and Left in Roman Lit.* (1912), 14-17. Despite Mackail and others I should not refer *dextera* here to any nuptial rite, but think that the line expresses two distinct claims of Dido upon Aeneas: (1) love; (2) gratitude due for her hospitality to him and his fleet. A third, in the next line, is the ruin which he would bring upon his benefactress. Two Greek sources for this line are cited, but can hardly decide for us the type of pledge here meant: *Eur. Med. 21-23*: βοῶ (sc. Μήδεια) μὲν ὄρκους, ἀνακαλεῖ δὲ δεξιὰς, / πίστιν μεγίστην, καὶ θεοὺς μάρτυρες / οἷας ἀμοιβῆς ἐξ 'Ιάσονος κυρεῖ; *Apoll. Rh. 4, 99-100*: ὥς ἡῦδα, καὶ χεῖρα παρασχεδὼν ἤραρε χεῖρὶ / δεξιτερῇ; cf. also 4, 358-359: ποῦ τοι Διὸς 'Ικεσίου / ὄρκια, ποῦ δὲ μελιχραὶ ὑποσχέσται βεβάσιν;

307. *quondam*: the varying times described by this word, relative to the mood of the speaker, are illustrated by Friedrich on *Catull. 96, 4.*

308. *nec, etc.*: cf. *G. 3, 263: nec moritura super crudeli funere virgo*; *Schol. Dan.: secundus locus accusationis est; magis enim augere iniuriam non potuit quam si se (morituram) ostenderet.* This is the first mention by Dido of her own death, and Virgil probably thinks of it as regarded by Aeneas as merely a bit of feminine hyperbole, perhaps an allusion to dying of a broken heart (Terzaghi, *Virgilio ed Enea* (1928), 55, n. 84, to the contrary), perhaps as subject to destruction

from enemies round about (4, 320-326; Kvíčala, *Neue Beitr. z. Erkl. d. Aeneis* (1881), 117), though at 6, 458 he came to see the truth, at least in part: *funeris, heu, tibi causa fui* (which most editors follow by an interrogation mark, but Janell treats as a statement). Whether Dido here and in 4, 323 (*moribundam*) means more than hyperbole may be queried, but Virgil interestingly shows how the thought, once introduced, develops and comes to possess her mind; cf. lines 385 (*mors* — which Aeneas might interpret of her natural death, whenever it might occur), 415 (*moritura* — probably the word of the poet), 436 (*morte*), 451 (*mortem oral*), 475 (*decrevitque mori*), 519 (*moritura*), 604 (*moritura*), 639 (*finemque imponere curis* — a double entendre), 652-658; cf. Penquitt, *De Didonis Vergilianae Exitu* (1910), 68; Mackail, edition of the *Aeneid* (1930), 129-130: "One instance [of the artifice of repetition], which can hardly fail to be felt even if it is not expressly noticed, is the fourfold repetition at intervals of a hundred lines (ll. 308, 415, 519, 604) of the single bell-stroke of *moritura*."

308. *tenet*: cf. *Ecl. 1, 31: dum me Galatea tenebat*; *Ov. Ars am. 2, 12; H. 2, 103; 3, 114*; a technical term of amatory writing. The verbal resemblance noted by Nettleship (*Suggestions introd. to a Study of the Aen.* (1875), 36, n. 2) in 12, 55: *ardentem generum moritura tenebat*, is hardly a parallel in thought; *tenebat* is there more likely literal.

308. *crudeli funere*: cf. *Ecl. 5, 20: extinctum . . . crudeli funere Daphnim*; *G. 3, 263* (quoted above); *Aen. 1, 221-222: crudelia . . . fata Lyci*; 10, 386: *crudeli morte*; 11, 53: *infelix nati funus crudele videbis*; 12, 636: *letum . . . crudele*; *Cir. 292: exitum crudele*; also *crudeli funere* in *Carm. Lat. epigr. no. 588, 6; 1218, 5; 1440, 3* Bücheler; contrast the *funere felici* of *Aen. 7, 599*. The cruelty of Dido's death probably

309. quin etiam hiberno moliris sidere classem  
et mediis properas aquilonibus ire per altum,  
crudelis? quid, si non arva aliena domosque

moliri *FPa*, post moliri una litt. eras. *p*.  
mediis (*corr. ex medius*) *π*. properes *b<sup>1</sup>*.

311-442: *MP*.

309. quin . . . classem: *Serv. Aen.* 1, 279; *Schol. Lucan.* 5, 408. 309. hiberno sidere: *Gl. Ansil.* 286, 10 — iberno —; *Gl. Abstr.* 45, 11; *Gl. Affatim* (C. G. L. 4, 524, 23) — sidero —. 309. moliris: *Gl. Ansil.* 374, 189 — moliri —; *q.v.*

310. et . . . altum: *Diomed. Art. gram.* 3 (G. L. K. 1, 516) — per aequora —; *Non. p. 441 M.* (p. 709 L.); *Serv. Aen.* 5, 2. 310. et . . . ire: *Donat. Aen.* 5, praef. — prosperas *LR* (*corr. r*) —. 310. et . . . aquilonibus: [*Acro*] in *Hor. C.* 3, 30, 3. 310. mediis aquilonibus: *Gl. Ansil.* 362, 102. 310. ire . . . altum: *Anth. Lat. no.* 719a, 24 (2, p. 190 Riese); *Gl. Ansil.* 318, 20.

311-312. crudelis . . . peteres: *Anth. Lat. no.* 17, 20-21 (1, p. 62 Riese) — peteret —. 311-312. quid . . . peteres: *Donat. Aen.* 4, 350 — quid *om. R add. r = L* —; *Schol. Dan. Aen.* 4, 349 — quid son *F* —. 311-312. domosque . . . peteres: *Gl. Ansil.* 187, 127. 311. arva aliena: *Gl. Aa*, 181, 1215.

lies, not in its manner, which she has not yet planned, but in the fact that it will be untimely; cf. 4, 68, n. (*infelix*), above; 4, 687, n. (*ante diem*), below. She refers, probably, to a natural death by which the slighted lover dies — or is supposed to die —, but the reader knows the meaning of this tragic irony; cf. Rand, *The magical Art of Virgil* (1931), 357.

308. Dido: on the pathetic effect of the use of the third person cf. Kvěčala, *Vergil-Studien* (1878), 17-20, where many parallels are collected, including 4, 383.

309. quin etiam: nine times in Virgil, seven of them at the beginning of lines; cf. Vessereau on *Aetna*, 123.

309. hiberno: *Schol. Dan.*: *et bene tempestatis eum admonet, qui naufragus venerat; et hic agili quasi non sua causa eum remanere velit, sed etiam utilitatis Aeneae*. On the season cf. 4, 52, n. (*hiems*); for the phrase *Ov. Ex Pont.* 2, 4, 25: *brumali sidere*; *Tac. Ann.* 1, 70, 2: *sidere aequinoctii*.

309. moliris: *Schol. Dan.*: *aut moves aut paras*; cf. 3, 5-6: *classemque . . . / . . . molimur*. On the rhythmic effect of this line and the next cf. Norden, 2 ed. of *Aen.* VI (1916), 424. With the appeal of Dido La Cerda (*ad loc.*) compares *Prop.* 1, 8, 1-6. That she shows real concern for Aeneas's safety is perhaps shown by the repetition of

the same request at 4, 429-430; cf. Rébel-liau, *De Verg. in inform. muliebr. quae sunt in Aen. Personis Inventore* (1892), 81, n. 2.

310. mediis: *Schol. Dan.*: *media hieme, ut per aquilones hiemem significet. aut quod aquilones ex Africa navigantibus adversi sunt*; cf. *G.* 2, 334; *Aen.* 1, 102; 1, 391 (and *Serv.*); 3, 285: *et glacialis hiems aquilonibus asperat undas*. When Aeneas sails, at 5, 2: *fluctus . . . atros aquilone secabat*; yet cf. 4, 562: *nec zephyros audis spirare secundos*; Mayor in *Journ. of Philol.* 7 (1877), 8. Seneca remarks (*N. Q.* 5, 18, 2): *in Italiam auster impellit, aquilo in Africam reicit*. On the general character of these two winds cf. *Plin. N. H.* 2, 127; Gell. 2, 30; McCartney in *Cl. Weekly*, 24 (1930), 13-14. Veget. *Epit.* 4, 39, explains why *ex die . . . tertio idus Novembres usque in diem sextum idus Martias maria clauduntur*.

310. ire per altum: a verse-ending from *Lucr.* 3, 1030; *Aen.* 3, 374; cf. *G.* 1, 456-457: *per altum / ire*; *Cul.* 342: *ibat in altum*; *Prud. Cathem.* 7, 108: *iur per altum*. The Scholia Danielis remark: *exacerbavit sententiam 'per altum' dicendo; quamvis notum esset Aeneam per altum navigaturum*.

311. crudelis: cf. *Ecl.* 2, 6; *Aen.* 1, 407; 9, 482-483: *potuisti linguere solam, / crudelis*; *Catull.* 64, 136-137: *nullane res potuit, crudelis, flectere mentis / consilium*; *Ov. M.*

312. ignotas peteres et Troia antiqua maneret,  
Troia per undosum peteretur classibus aequor?

peterē *M* (peteres *M*<sup>1</sup>). et *MP*<sup>2</sup>γabc, *Donat.*, sed *P*, se *p*, si *m*.

[311\*] 312. maneret: *Gl. Ansil.* 356, 599; *q.v.*

313. Troia . . . aequor: *Serv. Aen.* 4, 347. 313. per undosum mare: *Gl. Ansil.* 440, 1199.

8, 110 (Scylla to Minos): *quo fugis, inmitis*; Pichon, *De Sermone amatorio* (1902), 117. Virgil probably here imitates *Apoll.* Rh. 4, 388–389: μάλα γὰρ μέγαν ὄρκον, / νηλεές, where, as in occasional Homeric cases of νήπιος and σχέρλιος, the similar emphatic ‘run-over’ position in the line should be noted. The cruelty of Hannibal is sometimes described by Latin writers (e.g., *Cic. De Sen.* 75; *Liv.* 21, 4, 9), and there may be here the same poetic contrast which we have seen above; cf. 4, 305, n. (*perfidē*). Yet note also the view of Landor, *Imaginary Conversations*, The Abbé Delille and Landor: “The passion of Dido is always true to Nature. Other women have called their lovers cruel; she calls Aeneas so, not chiefly for betraying and deserting her, but for hazarding his life by encountering the tempests of a wintry sea.”

311. quid si, etc.: cf. *Ov. H.* 7, 143–144: *Pergama vix tanto tibi erant repetenda labore, / Hectore si vivo quanta fuere forent.*

311. arva aliena: *Schol. Dan.*: *blande, quasi: haec iam tua sunt. domusque ignotas: ac si diceret: Carthago iam tibi nota est, licet et hic aliena sint arva*; but Henry (*Aeneidea*, 2 (1878), 694), more wisely, considers the *arva aliena* and *ignotas domos* as opposed to those of Troy rather than of Carthage. Cf. also *Ov. H.* 7, 16: *quis sua non notis arva tenenda dabit?*

312. Troia, etc.: cf. 2, 56: *Troiaque nunc staret, Priamique arx alta maneres*; 4, 343: *Priami tecta alta manerent*; *Ov. Ars am.* 3, 439: *Troia maneret*; *Dracont. Romul.* 8, 332: *non sic, si Troia maneret*, etc. The phrase *Troia antiqua* appears also in 1, 375 (where *Serv.* says *nobili, venerabili, more suo*); in the present line the *Scholia Danielis* explain: *vel nobilis, vel illa tua patria quam doles amissam.*

313. Troia . . . peteretur: cf. 10, 378: *pelagus Troiamne petamus.* On the previous

line the *Scholia Danielis* comment: *et deest ‘si’; et quasi per interrogationem intellegendum est: etiamsi Troia staret, per hiemem Troia peteretur?* Palmer (on *Ov. H.* 7, 53) suggests that *si* should be supplied before the second *Troia*, rendering: “How could you be in a greater hurry to sail, if Troy were standing, if it was [*sic*] Troy that you were making for across the sea?” But while *et* in 312 aptly unites the *peteres* and *maneret* clauses it would be very awkward to have a third clause in the protasis follow with asyndeton combined with the omission of *si*. I should, then, consider this line as the apodosis, and with the thought compare *Ov. H.* 7, 143–144; 13, 100: *non est, quo properes, terra paterna tibi.* On the repetition of the noun *Troia* instead of a pronoun cf. *Kvičala, Vergil-Studien* (1878), 68; also *Aen.* 1, 553–554.

313. undosum: cf. Landor, *Imaginary Conversations* (The Abbé Delille and Landor), for the emendation of this word to *hibernum* — not to be taken too seriously. The adjective *undosus* is rather rare, in Latin first in 3, 693: *Plemyrium undosum*; cf. *Sil.* 5, 21; *Paul. Nol. Carm.* 17, 177: *undosum petimus per aequor*; *Sedul. Pasch. Carm.* 3, 223: *undosum petiere solum*; *Dracont. Romul.* 10, 37: *ire per undosum proscissis fluctibus aequor*; etc. With the thought cf. 7, 810–811: *vel mare per medium fluctu suspensatumenti / ferret iter.*

313. peteretur: an awkward yet not unpermissible repetition after *peteres* in the line before.

313. classibus: for *navibus*; cf. 4, 537; 4, 582; and nine other cases in the *Aeneid* cited by Braumüller, *Ueber Tropen u. Figuren in Vergil's Aeneis*, 1 (1877), 22. Buscaroli (*ad loc.*) finds echoes of this line in *Ov. H.* 13, 127–128: *quis velit in patriam vento prohibente reverti? / a patria pelago vela*

314. mene fugis? per ego has lacrimas dextramque tuam te

haste P (has P<sup>2</sup>). lacrimas . . a. tuam te m. 2 add. c, tua te p.

314. mene . . . lacrimas: *Anth. Lat. no. 17, 210* (1, p. 69 Riese); *Consent. Ars* (G. L. K. 5, 403). 314. mene fugis: *Donat. in Ter. Eun. 179*; *Mart. Cap. 5, 494*; *Anth. Lat. no. 17, 205* (1, p. 69 Riese); *Gl. Ansil. 364, 312*. 314. per . . . te: *Charis. Inst. gram. 2* (G. L. K. 1, 233); *Eugraph. in Ter. Andr. 289* — per has te lacrimas ego (egomet a) —; *Iul. Rufin. p. 43 Halm*. 314. per has lacrimas: *Gl. Ansil. 434, 497, qui interp.*: 'per has lacrimas et dextram tuam ego te oro.'

*vetante datis*; *Val. Fl. 2, 405-406: sic portus fugeret ralis, aspera si te / Plias in adversae tenuisset litore Thraces*.

314. mene fugis: cf. 4, 675: *me* (and n.); 9, 199-200: *mene . . . / Nise, fugis*; also *Ecl. 2, 60: quem fugis, a, demens*; *Aen. 5, 742: quem fugis*; 6, 466: *quem fugis* (in poetic justice Dido there withdraws from Aeneas as he here leaves her); *Ov. H. 7, 46* (Dido to Aeneas): *dum me per freta longa fugis*; 13, 4 (Laodamia to Protesilaus): *a me cum fugeres* (where Palmer understands *a* as an interjection); *Stat. Theb. 12, 383: mene times*; Pichon, *De Sermone amatorio* (1902), 156-157. Note the contrasted positions of *me* and *te* at the two ends of the line. On *fugis* cf. 4, 306, n. (*decedere*), above. Henry (*Aeneidea*, 2 (1878), 695) well summarizes: "Is it from me you are flying? From me who have sacrificed everything for you (315), from your wedded wife (316), from me to whom you owe such a debt of gratitude (317), from me of whom you were once so fond (317-318), from me who will go to ruin as soon as you leave me (318), from me whose preference for you has brought on me the enmity not merely of neighboring nations but of my own people (320-321), from me who have through you lost that fair fame and spotless reputation for which I was celebrated to the stars of heaven (321-323)?" With this line cf. *Carm. de S. Cassiano*, 460 (*Poet. Aevi Carol. 4, 193*): *mene fugis? per ego has lacrimas vitamque clientis*.

314. per ego has: a word-order frequent in adjurations, by which, as in Greek (e.g., *Soph. Philoct. 468-470*; *Eur. Med. 324*; *Phoen. 1665*; *Alex. Aet. ap. Parthen. Erot. 14, 31*), the preposition is separated from its noun by a pronoun or some other word, or

the noun is itself resolved into a clause; cf. 2, 142-143: *per si qua est quae restet adhuc mortalibus usquam / intemerata fides*; 10, 597: *per qui te talem genuere parentes*; 10, 903: *per si qua est victis venia*; 12, 56: *per has ego te lacrimas*; also 4, 233, n. (*super*), above. To the numerous cases noted by Kühner-Stegmann, *Ausf. Gram. d. lat. Spr. 2, 1, 2 ed.* (1912), 584-585, add: *Plaut. Rud. 627*; *Ter. Andr. 289: per ego te dextram hanc oro*; *Enn. Scaen. 10*; *Liv. 23, 9, 2*; *Ov. M. 3, 658*; 10, 29; *Stat. Theb. 6, 171*; 9, 632; 10, 360; 11, 367; 11, 708; *Achill. 1, 267*; *Sil. 11, 332*; *Apul. Met. 6, 2: per ego te frugiferam tuam dextram istam deprecor*; *Vida, Christias, 3, 297: per ego has lacrymas*; v. Boltenstern, *Bemerk. ü. d. Wortstellung . . . d. Präpositionen in Vergils Aeneis* (1880), 5. These illogical but natural collocations express strong emotion which causes the speaker to utter his words regardless of logical order or of grammatical rules. It may be noted that the calmer Aeneas in his adjuration (4, 357: *testor utrumque caput*) remains perfectly logical, as in the first part of his speech (4, 333-336) he is thoroughly rhetorical. For the *δρκος* as a literary figure cf. 4, 24, n. (*sed, etc.*), above.

314. lacrimas: so Ovid (*H. 7, 185*) makes Dido appeal to Aeneas by her tears.

314. dextram: *Schol. Dan.: bene virum fortem per dextram adiurat*; but rather cf. 4, 307, and n. (*data dextera*); 4, 597: *en dextra fidesque*; *Eur. Med. 496: φεύ δεξιὰ χεῖρ, ἥς σὺ πόλλ' ἐλαμβάνου; I. T. 1068-1069: ἀλλὰ πρὸς σε δεξιὰς / σὲ καὶ σὲ ἰκνοῦμαι; Hipp. 605: καὶ πρὸς σε τῆς σῆς δεξιὰς ἐωλόνου; Hec. 752-753: ἰκετεύω σε . . . / . . . καὶ σοῦ γενεῖου δεξιὰς τ' εὐδαίμονος; Ar. *Thesm. 936: πρὸς**

315. (quando aliud mihi iam miserae nihil ipsa reliqui),  
per conubia nostra, per inceptos hymenaeos,

quando P (quando P<sup>4</sup>). aliut MP. misere γ.

quonubia b. coeptos c<sup>1</sup>, incaeptos p. hymnaeos Pγ, hymaeneos p.

315. quando . . . reliqui: *Vict. De Metr. et de Hex.* (G. L. K. 6, 210) — quando si aliquid mihi iam miserere nisi ipsa reliqui C, quando aliut mihi iam nihil uita reliqui A —; *id.*, G. L. K. 6, 214 — qm aliud C —. 315. reliqui: *Gl. Ansil.* 491, 901; q.v.

316. per conubia . . . hymenaeos: *Charis. Inst. gram.* 2 (G. L. K. 1, 233) — incoptos (*corr. in* inceptos) N —; *Anth. Lat.* no. 15, 123 (1, p. 54 Riese) — inceptoimeneos (*corr. in* inceptos himeneos) A —; no. 17, 212 (1, p. 69 Riese) — himaeneus (*corr. in* himaeneos) A —.

316. per . . . nostra: *Serv. Aen.* 1, 73; *Schol. Dan. Aen.* 4, 339.

τῆς δεξιᾶς; *Plaut. Amph.* 923: *per dexteram tuam te, Alcumena, oro obsecro*; *Caët.* 442–443: *haec per dexteram tuam te dextera retinens manu / obsecro*; *Ter. Andr.* 289 (quoted above); *Sall. Jug.* 10, 3: *per hanc dexteram . . . moneo optestorque te*; *Hor. Ep.* 1, 7, 94–95: *te per genium dextramque . . . / obsecro et obtestor*; *Sil.* 12, 577–578; *Apul. M.* 4, 11: *adhortatur per dexteram Martis*; 6, 2 (quoted above); *Wagener, Popular Associations of Right and Left in Roman Lit.* (1912), 21. On the importance of the *dextrarum iunctio* in a Roman marriage cf. *Rosbach, Untersuch.* ii. d. röm. Ehe (1853), 308–309.

314. tuam te: cf. 4, 434: *dum mea me*, etc.; and, for the monosyllabic ending, 4, 132, n. (*canum vis*); *Rouse in Cl. Rev.* 33 (1919), 138, who thinks the unusual rhythm intended to hold the attention.

315. quando, etc.: on the parenthesis cf. 4, 116, n. (*advert*).

315. nihil: *Schol. Dan.*: *et est sensus: si enim aliquid sperares, retinere te possem; sed contemnitis me, quia tibi ab initio cuncta concessi*.

315. miserae: cf. 1, 344 (where Dido is called *misera* with reference to her love for Sychaeus); 1, 719; 4, 20, n. (*miseri*); 4, 117; 4, 429; also *Catull.* 64, 57; 64, 71; 64, 140; 64, 196; *Anth. Lat.* no. 83, 90 (1, p. 117 Riese); *Pichon, De Sermone amatorio* (1902), 202.

315. ipsa: she admits that the responsibility is her own, and this line should perhaps be compared, as Ogle thinks (*Cl. Journ.* 20 (1925), 262), with 4, 596: *infelix Dido, nunc te facta impia tangunt?*

316. per, etc.: cf. *Il.* 15, 39: καὶ νωτίτερον λέχος (sc. ἴστω); *Soph. Ai.* 492–493: καὶ σ' ἀντιάξω πρὸς τ' ἐφεστίου Δῶς / εὐνῆς τε τῆς σῆς, κτλ.; *Catull.* 64, 139–141: *at non haec quondam blanda permixta dedisti / voce mihi, non haec miserae sperare iubebas, / sed conubia laeta, sed optatos hymenaeos* (on which cf. *Terzaghi, Virgilio ed Enea* (1928), 16, n. 14); *Ov. Am.* 3, 11, 45: *parce, per o lecti socialia iura*; *H.* 7, 177–180: *pro meritis et si qua tibi debebimus ulro, / pro spe coniugii tempora parva peto*. On the unusual metrical effect of *conubia* in this position in the line cf. *Norden*, 2 ed. of *Book VI* (1916), 374; and, for the meaning of *conubia*, cf. 4, 172, n. (*coniugium vocal*); 4, 213, n. (*conubia*). The *Catullan anaphora* of *sed . . . sed* Virgil has here reproduced by *per . . . per*.

316. inceptos: *Donat.*: *multos hoc loco trahit pars illa, quod inter Aenean et Didonem nova coniunctio agebatur, et sic inceptos hymenaeos intellegunt quasi recenti tempore contractos. quod contra est; nam si ita esset 'coeptos' diceret, non 'inceptos.'* He perhaps refers to the view appearing in *Servius*: *qui novitate sunt dulces*. *Henry (Aeneidea*, 2 (1878), 696) rightly takes *conubia* and *hymenaeos* as essentially synonymous (*Schol. Dan.*: *bis idem dixit*), rather than of a furtive union and the beginning of a formal rite, respectively, as *Wagner* and other editors (cf. especially *Masera ad loc.*) suppose. In the *Catullan passage* (64, 141), which *Virgil* here closely imitates, there seems no distinction between marriage and marriage-rites (cf. *Ellis ad loc.*), nor does *conubia* imply anything clandestine or illicit.

317. si bene quid de te merui, fuit aut tibi quicquam  
dulce meum, miserere domus labentis et istam,

miserere (corr. in miserere) γ, merere (corr. in miserere) α. domos (in ras.; corr. in domus) γ.

317-318. si . . . meum: Sen. De Benef. 7, 25, 2 — quidem de S —; Prisc. Inst. 8, 28 (G. L. K. 2, 396) — sed (corr. in si) Rr; ad (corr. in aut) Dd —; Eugraph. in Ter. Heaut. 1024 — si supplendum —. 317-318. fuit . . . meum: Donat. in Ter. Andr. 294 — fuit (aut ut fuit) V; tibi om. TC; dulce m. (dulce in V, dulce C) —; [Acro] in Hor. C. 1, 22, 23. 317. si . . . merui: Non. p. 344 M. (p. 545 L.) — si bene E, sibe L<sup>1</sup>, sibi A<sup>a</sup>, si B<sup>a</sup>D<sup>a</sup> —; Donat. in Ter. Andr. 292 — quod A —; Eugraph. in Ter. Andr. 289 — fuit aut tibi quicquam dulce meum add. a —; id., 292 — fuit aut add. β —; Sacerd. Art. gram. 1 (G. L. K. 6, 445) — quit B —; Anth. Lat. no. 15, 127 (1, p. 54 Riese); Serv. Aen. 9, 254 (add. in cod. Paris. 7965); Gl. Ansil. 257, 69 — quidquam dulci —.

[317\*] 318. miserere . . . labentis: Schol. Dan. Aen. 4, 327. 318. labentis: Gl. Ansil. 326, 41; q.v.

317. si, etc.: cf. 4, 373-375; so Calypso tells what she has done for Odysseus (Od. 5, 130-136), Medea recounts her services to Jason (Eur. Med. 476-487; Apoll. Rh. 4, 360-368; 4, 1031-1041; Ov. H. 12, 109-110; Val. Fl. 8, 438-439), Phyllis hers to Demophoon (Ov. H. 2, 107-110), and Ariadne her sacrifices for Theseus (Catull. 64, 149-153); cf. Ter. Andr. 292-295; also Conway, *New Studies of a great Inheritance* (1921), 147-148: "By these imitations [i.e., of Catullus] Vergil definitely places Dido in the company of deserted heroines, like Ariadne, for whom the first desire of any poet who told their story was to move the reader's pity." With the phraseology cf. Ov. M. 7, 854: *per si quid merui de te bene*; H. 7, 177: *pro meritis et si qua tibi debemus ultro* (al. *ultra*); Stat. Theb. 1, 60: *si bene quid merui*; Carm. de S. Cassiano, 463-465 (Poet. Aevi Carol. 4, 193); Dante, Inf. 26, 80: *s' io merilai di voi mentre ch' io vissi*.

317. fuit, etc.: cf. Pind. Ol. 1, 75-76; Soph. Ai. 520-521: ἀλλ' ὅσχε κάμου μνήστω. ἀνδρὶ τοι χρεῶν / μνήμην προσεΐναι, τερπνὸν εἰ τί που πάθοι; Eur. I. A. 1221-1222: πρῶτη δὲ γόνασι σοῖσι σῶμα δοῖσ' ἐμὸν / φίλας χάριτας ἔδωκα κἀντεδεξάμην; Ter. Andr. 41: *si tibi quid feci aut facio quod placeat*, Simo; Stat. Theb. 11, 368-369: *per si quid in illa dulce domo*; Pistelli (cited by Buscaroli ad loc.) compares Manzoni, *Adelchi*, 1428-1429: *se fui tua, se alcuna / di me dolcezza avesti*. We need not, with Servius (*tegūt rem inhonestam*),

take this clause in an obscene sense, and this the Scholia Danielis clearly realize; cases of *dulce* so employed, collected by various editors, are not adequate to prove a bad sense here, and quite opposed to it is the parallel in 12, 882-883: *aut quicquam mihi dulce meorum / te sine, frater, erit*; cf. also Pichon, *De Sermone amatorio* (1902), 135-136.

317. aut: on the deferred position cf. 4, 187, n. (aut), above.

318. miserere domus: cf. Ov. H. 7, 163: *parce, precor, domui quae se tibi tradit habendam*. On this sense of *domus* cf. the Virgilian examples cited by Braumüller, *Ueber Trophen u. Figuren in Vergil's Aeneis*, 1 (1877), 5. The 'house' may refer to Dido herself or to her family.

318. labentis: cf. 12, 59: *in te* (sc. Turno) *omnis domus inclinata recumbit*; Sen. De Benef. 6, 15, 7: *qui labentem domum suscipit*.

319. si quis: cf. Ter. Phorm. 547: *ut nullus locus relinquatur preci*; Andr. 601: *nil est preci loci relictum*; Cic. Ad Fam. 1, 1, 2: *nec precibus nostris . . . reliquit locum*; Val. Fl. 5, 510: *si quis et in precibus vero locus*.

319. precibus: cf. Pichon, *De Sermone amatorio* (1902), 238-239.

319. exue mentem: Schol. Dan.: *reice a te propositum mei relinquendi*; cf. G. 2, 51: *exuerint silvestrem animum*; Ov. M. 1, 622-623: *exuūt omnem / diva metum*; Aetna, 368: *mendacemque exue famam*; Ambros. De

319. oro, si quis adhuc precibus locus, exue mentem.  
te propter Libycae gentes Nomadumque tyranni

athuc *MP* (adhuc *M*<sup>2</sup>). praecibus *M* (precibus *M*<sup>2</sup>).  
et *P* (te *P*<sup>1</sup>). libyce γ, lybicae ρ, libyae *dett.* numadum *C*, numidum π, *dett.*

319. si . . . mentem: *Non. p.* 300 *M.* (*p.* 465 *L.*) — et si quis; adhuc *om.* —. 319. si . . . locus: *Schol. Lucan.* 7, 377, ed. *Weber* — adhuc *om.* —. 319. exue mentem: *Gl. Ansil.* 229, 1381; cf. 229, 1380.

320–321. te . . . odere: *Non. p.* 367 *M.* (*p.* 583 *L.*); *Prisc. Inst.* 13, 13 (*G. L. K.* 3, 31) — libycae *K*, libicae *Rd*, libice *BD*, lybice *L*; numadumque *RBGK*; tyranni *RG* —; *Inst.* 18, 265 (*G. L. K.* 3, 345) — libicae *N*, lybycae *VR*, lybyce *D*; nonadumque *M*, numadumque *r*; tyrannio dere *V* —; *Arus. Ex. Eloc.* (*G. L. K.* 7, 502) — libyae —. 320. te propter: *Gl. Ansil.* 558, 416. 320. Libycae gentes: *Gl. Ansil.* 339, 113 — libicae —. 320. nomadum: *Gl. Ansil.* 394, 81; *q.v.* 320. tyranni: *Gl. Ansil.* 563, 156 — thyranni —; *q.v.*

*Nab.* 5, 23: *exuam patris mentem*; *Walahfridus Strabo, De Blaiühmaic Vita*, 102–103 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 2, 299): *mentem / exuit*; *De Cult. Hort.* 264–265 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 2, 344): *mentem / exuerent*; the phrase is opposed to that in *Aen.* 1, 304: *accipit in Teucros animum mentemque benignam*.

320. te propter: for the position of the preposition cf. 12, 177: *quam propter*; *Cul.* 3; 390; *Cir.* 288: *te propter eundem*; also *Ter. Phorm.* 927; *Hec.* 677: *te propter*; *Cic. In Pis.* 15; *Ad Att.* 10, 4, 1; v. *Boltenstern, Bemerkungen ü. d. Wortstellung . . . der Präpositionen in Vergils Aeneis* (1880), 13; and, on the anaphora, cf. *Otto, De Anaphora* (1907), 50. The thought is similar to that of *Ov. H.* 2, 81–82 (*Phyllis to Demophoon*): *at mea despecti fugiunt conubia Thraces, / quod ferar externum praeposuisse meis*; 7, 121–125: *bella tument; bellis peregrina et femina temptor, / vixque rudis portas urbis et arma paro; / mille procis placui, qui me coiere querentes / nescio quem thalamis praeposuisse suis; / quid dubitas vinctam Gaetulo tradere Iarbae?* Dido's doubt whither to turn is like that of *Medea* (*Eur. Med.* 499–508, concluding: τοῖς μὲν οἴκοθεν φίλοις / ἐχθρὰ κατέστηχ', οὗς δὲ μ' οὐκ ἐχρῆν κακῶς / δρᾶν, σοὶ χάριν φέρουσα πολέμιους ἔχω; cf. the verses quoted by *Cic. De Or.* 3, 217; *Sen. Med.* 451–460) or *Ariadne* (*Catull.* 64, 177–187); cf. *Patin, Étude sur les Tragiques grecs. Euripide.* 1 (1894), 133–134, n. It is perhaps a little insincere for Dido to pretend

that on account of Aeneas she is exposed to animosities which had really been aroused before his arrival; cf. *Hahn in Cl. Weekly*, 25 (1931), 18–19.

320. Nomadum: *metri causa*; cf. 4, 535; 8, 724; *Mart.* 8, 55, 8; 9, 75, 8; *Norden*, 2 ed. of *Book VI* (1916), 141; *Sil.* 8, 56: *Nomadum late terrente tyranno*. On the Numidians cf. 4, 41, n. (*Numidae*); *Sall. Iug.* 18, 7–8.

320. tyranni: *Serv.: nihil intererat apud maiores inter regem et tyrannum, ut* (7, 266) '*pars mihi pacis erit dextram teligisse tyranni.*' Cf. also 7, 342; but in most Virgilian instances (1, 361; 8, 483; 10, 448; 12, 75) the connotation is unfavorable. With this passage cf. *Tac. Ann.* 16, 1: *ceterum, ut coniectura demonstrabat, Dido Phoenissam Tyro profugam condita Carthagine illas opes abdidisse, ne novus populus nimia pecunia lasciviret, aut reges Numidarum, et alias infensi, cupidine auri ad bellum accenderentur*; *Chaucer, Legend of good Women*, Dido, 392–393: "These lordes, which that wonnen me besyde / Wol me destroien oonly for youre sake." The word *tyranni* might suggest *Iarbas*, though according to Virgil's statement he was a Gaetulian (4, 326; but cf. 4, 198, n. (*Iarban*), above), and in 4, 40–41 the Gaetulians and Numidians are differentiated, as elsewhere (*Sall. Iug.* 18, 9) are the Libyans and Gaetulians. The term is, therefore, perhaps best taken here as applying to North African chiefs in general.



321. odere, infensi Tyrii; te propter eundem  
extinctus pudor et, qua sola sidera adibam,

extinctus *MPp.* ardibam (?) *M* (adibam *M<sup>1</sup>*).

[320\*]

322. extinctus pudor: *Anth. Lat. no. 17, 16* (1, p. 62 Riese) — extinctus —.

321. *infensi*: cf. Claud. *VI Cons. Honor.* 315-317: *offensi comiles, odere propinqui. / quid moror invisam lucem? quae sedere condam / naufragii fragmenta mei?*

321. *Tyrii*: whether suitors at Tyre and Pygmalion (4, 325) or her subjects at Carthage is not certain, though the latter would naturally resent her affection for an alien who might eventually become their ruler, as Gossrau (*ad loc.*) suggests; cf. Heinze, *Virgils epische Technik*, 3 ed. (1915), 134, n. 1. Mackail (*ad loc.*) finds no other hint of Carthaginian disaffection and thinks it may have "existed only in Dido's fevered imagination." Yet cf. 4, 545: *quos Sidonia vix urbe revelli*. Masera (*ad loc.*) with some reason thinks it used of those at Tyre who had sympathized with Dido as against Pygmalion, but whose respect for her had now been forfeited because of her disloyalty to the memory of Sychaeus.

321. *te propter eundem* = *Cir.* 288.

322. *extinctus pudor*: cf. Ov. *H.* 7, 5-6: *sed merita et famam corpusque animumque pudicum / cum male perdiderim, perdere verba leve est*. Servius here remarks: *magna indignatio: meministi enim se dixisse* (4, 27) 'ante, pudor, quam te violo.' *Pudor* is Dido's faithfulness to the memory of Sychaeus (cf. 4, 27; 4, 552), while *fama* is the reflection of that characteristic in her reputation among others (cf. 4, 170; 4, 221). The two are coupled in Stat. *Theb.* 3, 273: *fama pudorque relictus*; Val. Fl. 6, 471-472; cf. Cic. *De Prov. cons.* 14. In Apoll. Rh. 4, 379 Medea similarly bewails the loss of her good name. Priscian, *Carm.* 1, 212 (*Poet. Lat. min.* 5, 271), in speaking of Joseph, has a possible reminiscence of this line: *ille pudicitiae meruit qui sidera fama*; and in *Carm.* 2, 185-186 (*Poet. Lat. min.* 5, 281), like some other African writers, he defends Dido from the present charge: *qua regnans felix* (a refutation of

*infelix Dido*? Cf. 4, 68, n. (*infelix*), above) *per saecula vivit / atque pudicitiam non perdit crimine falso*. It is significant that Dido here blames Aeneas for her loss of that *pudor* which, in 4, 27, she had rhetorically vowed to maintain; cf. Hahn in *Cl. Weekly*, 25 (1931), 18.

322. *sola*: that which Dido feels to be her one real claim to immortality (or even apotheosis). This is a better explanation than that of Forbiger: *qua florebam maxima, etiamsi alias virtutes non habuissem*. Henry (*Aeneidea*, 2 (1878), 700-702) points out that the roads to heaven through martial achievement or through poetic attainments were obviously not open to Dido.

322. *sidera*: in Virgil often synonymous with *caelum*; cf. De la Ville de Mirmont, *Apollonios de Rhodes et Virgile* (1894), 254, who cites many cases. In some it is literally the sky; in others the wide diffusion of one's reputation is expressed by reference to the heavens; in still others immortality, or particularly that form of it which is given by deification, is intended. Cf. *Ecl.* 5, 51: *Daphnimque tuum tollemus ad astra* (evidently meaning more than 5, 43: *hinc usque ad sidera notus*); 9, 29: *cantantes sublimem ferent ad sidera cygni* (sc. *nomen Vari*); *Aen.* 1, 259-260: *sublimemque feret ad sidera caeli / magnanimum Aenean*; 1, 287: *famam qui terminet astris* (sc. *Caesar*); 1, 379: *fama super aethera notus* (sc. *Aeneas*; imitating *Il.* 8, 192; *Od.* 8, 74; 9, 19-20: εἴμ' Ὀδυσσεὺς . . . / καὶ μὲν κλέος οὐρανὸν ἔκει; 19, 108); 3, 158: *tollemus in astra nepotes*; 3, 462; 6, 129-130: *pauci quos . . . / . . . erexit ad aethera virtus*; 7, 99: *nomen in astra ferant* (= 7, 272); 9, 641-642: *sic ilur ad astra, / dis genite et geniture deos* (cf. Otto, *Sprichwörter* . . . der Römer (1890), 43); 11, 125: *quibus caelo te laudibus aequem*; 12, 794-795: *indigetem Aenean scis ipsa et scire faleris / deberi caelo fatisque ad sidera*

## 323. fama prior. cui me moribundam deseris, hospes?

moribunda *M* (moribundam *M*<sup>1</sup>), moribundam (dam in ras. m. rec.) π.

323-324. cui . . . restat: *Lact. Plac. in Stat. Theb.* 3, 276 — me om. *Pb* —. 323-324. hospes . . . restat: *Non. p.* 378 *M.* (p. 603 *L.*); *Schol. Dan. Aen.* 4, 424. 323. fama prior: *Gl. Ansil.* 233, 303. 323. cui . . . hospes: *Prisc. Inst.* 13, 24 (*G. L. K.* 3, 16) — me add. *h*; morituram (cf. *Dierschke, De Fide Prisc. in Versibus Verg. . . examinata* (1913), 46); deseris (corr. in deseris) *K*; ospes *GLK* —; *Schol. Lucan.* 6, 86 — om. *UG*<sup>1</sup> —. 323. moribundam: *Gl. Ansil.* 376, 423.

*tolli*; *Hor. C.* 1, 1, 6: *euehit ad deos*; 1, 1, 30: *dis miscent superis*; 1, 1, 36; 4, 2, 23-24; *Ov. M.* 7, 60-61: *quo coniuge felix / et dis cara ferar et vertice sidera tangam*; 9, 271-272; 15, 845-846; 15, 874-875; *Ex Pont.* 2, 9, 62: *lucida Pieria tendis in astra via*; 2, 5, 57; *Prop.* 1, 8, 43; *Manil.* 1, 802-804; *Stat. Theb.* 3, 155: *vos uleri fortuna mei, qua tangere divos / rebar*; *Silv.* 1, 2, 212-213; *Sil.* 1, 1-2: *ordior arma quibus caelo se gloria tollit / Aeneadam*; 1, 277; 2, 337; 8, 593-594; 10, 308; 12, 411; 13, 791; *Dracont. Rom.* 5, 329: *sidera sic capies, poteris sic astra mereri*; *Venant. Fort. Misc.* 8, 6, 36 (*Patr. Lat.* 88, 267): *et quascunque sacer vexit ad astra pudor*. These and other cases, collected by Hunziker, *Die Figur der Hyperbel in den Gedichten Vergils* (1896), 115-119, show that, in Virgil and elsewhere, such expressions vary from pure hyperbole (cf. 4, 177, n. (*ingreditur, etc.*), above) to veritable deification. Hunziker (*op. cit.*, 118, n. 200), like Stephenson (*ad loc.*), seems to doubt the common explanation of our line as "I was on my way to immortality," in spite of that Hellenistic deification of rulers which extended to play such a part at Rome, from Julius Caesar onward (cf. *Trebell. Poll.* 12, 3: *quo* (sc. *Claudio*) *ad deos atque ad sidera demigrante*). We may perhaps observe that in many Greek epitaphs the body is described as received by the earth while the soul goes to the aether (the seat of the stars); cf. *Kaibel, Epigrammata Graeca*, nos. 21, 5; 41, 1-2; 156, 1-2; 261, 5-16 (repeated in several variations); 288, 4-5; 312, 4; 315, 1-2; 325, 5-6; 642, 7; etc.; *Rohde, Psyche*, 2, 4 ed. (1907), 384, n. 2; cf. also the emblems of the star and the snake on the tombstone in *C. I. L. IX*, 3821. But that Dido here refers to any such common

type of immortality seems questionable, and I should prefer to class this statement with the passages quoted in the beginning of this note.

With the verse-ending cf. *Sil.* 10, 578: *sidera adibat*; note also *Mart.* 9, 65, 9-10: *securus adisses / astra*.

323. prior: *Schol. Dan.*: *quae melior fuit sine dubio; nam posterior turpis*. But Burmann and later editors well compare the phrase *fama prior* in *Stat. Silv.* 1, 1, 8 and *Theb.* 4, 32, in the sense of established renown.

323. cui: cf. 2, 677-678: *cui parvos Iulus, / cui pater et coniunx quondam tua dicta relinquit*; *Ov. H.* 3, 61 (*Briseis* to *Achilles*): *ibis et, o miseram cui me, violente, relinquis?* *Tasso, Ger. lib.* 16, 36, 1-2: *dove, o crudel, me sola / lasci?* *Mackail (ad loc.)* interprets *cui* as neuter ('for what'), but the masculine seems suggested by 4, 325-326, where the perils are personal rather than general.

323. moribundam: *Schol. Dan.*: *hoc est quod supra* (4, 308) '*nec moritura tenet crudeli funere Dido*'; *sed ibi invidiose, hic per miserationem*. For the phrase cf. *Lucr.* 3, 129: *qui nobis moribundos deserit artus*; and for Dido's resolution to die 4, 308, n. (*nec, etc.*).

323. deseris: *Schol. Dan.*: *subdistinguentium; dubitat enim quo eum nomine potissimum appellet*; and *Servius* remarks: *dicitur autem ingenti adfectu hos versus pronuntiasse, cum privatim paucis praesentibus recitaret Augusto; nam recitavit primum libros tertium et quartum* (cf. *Suet.-Donat. Vita*, 32; *Serv. Aen.* 6, 861; *Ribbeck, Prolegomena critica* (1866), 58).

323. hospes: *Heinze (Virgils epische Technik*, 3 ed. (1915), 134, n. 1) cites *Callim.*

324. hoc solum nomen quoniam de coniuge restat.  
quid moror? an mea Pygmalion dum moenia frater

(qu)id P, quit γ. pigmalion φ.

[323] 324. hoc . . . restat: *Schol. Lucan. 2, 140* — om. *UG<sup>1</sup>* —. 324. de coniuge: *Gl. Ansil. 162, 154*.

325-326. quid . . . destruat: *Prisc. Inst. 8, 23 (G. L. K. 2, 389)* — mor (*corr. in moror*) K; pigmalion *RBHGK (corr. in pigmallion L)*; menia D; distruat GK —; *Inst. 18, 288 (G. L. K. 3, 361)* — pigmalion rDN; dommoenia V; destruit —. 325. quid moror: *Gl. Ansil. 479, 62*.

frag. 550: *νύμφη Δημοφῶν, ἄδικε ξένη*. However close the relation of *hospitium*, the *hospes* must always have been regarded as a foreign sojourner rather than as a fellow-citizen (cf. *Cic. Brut. 172*; and many other cases), and hence as subject to the taboos and restrictions attaching to foreigners; cf. Crawley-Besterman, *Mystic Rose*, 2 ed., 1 (1927), 26-27; etc. Similar notions of foreigners appear in the word *hostis* (cf. *Cic. De Off. 1, 37: hostis enim apud maiores nostros is dicebatur quem nunc peregrinum dicimus . . . id nomen durius effecit iam vetustas; a peregrino enim recessit et proprie in eo qui arma contra ferret remansit*; with which agree *Varr. L. L. 5, 3*; *Paul. ex Fest. p. 102 M. (p. 91 Lindsay)*). Plays upon the two words are not unknown; e.g., *Liv. 1, 12, 8*; *1, 58, 8: Sex. est Tarquinius . . . hostis pro hospite*; *23, 33, 7*; *Ov. Ep. 16, 10: hospes an hostis eras*. The stages of Aeneas's relation to Dido, in her thought of him, are (1) husband (4, 172; etc.); (2) foreign guest (as here); (3) foreign enemy (4, 424 and n. (*hostem*); 4, 549). With the second cf. also *Ov. H. 7, 167: si pudet uxoris, non nupta sed hospita dicar*; 9, 33: *vir mihi semper abest et coniuge notior hospes*; *Ars am. 3, 39-40: et famam pietatis habet tamen hospes et ense / praebuilt et causam mortis, Elissa, tuae*; *Val. Fl. 7, 488*; *Sil. 8, 50: Iliaco postquam deserta est hospite Dido*. Donatus on our line remarks: *si mariti, inquit, vocabulo conventus preces meas audire non curas, has vel hospitibus religione commotus admittit*. I think the explanation given above is more probable than that of Ussani (in *Atene e Roma*, 10 (1907), 265), who, comparing *C. I. L. IX, 1961*, explains *hospes* as a *concubina* or *concubinus*.

324. hoc, etc.: with the parenthesis cf. 4, 116, n. (*advertit*), above; *Sen. H. F. 1-2: soror Tonantis (hoc enim solum mihi / nomen relictum est)*.

324. quoniam: postpositive in half the instances in Virgil; cf. *Ecl. 2, 55*; 3, 36; 5, 1; *G. 2, 228*; 4, 437; *Aen. 5, 22*; 8, 323; 9, 156; *Cir. 119*. For its dependence in thought upon *hospes* — "I call you *hospes*, because" — *Ladewig (ad loc.)* compares 1, 65: *Aeole, namque tibi*, etc.; *Liv. 5, 44, 1: cives mei, quando et vestrum beneficium ita tulit et fortuna hoc eguit mea*.

324. coniuge: cf. 4, 338, n. (*coniugis*), below. Probably not a case of brachylogy (in the sense of *de nomine coniugis*), but to be taken literally: from what was formerly a husband all that I have left is one whom I may call *hospes*.

324. restat: *Placek, Re in den Compositis in Vergils Aeneis* (1882), 17, notes that this verb has in Virgil two meanings: (1) 'remain when all else is lost,' as here and in 1, 556; 1, 679; 2, 142; 10, 367; 11, 161; and (2) 'remain over when all else is completed,' as in 2, 70; 10, 29; 7, 271; 12, 793.

325. quid moror: *Schol. Dan.: utrum 'quid in hac terra moror,' an 'quid in vita moror.'* The latter meaning fits better her own thoughts of suicide and the fact that she makes no appeal to Aeneas to take her with him from Carthage (though at 4, 537-546 she considers in her mind this possibility). For *quid moror* or *quidve moror* cf. 2, 102; 6, 528; *Hor. C. 2, 17, 6*; *Ov. Am. 3, 6, 77*; *M. 13, 517*; *Claud. De VI Cons. Honor. 316: quid moror invisam lucem?* *Ermoldus, In Hon. Hludowici, 2, 51 (Poet. Aevi Carol. 2, 25)*. In some of these cases, as noted by

326. destruat aut captam ducat Gaetulus Iarbas?  
saltem si qua mihi de te suscepta fuisset  
ante fugam suboles, si quis mihi parvulus aula

(de)struat *P.* getulus *M.* iarbas *b.* Donat.

(s)altem *P.* saltim *ab<sup>1</sup>c<sup>1</sup>.*

(a)nte *P.* soboles (corr. in suboles) *abc*, soboles et π. paruulus *codd.*

[325\*]

327-328. saltem . . . suboles: *Prisc. Inst.* 16, 10 (*G. L. K.* 3, 99) — saltim *BK*; soboles *RDH*, sobules *LK* —; *Cledon. Ars* (*G. L. K.* 5, 24) — salte (corr. in saltae) *cod. Bern.* —; *Pomp. Comm.* (*G. L. K.* 5, 266) — saltim; soboles *BC* —. 327. saltem . . . fuisset: *Alcuin, Gram.* 297 (*Patr. Lat.* 101, 896). 327. saltem . . . te: *Sacerd. Art. gram.* 1 (*G. L. K.* 6, 445). 327. de te suscepta: *Gl. Ansil.* 172, 1187.

[327\*] 328-329. si . . . referret: *Comm. Cruq. in Hor. C.* 4, 5, 23 — paruulus; te tantum —. 328. ante fugam: *Gl. Ansil.* 55, 356.

Henry (*Aeneidea*, 2 (1878), 703-704), the phrase is used by one preparing for death.

325. *Pygmalion*: cf. 4, 44, n. (*germani*, etc.), above. The interlocked order should be noted: *mea Pygmalion . . . moenia frater*.

326. *Gaetulus Iarbas*: cf. 4, 196, n. (*Iarban*); *Ov. H.* 7, 125: *quid dubitas vinciam Gaetulo tradere Iarbae*; *F.* 3, 551-552: *protinus invadunt Numidae sine vindice regnum, / et potitur capta Maurus Iarba domo*.

327. *saltem*: *Schol. Dan.*: *cum extremum aliquid patitur, inde necessitate additur 'saltem,' veluti salutem postremo poscentes. vel 'saltem' 'si aliter non potest.' et hic ostendere vult Didonem, ut est mos inconstantibus animis, prae amore id agere invidiose, quasi a legitimo marito deseratur; quis enim ignorat matrimonia liberorum suscipiendorum gratia iniri?* With the situation cf. *Apoll. Rh.* 1, 897-898: *λίπε δ' ἡμῖν ἔπος, τό κεν ἐξανθίσαιμι / πρόφρων, ἢ ἄρα δὴ με θεοὶ δώσωσι τεκέσθαι*; *Val. Fl.* 3, 317-318: *necdum suboles, nec gaudia de te / ulla mihi*; *Claud. De Rapt. Pros.* 1, 109-110: *ast ego deserta maerens inglorius aula / implacidas nullo solabor pignore curas?* Ovid's account (perhaps suggested by *Eur. Med.* 488-491, and followed by Chaucer, *Legend of good Women*, Dido, 398-399) differs from that of Virgil; cf. *H.* 7, 133-134: *forsitan et gravidam Didon, scelerate, relinquo, / parsque tui lateat corpore clausa meo* (cf. *Val. Fl.* 2, 424: *per hunc utero quem linquis Iasona nostro*); but, as observed by Herrmann (in *Aus Unterricht u.*

*Forschung*, 1 (1929), 122-123), the ancestor of Augustus, that stout defender of the marriage tie, must not be represented as compromised in his relations with Dido, and in this he stands in contrast, not only to the lovers of Medea (cf. *Eur. Med.* 490-491) and other great heroines, but also to Antony and Caesar in their relations to Cleopatra; cf. also Alexander the Great and Thalestris, Queen of the Amazons, as described by Curt. 6, 5, 30. With the phraseology Nettleship (ap. Conington *ad loc.*) quotes *Plaut. Rud.* 552-553: *saltem si mihi / mulierculae essent salvae, spes aliquae forent*. On the chronological implications which may be drawn from this passage cf. Conway in *Cl. Journ.* 26 (1931), 620-622; and on Virgil's euphemism DeWitt, *The Dido Episode in the Aeneid of Virgil* (1907), 71. Further views on the relation between Dido and Aeneas are expressed by Humphries in *Intern. Zeitsch. f. Individualpsychologie*, 5 (1927), 346.

327. *suscepta*: originally of taking up a new-born child (cf. 9, 203), symbolizing an intention to rear it; then, by an easy transfer, of the begetting or the bearing of children; cf. *Plaut. Epid.* 561: *filiam quam ex te suscepi*; *Ter. Andr.* 401; *Phorm.* 942-943: *ex qua filiam / suscepit*; 967: *unde haec suscepisti tibi*; 1007; *Cic. 2 Verr.* 3, 161; *Tusc.* 3, 2; *Ad Att.* 11, 9, 3; *Phil.* 3, 17; *Justin*, 11, 10, 3; *Vulg. Iudic.* 11, 2: *habuit autem Galaad uxorem de qua suscepit filios*.

328. *ante fugam*: *Serv.*: *et amatorie et*

## 329. luderet Aeneas, qui te tamen ore referret,

(l)uderet P. tantum Longob. Med. Porc. Pierii. referret (rret in ras.) c.

[328\*] 329. qui . . . referret: Schol. Dan. G. 3, 121 — refert V —; [Acro] in Hor. C. 4, 5, 23; Arus. Ex. Eloc. (G. L. K. 7, 506); Gl. Ansil. 481, 260 — ferret —.

*amare; nam haec fugam dicit quam ille nominat protectionem; Donat.: non dixit ante navigationem tuam aut ante abscessum tuum, quae solent esse honesta, sed fugam, quae fuerat turpis; cf. 4, 314: mene fugis; 4, 338, where Aeneas calls it fugam (perhaps quoting Dido's term); also 4, 306, n. (decedere).*

328. suboles: cf. 4, 33: *nec dulcis natos . . . noris?*

328. parvulus . . . Aeneas: cf. Catull. 61, 216–220: *Torquatus volo parvulus / matris e gremio suae / porrigens teneras manus / dulce rideat ad patrem / semihiantem labello; Aetna, 594: sub truce nunc parvi ludentes Colchide nati; Tib. 2, 2, 22: ludat et ante tuos turba novella pedes; Mart. 5, 34, 7: inter tam veteres ludat lasciva patronos; Stat. Achill. 1, 321–322: o si mihi iungere curas / atque alium portare sinu contingat Achillen; Theb. 12, 347–348. Our passage is echoed by Juv. 5, 137–139: dominus tamen et domini rex / si vis tu fieri, nullus tibi parvulus aula / luserit Aeneas nec filia dulcior illo (where the scholiast remarks: *Virgilium ridet*); Paul. Nol. Carm. 24, 513: *et nunc in aula parvulus ludit Dei; Vulfinus, Carm. de Marcello, 287 (Poet. Aevi Carol. 4, 973): unica cui proles dulcis ludebat in aula; Baldricus Burguliensis, Carm. 188, 107 (p. 186 Abrahams): praeludat vacua mihi parvus Iulus in aula.**

For the diminutive cf. DeWitt, *op. cit.*, 70–71, who notes that while Catullus and the elegists freely use diminutives they are rare in Virgil, and usually accompanied by a pathetic meaning; Gow (in *Cl. Quart.* 26 (1932), 150–157), who lists (151–152) diminutive nouns and adjectives, and thinks (154) that Virgil's reluctance to use them was because they belonged to the speech of daily life and so were too intimate or too vulgar for 'high poetry.' Ladewig, *De Vergilio Verborum Novatore* (1870), 11, lists 25 different diminutives in Virgil, 7 of them in the *Aeneid*, but Glover (*Virgil*, 2 ed. (1912), 184,

n. 1) calls this the only deliberate diminutive in Virgil. For the tenderness toward children characteristic of the poet cf. Smith in *Cl. Journ.* 26 (1930), 142, n. 3, who compares the reference in 2, 563 to *parvi casus Iuli*. With the general thought cf. also 4, 33: *nec dulcis natos . . . noris?* Dido suggests no doubt as to the sex of the child who might have been born (cf. Church, *The Identity of the Child in Virgil's Pollio*, in *Univ. of Nevada Studies*, 3 (1911), 3), and thinks of him as named for his father instead of for his grandfather.

328. aula: suggesting that she desired an heir to the throne to occupy her royal palace. That she thinks of the child as remaining with her rather than being taken by Aeneas to Italy is probably because of the principle that the child of a Roman citizen (and Aeneas has ascribed to him some characteristics of such) and a *peregrina* not possessing the *conubium* followed the mother and was not subject to the *potestas* of his father; cf. Serv.: *secundum ius loquitur; nam ubi non est iustum matrimonium liberi matrem sequuntur*; Roszbach, *Untersuch. ü. d. römische Ehe* (1853), 464–465; Meyer, *Der röm. Konkubinat* (1895), 52–54; Ussani (in *Atene e Roma*, 10 (1907), 264–265), who thinks this sentence an admission by Dido that her relation to Aeneas was illegitimate. Zielinski (in *Conferenze Virgiliane tenute alla Univ. catt.* (Milan, 1931), 39–54) discusses Virgil and the Tragedy of Maternity, and observes that, while Ovid makes of Dido a pregnant woman to whom her future child will be the occasion of care rather than a protection or joy, Virgil makes her of the heroine type, resigned if she might but bear within her a potential hero (*id.*, in *Philologus*, 64 (1905), 17). On Dido's childlessness cf. also 4, 68, n. (*infelix*), above.

329. tamen: Serv.: *aut sic dixit quasi amatrix, ut supra* (4, 85) *de Ascanio 'infan-*

330. non equidem omnino capta ac deserta viderer.<sup>7</sup>  
Dixerat. ille Iovis monitis immota tenebat

ac γ<sup>1</sup>, at (corr. in ut) γ<sup>2</sup>, au c, aut π, dett. uider&r γ, uideres p.  
inmota c.

331-332. ille . . . lumina: Donat. Aen. 4, 370 — inmota —; Schol. Dan. Aen. 4, 369 — inmota —. 331. Iovis monitis: Gl. Ansil. 317, 19.

*dum si fallere possit amorem,*<sup>7</sup> aut illud dicit: *optarem filium similem vultui, non moribus tuis* (indicating that Servius knew the variant *tantum for tamen*). The elliptic force of *tamen* (cf. Ecl. 10, 31; Aen. 9, 248; Liv. 1, 26, 12; Ov. H. 7, 7; Plin. Paneg. 31, 2) has been much disputed; most natural seems the meaning 'after all,' i.e., 'even if you abandon me,' though Henry (*Aeneidea*, 2 (1878), 705), without sufficient justification, rejects *tamen* in favor of the inferior reading *tantum*. Page (*ad loc.*) would see in the word a mingling of several ideas: "to remind me of thee by his face in spite of all (thy cruelty)," or 'though thou art far away,' or 'with his face at least, though he can do so with nothing else.' Each of these thoughts is suggested by *tamen*, but none of them is right by itself." Conington (*ad loc.*) well observes in this speech a mixture of tenderness and indignation.

329. ore referret: cf. 7, 49; 12, 348: *nomine avom referens* (cf. 5, 564), *animo manibusque parentem*; also 6, 768: *qui te nomine reddet*. So Ascanius recalled to Dido by his features his absent father; cf. 4, 84, n. (*genitoris imagine*). On the likeness of children to parents cf. Lucr. 1, 597-598; 4, 1218-1224; Hor. C. 4, 5, 23: *laudantur simili prole puerperae*; Liv. 10, 7, 3: *retulisse dicitur Decius parentis sui speciem*; Ov. H. 6, 124 (of twins): *cetera patris habent*; M. 13, 443; Sen. Tr. 647-648: *vivat, ut possit tuos / referre vultus*; Plin. Ep. 5, 16, 9: *amissit enim filiam quae non minus mores eius quam os vultumque referebat*; 7, 19, 9: *matrem . . . reddit ac refert nobis*; Apul. M. 5, 13: *sic in hoc saltem parvulo cognoscam faciem tuam*; Auson. Parent. 23, 1-5: *qui nomen vultumque patris, Pauline, gerebas, / amissi speciem qui genitoris eras; / propter quam luctus miserae decedere matris / coeperat, offerret cum tua*

*forma patrem, / redderet et mores*, etc.; Vita Mathildis Reginae, 16 (Mon. Germ. hist., Scriptores, 4, 294): *quotiens acerbam diem tuae mortis menti induximus hac sola consolatione respiravimus, quod dilectissimi filii nostri vita superstes erat, qui ore, nomine, et habitu te maxime referebat*; and with the use of *reddere* cf. Ov. H. 13, 152; Stat. Silv. 3, 3, 200-201; Tac. Germ. 43. On the alliteration cf. 4, 47, n. (*surgere regna*).

330. non equidem: cf. Ecl. 1, 11; Aen. 8, 129; 10, 793; Cir. 19; 418; 431.

330. capta: by Iarbas? Cf. 4, 326; Cir. 290: *tam longe capta atque avecta*. Perhaps it = *decepta*, or, more likely, means 'betrayed' (cf. 2, 196; 11, 49). Dido had been already *decepta* (4, 17) by the death of Sychaeus.

330. deserta: cf. Catull. 64, 57, where Ariadne is so described. With the pathos at the end of the speech cf. Quintil. Inst. 6, 2, 7.

331. dixerat: cf. 4, 30, n. (*sic effata*); 4, 238; 4, 663.

331. Iovis monitis: the *mandata* of 4, 270. Serv.: *bene praescribit, ne ei dei impietatem*; cf. 10, 689: *Iovis . . . monitis*; also 7, 110: *sic Iuppiter ipse monebat*. Donat.: *recte autem dixit Iovis monitis et non magis iussis; iussa enim sunt ubi aliquid iubetur insperatum et novum, Aeneas autem commonitione potius quam iussu instructus est*; etc.

331. immota: cf. Od. 19, 209-212: ἀτὰρ Ὀδυσσεὺς / θυμῷ μὲν γοῶνσαν ἔην ἐλῆαιπε γυναικα, / ὀφθαλμοὶ δ' ὥς εἰ κέρα' ἔστασαν ἡὲ σιδήρος / ἀτρέμας ἐν βλεφάροισιν· δόλω δ' ὃ γε δάκρυα κέθεν. In some such cases the eyes are fixed on the ground, in shame or meditation; in others (as here; cf. 4, 369) they look directly toward the interlocutor; cf. 7, 249-250: *defixa Latinus / obtutu tenet ora solumque immobilis haeret*; 8, 520-521: *vix ea fatus*

332. lumina et obnixus curam sub corde premebat.  
tandem pauca refert: 'ego te, quae plurima fando

sub. c. orde c.

refe& (corr. in refert) c.

[331] 332. obnixus: cf. *Gl. Ansil.* 402, 303-304.

333-335. ego . . . promeritam: *Donat. in Ter. Hec.* 487; *Prisc. Inst.* 18, 178 (*G. L. K.* 3, 291) — teque VR —; *Eugraph. in Ter. Andr.* 330 — enumerare u. n. r. n. promeritam —.

333-334. ego . . . vales: *Donat. in Ter. Andr.* 582 — quae p. f. e. u. (quae plurima fando e. u. V, p. q. f. ero TC, quae etc. B) —; *Prisc. Inst.* 17, 69 (*G. L. K.* 3, 149) — plura R; enumerale R —.

333-334. quae . . . vales: *Schol. Dan. Ecl.* 9, 38. 333. tandem . . . refert: *Anth. Lat. no. 11, 92* (1, p. 44 *Riese*). 333. plurima fando: *Gl. Ansil.* 448, 348.

erat, defixique ora tenebant / Aeneas Anchisiades et fidus Achates; *Ov. Ep.* 20, 113: luminaque in gremio veluti defixa tenebam; 20, 242: lumina fixa tenens plena pudoris humo; *M.* 6, 304-305: lumina maestis / stant inmota genis (but the situation is so dissimilar as to injure the parallel); 7, 86-88: spectat, et in vultu veluti tum denique viso / lumina fixa tenet, nec se mortalia demens / ora videre putat, nec se declinat ab illo; 14, 592-593; *Dio Cass.* 51, 12, 5 (of Augustus before Cleopatra): ὁ οὖν Καίσαρ συνίει μὲν αὐτῆς καὶ παθαίνουμένης καὶ πληκτιζομένης, οὐ μέντοι καὶ προσεποιεῖτο, ἀλλ' ἐς τὴν γῆν τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἐρείσας τοῦτο μόνον εἶπεν, κτλ.; *Stat. Theb.* 2, 173-174: audierant, fixosque oculos per mutua paulum / ora tenent; *Heliod. Aethiop.* 10, 16: ὁ δ' ὅδ' Ὑδάστης ἡλέει μὲν τὴν γυναικα ὀδυρομένην ὁρῶν, καὶ πρὸς συμπάθειαν ἐκάμπτετο τὴν διάνοιαν, τὸ δῆμα δ' οἷον ἐκέρas ἢ σίδηρον εἰς τὰ δρώμενα τείνας, εἰστέκει πρὸς τὰς ὥδιντας τῶν δακρύων ἀπομαχόμενος, κτλ.; *Coluth.* 296-297: ἐννεπεν ἡ δ' ἐρόεσσαν ἐπὶ χθοὶ πῆξεν ὀπωπῆν / δηρὸν ἀμυχανέουσα καὶ οὐκ ἡμείβετο νύμφη; *Radewinus Frising. Vit. Theophili.* 501 (*Sitzb. d. kgl. bayr. Akad.* 3 (1873), 111): inmotos vultus et lumina fixa tenebat; *Pope, Rape of the Lock*, 5, 5-6: "Not half so fix'd the Trojan could remain, / While Anna begg'd and Dido rag'd in vain." The fixed eyes of Aeneas should be contrasted with the rolling eyes of Dido (4, 363-364), though *Glover (Virgil, 2 ed. (1912), 221, n. 4)* recalls that his eyes were naturally faciles (8, 310). Here his calm is that of a Stoic, such as *Marcus Aurelius (Glover, l. c.; Pease in Cl. Weekly, 15 (1921), 5); cf. Jul. Capit.*

*M. Antoninus*, 16, 5: erat enim ipse tantae tranquillitatis ut vultum numquam mutaverit maerore vel gaudio, philosophiae deditus Stoicae. *Servius* here remarks: physicum enim est ut qualitatem animi ex oculorum aut corporis stabilitate aut mobilitate noscamus; etc.; cf. *Donat.*: solum Iovem videbat animo, solum stare ante oculos suos, a cuius praeceptis moveri non poterat. In 4, 449 not the eye but the mind of Aeneas is described by the adjective immota; cf. 4, 449, n. (*lacrimae volvantur inanes*). In the underworld Dido repays the fixed look of Aeneas in the present line: 6, 469: illa solo fixos oculos aversa tenebat.

331. tenebat: on the rhyme between this line and the next cf. 4, 54, n. (*amore*), above.

332. obnixus: commonly of physical effort, as in 4, 406. The sincerity of Aeneas's struggle and the difference between his emotion and that of Dido are well discussed by *Heinze, Virgils epische Technik*, 3 ed. (1915), 124, n.

332. curam: cf. 4, 1, n. (*cura*); *Schol. Dan.*: vel simpliciter accipe, vel amorem.

332. sub: cf. 1, 36: servans sub pectore volnus; *Cul.* 91: haec cura est subdila cordi.

332. corde premebat: cf. 1, 209: premit altum corde dolorem (cf. *Stat. Theb.* 9, 824); 10, 465: corde premit gemitum; *Val. Fl.* 1, 733-734: talesque prementem / corde metus; *Aug. Conf.* 9, 31: sciebam quid corde premerem; *Dracont. Orest.* 159: corde premens gemitus; 340: haec tacito sub corde premunt; *Ekkehard, Waltharius*, 1347: premit has sub corde loquelas; and, for other cases of the cor as the seat of cares, cf. *Thes. Ling. Lat.* 4 (1909), 934, 31-50.

### 334. enumerare vales, numquam, regina, negabo promeritam, nec me meminisse pigebit Elissae,

enumerare *b.*

ne (*corr. in nec*) *a.* me *om.* *Μαπ, suprascr. γ.* meminisse (*corr. in memimisse*) *c.* pigeba (*corr. in pigebit*) *c.* elisse *M* (elissae *M*<sup>2</sup>).

[333\*] 334-335. numquam . . . promeritam: *Donat. in Ter. Andr.* 331 — neutiquam (*corr. in numquam*) *V*; reginam *B*; negas *ATC*; per meritam *V* —; *Donat. in Ter. Ad.* 201; *Serv. Aen.* 1, 74 — nec te regina —; 5, 801 — nec te regina —; 6, 664 — neque regina *H*, etiam regina quam *C*; permeritam *S* —.

[333, 334\*] 335. nec . . . Elissae: *Prisc. Inst.* 18, 160 (*G. L. K.* 3, 280) — me *om.*; pigebat *O*; elissae *VOL* —; 18, 187 (*G. L. K.* 3, 295) — me *om.*; elissae *V(O)*, aelisse *D* —; 18, 190 (*G. L. K.* 3, 298) — me *om.*; aelisse *D*, elisse *MN*, elissae (*O*) —; 18, 241 (*G. L. K.* 3, 328) — me *om.*; elisse *MD*, elissae (*O*) —. 325. promeritam: *Gl. Ansil.* 467, 2354; *q.v.*

333. tandem, etc.: cf. *Vida, Christias*, 3, 25: *tandem pauca refert*.

333. pauca refert: cf. 4, 30, n. (*sic effato*); 8, 154: *tum sic pauca refert*; 10, 17: *pauca refert*; *Sidon. Carm.* 5, 275: *pauca refert*; *Anth. Lat.* no. 253, 148 (1, p. 208 Riese): *et sic pauca refert*; also 4, 116, and n. (*paucis*); 4, 337: *pro re pauca loquar*; 6, 672: *respondum paucis ita reddidit*; and the use of *breviter* (1, 561; 4, 632 and elsewhere). *Serv. Aen.* 1, 561 says: *notandum regum esse breviloquium, ut multis in Vergilio locis probatur*; *Schol. Dan. Aen.* 10, 621: *ubique reges breviter loquentes ostendit*; cf. Keith in *Cl. Weekly*, 15 (1921), 50, who discusses Virgilian phrases for brevity of speech, at which the epic style aims. More convincing is Conington's note (*ad loc.*): "Aeneas' speech is longer than Dido's; but 'pauca,' like 'tandem,' seems to express Virg.'s feeling that the words come slowly and with effort, and bear no comparison to what the lover would have said had he given way to his emotion."

333. ego te, etc.: in the rhetorical character of this speech (cf. 4, 314, n. (*per ego has*), above) Glover suggests (*Virgil*, 2 ed. (1912), 22, n. 2) that we may perhaps find a hint of Virgil's forsaken profession of the law; cf. 11, 378-444. *Servius* recognizes this rhetorical quality: *controversia est plena, in qua et purgat obiecta, removens a se crimen ingrati, et veniali utitur statu, projectionem suam retorquens in voluntatem deorum. habet etiam finem; nam purgat obiectam fugam nomine projectionis*. An elaborate imitation of this

passage occurs in *Carm. de S. Cassiano*, 470-474 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 4, 194): *te numquam, frater dilecte, negabo / promeritum nec tis meminisse pigebit in aevum, / dum memor ipse mei, dum spiritus hos regel artus. / id tamen haut animo duxi nec ad hoc quoque veni, / quo solium hoc subeam, proprium qui sponte reliqui*.

333. quae plurima: *Cartault (L'Art de Virgile dans l'Énéide*, 1 (1926), 320) considers Aeneas here both gratuitously insulting (cf. Rébelliau, *De Verg. in inform. muliebr. quae sunt in Aen. Personis Inventore* (1892), 69 and n. 7) and unjust, since Dido has made to her own services only one very modest allusion (4, 317): *si bene quid de te merui*. But the expression *quae plurima fando enumerare vales* need not imply that Dido has recounted her services in detail but rather that Aeneas admits in advance however many she might be able to recite; cf. *Schol. Dan.* on line 335: *quantacumque enumerare potueris in me tuo beneficio conlata, eorum tibi debere gratiam non repugno*. Very unfavorable also is the judgment of Aeneas by Terzaghi, *Virgilio ed Enea* (1928), 46-47, n. 70; but cf. the defense by Pease in *Cl. Weekly*, 15 (1921), 5; and by Rand, *The magical Art of Virgil* (1931), 358-359.

333. fando: cf. 2, 6; 2, 361; *Oros.* 2, 18, 4 (4, 11, 4): *quis fando . . . explicet*; etc.

334. enumerare: cf. 6, 717.

334. regina: *La Cerda* observes that Aeneas calls her 'queen' rather than 'wife,' and compares *Eur. Tr.* 869-870.

335. promeritam: resuming *merui* (4,



## 336. dum memor ipse mei, dum spiritus hos regit artus.

reget Schol. Dan.

336. dum . . . artus: *Apul. Flor.* 16, p. 28 Helm; *Anth. Lat.* no. 15, 144 (1, p. 55 Riese); *C. I. L. XIII*, 1568 (= *Carm. Lat. epigr.* no. 173, 4 Engström) — reget —. 336. dum . . . mei: *Donat. in Ter. Eun.* 306 — d(um) V —; *Gl. Ansil.* 190, 131. 336. dum spiritus . . . artus: *Lact. Inst.* 7, 27, 16 — regit add. sup. B<sup>1</sup> —; *Hier. Ep.* 39, 8, 1 — artus regit (reg. art. B, artus reget KΨ, art. reg. sp. Σ); *id.*, *Praef. in Lib. Iosue* (*Patr. Lat.* 28, 464); *Paul. Petric. De Visit. Nepot.* 76 (*C. S. E. L.* 16, 1, 164) — reget R —; *Paul. Nol. Ep.* 8, 3, 65; *Gl. Ansil.* 190, 135.

317); cf. *Ov. F.* 3, 623: *multa mihi memores, nil non debemus Elissae*; also *Eur. Med.* 533: *δπη γάρ οὖν ὤνησας, οὐ κακῶς ἔχει.*

335. me meminisse: cf. 4, 47, n. (*surgere regna*); and with *meminisse pigebit* 1, 203: *meminisse iuvabit*; *Candidus, De Vita S. Aegili*, 2, 6 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 2, 97): *nec nunc meminisse piget me*. For the thought see *Eur. Med.* 463-464 (Jason to Medea): *καὶ γὰρ εἰ σύ με στυγεῖς, / οὐκ ἂν δύναμην σοὶ κακῶς φρονεῖν ποτε*; *Apoll. Rh.* 3, 1079-1080 (Jason's promise to remember Medea): *καὶ λίην οὐ νύκτας δίομαι, οὐδὲ ποτ' ἡμᾶρ / σεῦ ἐπιλήσσεσθαι, προφυγῶν μόρον*. In *Ov. F.* 3, 612 Aeneas weeps *admonitu motus, Elissa, tui*; cf. also DeWitt, *The Dido Episode in the Aeneid of Virgil* (1907), 24.

335. *Elissae*: Schol. Dan.: '*Elissae*' autem *Didonis*, quae appellata est lingua *Punica virago*, cum se in pyram sponte misisset, fingens placare manes prioris mariti, cum nubere se velle *Iarbae* mentiretur; *id.*, 1, 340: *Dido vero nomine Elissa ante dicta est, sed post interitum Dido appellata est, id est, virago lingua Punica*; etc.; *Serv. Aen.* 4, 36: *ob quam rem* (i.e., her self-immolation) *Dido, id est, virago appellata est; nam Elissa proprie dicta est*; 4, 674: *aut Didonem vocat, ut supra diximus, Poenorum lingua viraginem; nam Elissa dicta est, sed virago est vocata cum se in ignem praecipitavit*. It would appear that her original name was *Elissa*, a Semitic word in which *El* is equivalent to *θεός*, hence another form of the name, *Θεοσσώ* (*Tim. fr.* 23 Müller, in *F. H. G.* 1, 197); cf. Meltzer in Roscher, *Ausf. Lex.* 1 (1886), 1016; Rossbach in *P.-W.* 5 (1905), 426; and Kowalski, *De Didone Graeca et Latina* (1929), 13, who (n. 6) points out that *Elissa* (or *Elisa*) is a Cyprian name; cf. Justin, 18, 5;

*Hier. Chron. Eus. exord. s. v. Nationes Iaphet*; *Comm. in Ezech.* 8, p. 306 Vall. (on *Ezech.* 27, 7); *Isid. Etym.* 9, 2, 34. *Elissa* is used by Virgil in two other places (4, 610; 5, 3), always in the genitive and apparently to avoid the form *Didonis* (which is, however, used by others, e.g., *Priap.* 67, 1; *Serv. passim*), and it is noteworthy that he does not employ oblique cases of *Dido*. (There seems inadequate evidence for the view expressed by Fiore (*La Poesia di Virgilio* (1930), 257) that *Elissa* is a more intimate designation than *Dido*, as also for that of Knight (in *Cl. Weekly* 26 (1933), 203, n. 28) that it is employed for the sake of the pathos of its vowel sounds.) Other writers also use *Elissa*; e.g., *Ov. H.* 7, 1; 7, 102; 7, 193; *Am.* 2, 18, 31; *Ars am.* 3, 40; *F.* 3, 553; 3, 612; 3, 623; *Vell. Pat.* 1, 6, 4: *Elissa Tyria, quam quidam Dido autumant*; *Sil.* 8 times in the genitive and once in the vocative; *Stat. Silv.* 3, 1, 74; 4, 2, 1; 5, 2, 120; *Solin.* 27, 10; *Mart. Cap.* 9, 999; cf. the adjective *Elisseus* (*Sidon. Ep.* 7, 17, 18; 7, 445). On the whole subject cf. Klausen, *Aeneas u. d. Penaten*, 1 (1839), 509, n. 837; Meltzer, *Gesch. d. Karthager*, 1 (1879), 122; Stampini, *Studi di Lett. e Filol.* (1917), 89, n. 3. Aeneas, as noted by Conington (*ad loc.*), speaks of *Dido*, as she herself had done (4, 308), in the third person.

336. *dum*, etc.: cf. 4, 53, n. (*dum*, etc.); Otto, *De Anaphora* (1907), 50; *Carm. de S. Quintino*, 231 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 4, 205): *dum memor ipse mei fuero*.

336. *memor . . . mei*: Shakesp. *Hamlet*, Act 1, Sc. 5, 96-97: "While memory holds a seat / In this distracted globe." Buscaroli (*ad loc.*) cites a letter of Foscolo: *finchè sarò memore di me stesso*. The opposite is *Ter.*

337. pro re pauca loquar. neque ego hanc abscondere furto  
speravi (ne finge) fugam, nec coniugis umquam

loquo. c<sup>1</sup>.

ne coniugis *Πγβ*, ne (*corr. in* nec) coniugis *a*.

337. pro re: *Gl. Ansil.* 469, 2774. 337. pauca loquar: *Gl. Ansil.* 429, 869. 337. neque . . . abscondere: *Sacerd. Art. gram.* 1 (*G. L. K.* 6, 445).

338-339. nec . . . veni: *Anth. Lat. no.* 719, 26-27 (2, p. 186 Riese) — praetendit aetas C —; *Schol. Dan. Aen.* 12, 658. 338-339. nec . . . taedas: *Donat. Aen.* 4, 315 — nunc LR; praecedat LR; taedas om. LR —; *Gl. Ansil.* 386, 39 — unquam; aetas —. 338. ne finge: *Gl. Ansil.* 387, 204.

*Eun.* 306: *oblitus sum mei*, which Donatus explains as 'insanus,' while of our line he says: *quamdiu memor mei fuero, hoc est, sanus et consilio ac sensu integro*.

336. spiritus, etc.: cf. *Il.* 9, 609-610: εἰς δ' κ' αὐτῇ / ἐν στήθεσσι μὲν καὶ μοι φίλα γούνατ' ὀρώρη; 22, 387-388; δφρ' ἂν ἐγὼ γε / ζῶοισιν μετέω καὶ μοι φίλα γούνατ' ὀρώρη; *Ar. Thesm.* 926: οὐ γὰρ προδώσω σ' οὐδέποτε, ἤνπερ ἐμπνέω; *Plat. Apol.* p. 29 d: ἔωσπερ ἂν ἐμπνέω καὶ οἷός τε ὦ, οὐ μὴ παύσομαι, κτλ.; *Herond.* 1, 90: ἔστ' ἂν ἐπνέ(η) Γυλλίς; *Cic. N. D.* 3, 94: *dum quidem spirare potero*; *Ov. M.* 9, 616-617: *nec taedia coepli / ulla mei cariam, dum spiritus iste manebit*; *Luc.* 1, 363: *dum movet haec calidus spirantia corpora sanguis*; *Plut. Eum.* 5: βοηθήσειν μέχρι ἂν ἐμπνέη; *Synes. Ep.* 44; *C. I. L. VI*, 1756 b 15-16: *cum vita maneret / corporis atque artus spiritus hos reget*; *Aurel. Reom. in Mon. Germ. hist., Epist.*, 6, 131: *dum spiritus hos regit artus*; *Alcuin, Ep.* 23 (*in Mon. Germ. hist., Epist.*, 4, 60): *quamdiu spiritus hos regat artus*; *Shakesp. Tempest*, Act 2, Sc. 2: "While Stephano breathes at nostrils"; *Metastasio, Didone abband.* Act 1, Sc. 17: *fin ch' io viva, o Didone, / dolce memoria al mio pensier sarai*.

336. regit artus: cf. *Prud. Cont. Symm.* 2, 186: *male rexerit artus*. The future (*reget*) might seem more natural, on the analogy of *Ecl.* 5, 76; *Aen.* 1, 607-608; and passages just quoted; it is, in fact, supported by some testimonia (see above) but not by the best MSS. On the rhythm of this line cf. *Fowler in Cl. Rev.* 33 (1919), 97.

337. pro re pauca: cf. 4, 116, n. (*paucis*); 4, 333, n. (*pauca refert*); *Sen. H. F.* 401-402:

*pauca pro causa loquar / nostra*; *Steph. Leod. Vita S. Lamberti (Acta Sanctorum, Sept. 5 (17 Sept.), 584 D)*: *pro re pauca loquar*; *Serv.: remoto ingrati crimine descendit ad causam*; to which the *Schol. Dan.* add: *et proprie, id est, si rei magnitudinem cogites, 'pauca.'* Most orators, however, begin by announcing their intended brevity, and Page (*ad loc.*) compares *Acts*, 24, 4: *ἵνα δὲ μὴ ἐπὶ πλείον σε ἐνκόπτω*. With the rather legalistic character of these lines (cf. *Sall. Iug.* 102, 12: *Bocchus . . . pauca pro delicto suo verba facit*; etc.) *DeWitt (The Dido Episode in the Aeneid of Virgil (1907), 51)* compares the ἀγών in *Eur. Med.* 446-626; while Donatus says: *incipit iam obiecta purgare vel refutando excludere*. Cf. also Heinze, *Virgils epische Technik*, 3 ed. (1915), 426, n. 1, who emphasizes Aeneas's return from the emotion which began to appear in the preceding line to a calmer utterance. The phrase *pro re* may mean "as well as circumstances allow" (cf. *Lucr.* 6, 1281; *Liv.* 7, 33, 3), that is, as Conington (*ad loc.*) remarks, "the urgency of the case admits only a brief reply", though Page (*in Cl. Rev.* 7 (1893), 417) more probably renders, "I will now briefly deal with the charge."

337. abscondere: cf. Krause, *De Vergilii Usurpatione Infinitivi* (1878), 92. For similar meanings cf. *Thes. Ling. Lat.* 1 (1900), 162, 49-63.

337. furto: like *furtim* (2, 18; 2, 258; 3, 50; etc.), as in 6, 24, etc.

338. ne finge: cf. 7, 438: *ne tantos mihi finge melus*; also 4, 116, n. (*advertite*). A note of Servius on 4, 337 seems based on a different punctuation: *speravi (ne finge fugam), nec*, etc., for on *neque ego hanc* he remarks: '*pro-*

339. praetendi taedas aut haec in foedera veni.  
me si fata meis paterentur ducere vitam

thedas *M* (taedas *M*), te edas (*corr. in ta edas*) γ. haud (*pro aut*) *Goth. pr.*

[338\*]

340-343. me . . . colerem: *Serv. Aen. 12, 15* — dulcesque —. 340-341. me . . . curas: *C. I. L. V Suppl. Ital. 417* (= *Carm. Lat. epigr. no. 922, 3-4 Bücheler*) — (*me si fata me*)is; (*auspiciis e*)t —. 340-341. meis auspiciis: *Gl. Ansil. 363, 145*.

*fectionem* subaudis; nam posteriori non potest iungi, ne sit confessio. But Aeneas's use of *fugam* is not admission on his part so much as quotation of the term used by Dido (4, 328; cf. 4, 314), and to understand with *hanc* a suppressed *profectionem* (a word not suited to the dactylic hexameter) would be harsh.

338. nec . . . aut: as in 4, 501-502.

338. coniugis: Aeneas, not Dido, and probably with allusion to *coniuge* in 4, 324, as Henry (*Aeneidea*, 2 (1878), 707) well observes.

339. praetendi: Schol. Dan.: *probat non esse matrimonium; quia illa dixerat* (4, 316) '*per conubia nostra*.' et est quasi status finis latens: *quid sint legitimae nuptiae. et hic Aeneam inducit agentem nullo se matrimonii iure posse constringi, qui neque confarreatione Didoni coniunctus fuerat, ut flamine et flaminicae convenit . . . et 'taedas' quidem quantum ad ignem pertinet, per quem mos confarreationis firmabatur, dixit; scilicet ne aut legitime iugatam contra fas reliquisse videretur, aut foedus, id est, fidem rupisse perpetuae castimoniae, quia cum fuissent iuncti, scirent tonuisse; quae res dirimit confarreationes* (comparing 4, 122; 4, 161). Cf. *G. 4, 230*; *Aen. 4, 18, n. (thalami taedaeque)*; 7, 388; *Cul. 246-247*; *Octavia, 570-571: hic mihi iugales praeferat taedas deus / iungatque nostris igne Poppaeam toris*; 694-695: *Caesari iuncta es tuo / taeda iugali*. That the torches in the marriage ceremony were held by others than the bridegroom is not a serious difficulty, for we might perhaps assume a causative meaning in the verb. There may lurk also a double entendre; Aeneas has not held out before himself (or Dido) any such prospect of formal marriage. Cf. what Donatus says: *hoc factum, licet imaginaria velut nuptiarum sollemnitate, praecessisse fateatur,*

*sed oratoria virtute dissolvit definiens quid sit matrimonium; iunctus sum, inquit, tibi, sed illud non potest coniugium vocari; non enim semper mulieris ac viri conventio matrimonium facit. aliud vocatur quod gessimus. quale enim matrimonium est ubi nullus testis interfuit, nulla ex more sollemnitas, nulla pactio, facies nullae, nulla ipsius foederis consecratio?*

339. haec in foedera: *Serv.: aut matrimonii, et iungendum est superiori; aut certe ad posteriora pertinet, et hoc dicit: non ad hoc veni, ut hic morarer . . . ut cum vellem discedere, non liceret*. The former seems the correct meaning; cf. 4, 99, n. (*hymenaeos*). We may render "nor did I ever enter into this compact (of which you speak)"; cf. 10, 901-902: *non sic ad proelia veni, / nec tecum meus haec pepigit mihi foedera Lausus*; *Ov. Ars am. 2, 579: veniunt ad foedus amantes*; *Sil. 2, 416: furtivaque foedera amantum*; etc. Quotations of this phrase in American legal decisions are collected by Radin in *Cl. Journ. 15* (1920), 304-306.

340. me si, etc.: cf. 6, 461-463: *me iussa deum . . . / . . . / imperiis egere suis* (cf. Fiore, *La Poesia di Virgilio* (1930), 286); 11, 112: *nec veni, nisi fata locum sedemque dedissent*; and, for other similar passages, Heinze, *Virgils epische Technik*, 3 ed. (1915), 302, n. 1, who cites 5, 709; 8, 131-133; 12, 676-677. Henry (*Aeneidea*, 2 (1878), 429-440) attempts, by a scrutiny of numerous cases of *fata* in the *Aeneid*, to show that they are the forces which ordain, while the gods are the ministers who carry out their ordinances (cf. 4, 614, n. (*fata Iovis*) below). Dietsch (*Theologumenon Vergilianorum Particula* (1853), 26) tries to distinguish between our passage and *Od. 16, 148-149: εἰ γὰρ πως εἴη αὐτάγρετα πάντα βροτοῖσι, / πρῶτον κεν τοῦ πατρὸς ἐλοίμεθα νόστιμον ἡμᾶρ*; and *Sen. Oed.*

341. auspiciis et sponte mea componere curas,  
urbem Troianam primum dulcisque meorum

componere γαβ<sup>1</sup>.

[340] 341. sponte . . . curas: *Cledon. Ars* (G. L. K. 5, 45) — componere —. 341. sponte mea: *Gl. Ansil.* 535, 262.

[340\*] 342-343. dulcisque . . . colerem: *Serv. Aen.* 10, 59.

882-886: *fata si liceat mihi / fingere arbitrio meo, / temperem zephyro levi / vela, ne pressae gravi / spiritu antennae tremant*; for those passages deal with details and ours with the whole principle of Aeneas's life and action. Wilamowitz (in *Deutsche Rundschau*, 125 (1930), 19) observes that Virgil's conception of fate is only a reversed picture of the facts of experience; it did happen so, therefore it was to happen so. On fate cf. also introd., n. 437, above. The Stoic resignation here shown by Aeneas is compared by Grenier (*The Roman Spirit*, English trans. (1926), 305) to the sacrificial spirit of Augustus. For the very effective quotation of lines 340-344 by Pitt in 1801 cf. Platt, *Byways in the Classics* (1905), 53. On the accidental acrostics in lines 340-344 (*Maure*) and 341-345 (*aures*) cf. 4, 84, n. (*aut*, etc.).

340. *meis . . . auspiciis*: Schol. Dan.: *ideo quia maiores omnia auspicato gerebant. ergo 'auspiciis' dispositionibus. potest et 'auspiciis' dixisse ominibus, quia in iure augurali auspicium dicitur quod non pelenibus nobis ad ea quae in animo habemus vice ominis offertur; vult enim ostendere Aeneam semper animo volutasse, ut quae mente agitare offerrentur auspicio et augurio firmarentur; unde, si bene advertas, singula hic illi loco in tertio (3, 85-89) ad singula redduntur. nam quod ibi in precatone, ubi augurio petit ea quae rogaverat firmari, hic in reputatione comprehendit: ibi enim dixit (3, 86-87) 'serva altera Troiae / Pergama,' hic 'urbem Troianam primum'; ibi (3, 87) 'reliquias Danaum atque inmitis Achilli,' hic 'dulcesque meorum reliquias colerem'; ibi (3, 86) 'mansuram urbem,' hic 'lecta alta manerent'; ibi (3, 88) 'ubi ponere sedes,' hic 'recidiva manu posuissent Pergama victis'; ibi (3, 88) 'quove ire iubes,' hic 'Italiam magnam Gryneus Apollo'; ibi (3, 89) 'da pater augurium,' hic 'me si fata*

*meis paterentur ducere vitam auspiciis.' alii 'auspiciis' potestate* (citing 4, 102-103) . . . *vel quae animo meo volueram et mente cogitaram; non enim prius auguria poscebantur quam animo ac mente agigaretur, de quibus consulturi essent.* Many would accept the penultimate one of these explanations, noting that an *imperator* acted *suis auspiciis*; cf. Liv. 21, 40, 3, where Scipio speaks of *meis auspiciis*.

340. *ducere vitam*: cf. 2, 641: *me si caelicolae voluissent ducere vitam*; 3, 315: *vitamque per extrema omnia duco*; Lucr. 2, 997; Hor. *Epod.* 17, 63; Sen. *Ep.* 45, 10.

341. *sponte mea*: Serv.: *modo nomen est; nam et genus et casum habet* (and he compares occasional uses of *mane* and *forte*). Charisius, *Inst. gram.* 1 (G. L. K. 1, 49) cites a nominative *spons*, used by Ausonius (*Technop.* 12, 11, p. 165 Peiper), but elsewhere the word is found only in the ablative and in Augustan Latin usually with *mea, tua, sua*, or *propria*. Lendrum (in *Cl. Rev.* 3 (1889), 165) compares Tac. *Ann.* 12, 42.

341. *componere*: cf. 1, 249: *placida compositus pace*; Rut. Nam. 1, 161: *sive datur patriis vitam componere terris*.

342. *urbem Troianam*: = *Troiam*; cf. 1, 623-624: *urbis / Troianae*; 8, 36: *Troianam . . . urbem*; 3, 441: *Cumaeam . . . urbem*; also 3, 133: *Pergameam* (sc. *urbem*). With the thought cf. Ov. *H.* 7, 143-144: *Pergama vix tanto tibi erant repelenda labore / Hectore si vivo quanta fuere forent*. Henry (*Aeneidea*, 2 (1878), 708) remarks that Troy is here divided into three parts, city, palace, and citadel, as in 4, 347-348 Carthage has two: citadel and city.

342. *primum*: Schol. Dan.: *id est, hoc vellem praecipue*; cf. 2, 677.

342. *dulcis . . . reliquias*: is there perhaps a faint suggestion of things at Troy

343. reliquias colerem, Priami tecta alta manerent,  
et recidiva manu posuisssem Pergama victis.

reliquias *b.* colere *M* (colerem *M*<sup>1</sup>). alta *add. sup. c.*

[340, 342] 343. manerent: *Gl. Ansil.* 356, 597; *q.v.*

344. recidiva . . . victis: *Charis. Inst. gram.* 1 (*G. L. K.* 1, 99). 344. recidiva: *Gl. Ansil.* 486, 117; 486, 120; *Gl. Abstr.* 75, 14; *Gl. Aa.* 341, 101 — recidiora —; *Gl. Verg.* (*C. G. L.* 4, 461, 24) — recidiba (recidiua *abefg*) —; *Gl. Scaligeri* (*C. G. L.* 5, 609, 34) — recidua —.

connected with the memory of Creusa? Or at least of ruins hallowed to him by the tragedy of the innocent? Cf. Fiore, *La Poesia di Virgilio* (1930), 257; also *id.*, 194–195, for the sentiment everywhere shown in Aeneas's recollections of Troy. Kappes-Wörner (*ad loc.*) would see here a revelation of the essential *pietas* of Aeneas. In any case Virgil leaves the question, like some others, in a delicate and reticent uncertainty. It may be here observed that some traditions (in Arctinus, Acusilaus, and others) represented Aeneas as having really stayed at Troy and restored the Trojan kingdom; cf. Wörner in Roscher, *Ausf. Lex.* 1 (1884), 164–165. Possibly the poet, with his tendency to suggest conflicting traditions, is here hinting at this.

343. *colerem*: this may = *incolerem*, unless *reliquias* here has a wider meaning than 'buildings' or 'ruins' (the *cineres patriae* . . . *supremos* of 10, 59), and refers to 'relics' associated with those dear to him. Conington (*ad loc.*) would see here a case of zeugma with the two objects *urbem* and *reliquias*, the latter in the second sense suggested; cf. Hor. *Ep.* 2, 1, 7: *dum terras hominumque colunt genus*.

343. *Priami*, etc.: cf. 2, 56: *Troiaque nunc staret, Priamique arx alta maneres*; 4, 312: *et Troia antiqua maneret*; Od. 3, 130: *Πριάμοιο πόλιν . . . αἰχῆν*.

343. *tecta alta*: cf. 7, 413: *tectis hic Turnus in altis*.

343. *manerent*: 'of restoration to permanence,' according to Conington (*ad loc.*); *a me restituta etiamnum adessent*, according to Forbiger (*ad loc.*). Peirlkamp, however, followed by Ribbeck and Sparrow (*Half-lines and Repetitions in Virgil* (1931), 143–145), would not admit this meaning, but — I think unjustifiably — delete the second

half of the verse and leave an unfinished line; cf. 4, 44, n. (*germanique*, etc.).

344. *recidiva*: Schol. Dan.: *post casum restituta. alii recidivum proprie dicunt quod excisum denuo nascitur*; cf. 7, 322: *funestaeque iterum recidiva in Pergama tædæ*; 10, 58: *dum Latium Teucri recidivaque Pergama quaerunt* (where it refers to a Troy rebuilt on a new site); Eur. *Tr.* 1160–1161: *μὴ Τροίαν ποτὲ / περὶσσαν ὀρθώσειεν*; Ov. *F.* 4, 45: *ille dedit Capri recidiva vocabula Troiae*; Sen. *Tr.* 472: *recidiva (rediviva cod. E) ponas Pergama*; and in Sil. 1, 106, the *gens recidiva Phrygum*. The word *recidivus* appears first in this line; cf. Ladewig, *De Vergilio Verborum Novatore* (1870), 5. The present sentence is an answer to 4, 312–313.

344. *manu*: perhaps of his participation in the rebuilding of the walls by physical labor (cf. G. 2, 155: *tot congesta manu prae-ruptis oppida saxis*; Aen. 9, 144–145: *moenia Troiae / Neptuni fabricata manu*), or, as Bell (*The Latin Dual* (1923), 188) would hold, in the sense of *arte bellica*; cf. 2, 434; 9, 592: *fortemque manu fudisse Numanum*; 9, 702; 11, 116; 11, 289; 12, 23; 12, 627; Braumüller, *Ueber Trophen u. Figuren in Vergil's Aeneis*, 1 (1877), 3. With *ponere* the former explanation seems preferable; cf. 1, 264; *moenia ponet*.

344. *Pergama*: cf. Serv. Aen. 1, 95: *moenibus altis: propter Pergama, quae altissima fuerunt, ex quibus omnia alta aedificia 'pergama' vocatur, sicut Aeschylus dicit* (*Prom.* 956). The Greek forms of the word are ἡ Πέργαμος, τὸ Πέργαμον, and τὰ Πέργαμα or Πέργαμα Τροίης, and, after being first used as a proper noun for the citadel of Troy, it was applied in Greek, as Servius says, to citadels in general. Virgil uses the word 18 times

345. sed nunc Italiam magnam Gryneus Apollo,  
Italiam Lyciae iussere capessere sortes;

grineus α, grynaeus ρ.

lyciae γ. capessere γ, capessere α<sup>1</sup>.

345-346. Italiam . . . sortes: *Serv. Aen.* 3, 332.

[345] 346. Italiam . . . sortes: *Comm. Cruq. in Hor. C. S.* 39. 346. Lyciae sortes: *Gl. Ansil.* 340, 200 — lyciae —.

(including 4, 426) and the adjective *Pergameus* 5 times.

345. *sed nunc*: Gercke (*Die Entstehung der Aeneis* (1913), 63) thinks Dido understands *nunc* not merely as adversative to the contrary to fact condition just mentioned but as a new, unexpected, and terrible announcement by Apollo through the mouth of Aeneas; cf. the threefold *nunc* in 4, 376-377.

345. *Italiam*: many writers on the growth of the *Aeneid* note the gradual, and sometimes inconsistent, development of Aeneas's knowledge of the goal of his wanderings (cf. Henselmanns, *Die Widersprüche in Vergils Aeneis* (1914), 15; 27; 29; 43; 45, n. 1; 110; Howe in *Studies in Philol.* 19 (1922), 31-41), due to the different times at which the various books of the poem were composed. It would appear that Aeneas while still in Asia Minor knew of Italy, but while the shade of Creusa tells of *Hesperia, Italia*, and the *Thybris* (2, 780-784), and Aeneas himself speaks (1, 205-206; 1, 380; cf. the words of Ilioneus in 1, 554) of his journey toward Italy and Latium, which Dido sneeringly recognizes (4, 432, where see my note), and this is again mentioned in 5, 82-83; etc. (cf. Heinze, *Virgils epische Technik*, 3 ed. (1915), 87; Pease in *Cl. Phil.* 12 (1917), 7 (on the type of oracle which names merely the country where a colony is to be planted); Crump, *The Growth of the Aeneid* (1920), 19; but contrast Ogle in *Am. Journ. of Philol.* 45 (1924), 261, there seems no previous allusion to such a prediction by Grynean Apollo or the Lycian oracle. Kvčala (*Vergil-Studien* (1878), 80) would find a hint of these prophecies in 3, 4-6: *diversa exsilia et desertas quaerere terras / auguriis agimur divom, classemque sub ipsa / Antandro et Phrygiae molimur montibus Idae*; but Gryneum and

Antandros are, by sea, about eighty miles apart. On the other hand, Henselmanns (*op. cit.*, 33-34) explains the geographic allusions *Gryneus* and *Lyciae* as mere 'arabesque' epithets of Apollo, in the common Alexandrian literary manner, comparing 3, 85, where, at Delos, Aeneas calls upon Apollo of Thymbra (in the Troad; see below); cf. 3, 161-171; *Serv.* (quoted below).

345. *magnam*: cf. 1, 569: *Hesperiam magnam*; 7, 4: *Hesperia in magna*. Perhaps the term here suggests that Aeneas is to rule not merely a different country from Dido's but a greater one.

345. *Gryneus*: *Serv.*: *Clazomenae civitas est Asiae . . . iuxta hanc nemus est Gryneum, ubi Apollo colitur. inde ergo nunc epitheton dedit, licet in Delo acceperit oraculum*; cf. *Ecl.* 6, 72-73: *his tibi Grynei nemoris dicatur origo, / ne quis sit lucus quo se plus iacet Apollo* (and the long note of the Scholia Danielis). In this grove on the coast of Aeolis Calchas and Mopsus had a contest in divination, described in a poem of Euphoriion translated into Latin by Gallus. On Apollo Gryneus cf. the materials assembled by Wernicke in *P.-W.* 2 (1896), 46; Jessen in *P.-W.* 7 (1912), 1901-1902; Cook, *Zeus*, 2 (1925), 489, n. Apollo was looked upon as a director of colonies (*ἀρχηγέτης*); cf. *Aen.* 6, 59 (and Norden's n.); Pease in *Cl. Philol.* 12 (1917), 1-20; Ogle in *Am. Journ. of Philol.* 45 (1924), 270. The occasion upon which the consultation of Apollo Gryneus and of the Lycian *sortes* took place seems to have been before Aeneas finally left Asia for the West; cf. Saunders in *Cl. Quart.* 19 (1925), 87. Klausen, however, thinks (*Aeneas u. d. Penaten*, 1 (1839), 353, n. 565) that the Lycian god is the same as the Delian, as in 3, 85 Aeneas at Delos addresses Apollo by

347. hic amor, haec patria est. si te Karthaginis arces  
Phoenissam Libycaeque aspectus detinet urbis,

carthaginis *Pp̄bc*, cartaginis *a*. arces aliter altae γ (cf. 4, 265).

poenissam *b<sup>1</sup>*. libice γ. demeret *p<sup>1</sup>* (corr. ex detinet), (cf. Sabbadini; cf. Schol. Dan.: "sane quidam in novis et emendatis libris pro 'detinet' 'demeret' inventum adserunt." urbes *P* (urbis *P<sup>1</sup>*)).

347. hic . . . patria: *Mar. Vict. Art. gram. 1* (G. L. K. 6, 27). 347. haec patria: *Gl. Ansil. 276, 41* — hec —.

348. Phoenissam: *Gl. Ansil. 239, 204* — fenissam —; *q.v.*

the epithet of *Thymbraee*. Masera (*ad loc.*) would detect here the use by Virgil of other sources parallel to those which he usually follows.

346. *Italiam*: on the anaphora cf. 3, 522–524: *videmus / Italiam. Italiam primus conclamat Achates, / Italiam laelo socii clamore salutant*; Otto, *De Anaphora* (1907), 50; Schol. Dan.: *necessaria repetitio Italiae, quia ibi ei dicebatur imperium, et ipsa est causa navigandi*.

346. *Lyciae*: Serv.: *nec hinc accepit responsum, sed sic dixit 'Lyciae' ac si diceret 'Apollineae'* (cf. 4, 345, n. (*Italiam*)); also 4, 143 for the connection of Apollo with Lycia; Prop. 3, 1, 38: *provisum est Lycio vota probante deo*. If any attempt were made to localize these predictions in Lycia, which was much farther removed from the course of Aeneas's wanderings than was even Gryneum, we might place them at Patara (cf. 4, 143, n. (*Xanthique fluente*), above), but this seems unlikely. Wilamowitz (ap. Schueler, *Quaest. Vergilianae* (1883), 10, n. 1) considers these Lycians to be the Lycians of Homer and the Lycian oracle to have been at Troy rather than at Patara. Porphyrio ad Hor. C. S. 37 remarks: *Roma si vestrum est opus Iliaequ: quare Romam opus Dianae et Apollinis dicat, nondum video; nisi forte ex lectione Vergiliana hoc concepit, ubi frequenter dicitur Apollinis oraculis instructum Aeneam Italiam petisse*.

346. *capessere*: cf. 5, 703: *Italasne capesseret oras*; 8, 507: *Tyrrhenaque regna capessam*; 11, 324: *alios finis aliamque capessere gentem*; Cic. *Ad Att.* 10, 9, 1: *Melilam igitur, opinor, capessamus*; Val. Fl. 1, 74: *freta iussa capessat*; Schol. Dan.: *occupare. et ideo fre-*

*quentativo verbo usus est, quia multas se dicit super hoc sortes accepisse. quidam 'capessere' pro 'ire' accipiunt, ut Titinius Lucius, 'domum se capessit.'*

346. *sortes*: on *sortes* in connection with oracular sites cf. Pease on Cic. *De Div.* 1, 12; 1, 34; Serv. *Aen.* 7, 269: *sortes modo abusive pro oraculis posuit, nam ducuntur sortes et hic a Fauno oraculum, non sortes, acceperat*; also *Aen.* 6, 72, where Aeneas speaks of the *sortes arcanaque fata* of Apollo; 7, 269: *non patrio ex adyto sortes*.

347. *hic . . . haec*: cf. 6, 129: *hoc opus, hic labor est*; 7, 122: *hic domus, haec patria est*; 11, 739: *hic amor, hoc studium*; Anth. Lat. no. 21, 110 (1, p. 89 Riese): *hic labor, haec ars est*. Schol. Dan.: *an quia Dido dixerat etiam illud (4, 307) 'nec te noster amor?' With this sense of amor cf. Ecl. 7, 21.*

347. *patria*: cf. Heinze, *Virgils epische Technik*, 3 ed. (1915), 5, n. 1, for evidence that Italy was considered the original home of Dardanus, and hence that Aeneas was returning to the land of his ancestors.

347. *Karthaginis arces*: cf. Auson. p. 414, 23 Peiper: *in freta Sicaniae et Carthaginis exulat arces*; also *Aen.* 1, 20: *Tyrias . . . arces*. With the argument of these lines La Cerda (*ad loc.*) compares Stat. *Theb.* 1, 277–280: *hic tibi templi / gratus honos, placet Ida nocens mentilique manes / Creta tuos. me Tantaleis consistere tectis / quae tandem invidia est?* Cf. 4, 349, n. (*quae, etc.*), below.

348. *Phoenissam*: an emphatic 'run-over' word; cf. Schol. Dan.: *multum ponderis habet sensus cum epitheta ista 'Phoenissam' et 'Teucros' ponit*; 4, 23, n. (*impulit*); also, for *Phoenissam* = *Karthaginiensem*, 4, 75, n. (*Sidonias*); 4, 529, n. (*Phoenissam*).

349. quae tandem Ausonia Teucros considerare terra  
invidia est? et nos fas extera quaerere regna.  
me patris Anchisae, quotiens umentibus umbris

ausonia . b. teucro (corr. in teucros) b, teucris c<sup>1</sup>. consistere m.

extera P (externa P<sup>1</sup>), exter . a γ.

ma (corr. in me) γ. ancisae M (anchisae M<sup>1</sup>). umentibus M (umentibus M<sup>1</sup>), humentibus γ.  
Verba umentibus . . . quotiens per haplographiam om. π.

349-350. quae invidia: *Gl. Ansil.* 477, 28.

[349] 350. et . . . regna: *Prisc. Inst.* 3, 4 (G. L. K. 2, 85) — fas est extera DK —.

351-352. me . . . surgunt: *Prob. in Ecl.* 6, 31 — humentibus; quotiens . . . terras om. V;  
aperit M —. 351-352. quotiens . . . terras: *Schol. Dan. Aen.* 4, 119. 351. me . . .  
Anchisae: *Schol. Dan. Aen.* 4, 379. 351. patris Anchisae: *Charis. Inst. gram.* 1 (G. L. K.  
1, 67).

348. detinet: *Schol. Dan.*: *potest pro*  
'delectat' accipi, ut (8, 311) 'capiturque locis';  
cf. *Ecl.* 10, 45; *Hor. C.* 1, 33, 14; *Ov. H.* 4,  
110. On the reading *demeret* see Chatelain  
in *Bibl. de l'École des hautes Études*, 70 (1887),  
380, who defends it as a *lectio difficilior*. Con-  
ington thought it might mean 'earns your  
favor'; Nettleship (in Conington's 4th ed.,  
*ad loc.*) suggested that it might be a corrup-  
tion for *demorat*, 'detains.'

349. quae, etc.: *Schol. Dan.*: *hoc ad*  
*illud pertinet* (4, 311-312) 'quid si non arva  
aliena domosque ignotas peleres.' Cf. *Stat.*  
*Theb.* 1, 277-280 (quoted at 4, 347, n.  
(*Karthaginis arces*), above); and the use of  
*οὐ νέμεσις* (*Il.* 3, 156; 14, 80), or *οὐ νεμεσητόν*  
(*Callim. Hymn.* 4, 16).

349. Ausonia: cf. 3, 378: *Ausonio possis*  
*considerare portu*; 6, 66-67: *da . . . / . . .*  
*Latio considerare Teucros*; 6, 807: *aut metus*  
*Ausonia prohibet consistere terra*? *Ausonia*  
and its derivatives are used once in the  
*Georgics* and 38 times in the *Aeneid*; cf.  
Braumüller, *Über Tropen u. Figuren in*  
*Vergils Aeneis*, 2 (1882), 9; 14.

349. considere: for the infinitive clause  
with *quae* . . . *invidia est* cf. Steltzer, *Ueber*  
*den Gebrauch des Infinitiv bei Vergil* (1875),  
21; Krause, *De Vergilii Usurpatione In-*  
*finitivi* (1878), 75; *Catal.* 11, 8: *nunc su-*  
*peresse patri quae fuit invidia*? Cf. also *φθόνος*  
with the infinitive, as in *Eur. Hec.* 288.

350. et nos: *Donat.*: *quia et ipsi Didoni*  
*provenerat ut in alienis regionibus imperaret.*

*nullus autem melius et robustius vincitur quam*  
*qui proprio superatur exemplo.*

350. fas: like *licet*, but more solemn, and  
of permission accorded by superhuman  
powers; cf. Henry, *Aeneidea*, 2 (1878), 342.

350. extera . . . regna: cf. *Ov. H.* 7, 10:  
*quaeque ubi sint nescis, Itala regna sequi*; 7,  
13-14: *quaerenda per orbem / altera, quaesi-*  
*tast altera terra tibi*; Alcuin, *Carm.* 1, 47  
(*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 1, 170); Walafridus  
Strabo, *Ad Hlothar. Imp.* 61 (*Poet. Aevi*  
*Carol.* 2, 415); Iohannes Scottus, *Carm.* 2,  
1, 59 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 3, 529). The positive  
of *exterus* is infrequent in classical Latin and  
in Virgil found only here.

350. quaerere regna: cf. 4, 47, n. (*surgere*  
*regna*); 5, 222: *currere remis*; also 3, 4:  
*desertas quaerere terras*; 4, 468: *Tyrios*  
*deserta quaerere terra*; 5, 83; 7, 393: *nova*  
*quaerere lecta*. This line is quoted by Ruod-  
lieb; cf. Manitius, *Gesch. d. lat. Lit. d. Mittel-*  
*alters*, 2 (1923), 553.

351. me: significant in position and by  
its repetition at the beginning of 4, 354.

351. patris Anchisae: in the same posi-  
tion in the verse in 4, 427; 5, 31; 10, 534;  
for such phrases cf. Carter, *Epitheta Deorum*  
(1902), 11; Moseley, *Characters and Epithets*  
(1926), 71; vi; Terzaghi, *Virgilio ed Enea*  
(1928), 79-80, and n. 12. With the thought  
cf. 5, 722-740 (where Anchises appears to  
Aeneas); 6, 695-696: *tua me, genitor, tua*  
*tristis imago / saepius occurrens haec limina*  
*tendere adegit* (6, 694 expresses Anchises's



352. nox operit terras, quotiens astra ignea surgunt,  
admonet in somnis et turbida terret imago;

[351\*]

353. admonet . . . imago: *Comm. Cruq. in Hor. C. 1, 24, 15.* 353. et . . . imago: *Serv. Aen. 6, 695* — te (pro et) FC; turbida M —. 353. turbida: *Gl. Ansil. 575, 175; q.v.*

concern for Aeneas's peril at Carthage); 10, 33-34: *responsa secuti / quae superi manesque dabant*. This apparition has not been previously mentioned and must have come before the appearance of Mercury; cf. Heinze, *Virgils epische Technik*, 3 ed. (1915), 393. Mackail (*ad loc.*) well suggests that such recurrent dreams had produced no impression on Aeneas till "light was flashed on them by the daylight appearance and imperious orders of Mercury" — a good piece of psychological insight on Virgil's part. Anchises during his life had acted like the Roman *paterfamilias* (with Aeneas somewhat in the position of a minor; cf. 2, 635-663; 2, 687-691; 2, 699-704; 2, 732-734; 3, 9; 3, 102-115; 3, 178-189; 3, 263-267; 3, 472-473; 3, 525-529; 3, 539-543; 3, 558-560; 3, 610-611), hence it was not surprising that the thought of Anchises should haunt Aeneas's dreams. That this was a dream rather than a vision seems likely; cf. Stearns, *Studies of the Dream as a technical Device in Latin Epic and Drama* (1927), 27. John of Salisbury refers to the passage in *Policr.* 1, p. 431 b: *quid enim aliud agit in sompnis pater Anchises, quid Iuppiter, quid Apollo, quid alii*, etc. With Aeneas's dreams of Anchises compare Dido's of Sychaeus; cf. 4, 9, n. (*insomnia*); also 4, 460-463. The Scholia Danielis remark: *quasi adhuc responsis non crederet addidit patris admonitionem*. Had Anchises not died the Trojan fleet might have left Carthage the day after the banquet (cf. Bellessort in Goelzer and Bellessort's ed. of Books I-VI, xiii), but his death, like the disappearance of Creusa, is necessary for the plot of the story.

351. *umentibus umbris*: cf. 3, 589; 4, 7, and n. (*umentemque*, etc.); Lucr. 6, 864: *hoc ubi roriferis terras nox operit umbris*; Ambros. *Hexaem.* 4, 21: *noctis umbra terras operit*. Forbiger compares *Il.* 23, 105-107: *παννυχίη γάρ μοι Πατροκλέος δειλοῖο / ψυχὴ ἐφέστηκει*

*γοῶνσά τε μυρομένη τε, / καὶ μοι ἕκαστ' ἐπέτελλε, κτλ.*

352. *nox*: on the personification of night cf. Lünzner, *Ueber Personificationen in Vergils Gedichten* (1876), 27; and with the double mention of night and the stars 2, 8-9: *et iam nox umida caelo / praecipitat suadentque cadentia sidera somnos*.

352. *astra ignea*: Schol. Dan.: *unam rem bis dixit. 'astra' autem 'ignea' a sapientibus dicuntur*. Cf. also Juven. *praef.* 3: *ignea sidera caeli*.

352. *surgunt*: of the rising of constellations or of individual stars; cf. *G.* 1, 440: *surgentibus astris*; *Aen.* 1, 535: *adsurgens . . . Orion*; 2, 801: *surgebat Lucifer Idae*; 6, 850: *surgentia sidera dicent*; etc. The attempt of La Cerda (*ad loc.*) to determine from the form of expression the portions of the night meant, and hence whether the dreams are true or false (cf. Pease on Cic. *De Div.* 1, 61; to which add: Mosch. 2, 1-5; Ov. *Ep.* 18, 195-196; Philostr. *Vit. Apollon.* 2, 37; [Clem.] *Recognit.* 2, 2; Stemplinger in *Neue Jahrb.* 47 (1920), 42; Stearns, *Studies of the Dream as a technical Device in Latin Epic and Drama* (1927), 51-69, and n. 148), seems hardly successful, for while *operit* might refer to the early part of night and the settling down of darkness it is hard to explain *surgunt* in the sense of [rising to] depart before the dawn, the more natural meaning being that the heavenly bodies are mounting up toward the zenith.

353. *admonet*: of warnings in dreams; e.g., Cic. *De Div.* 2, 134: *nullo somnio . . . admonentur*; Aug. *C. D.* 22, 8, 3: *admonetur in somnis*; and the phrase *somnio monitus*, especially common in inscriptions.

353. *in somnis*: Serv.: *more suo pro 'in somniis'*. With the plural cf. 1, 353-354: *ipsa sed in somnis inhumati venit imago / coniugis*; 2, 270; 3, 151; 4, 466; 4, 557; 12, 908; Plaut. *Most.* 490; *al.*; Enn. *Ann.* 219;

354. me puer Ascanius capitisque iniuria cari,  
quem regno Hesperiae fraudo et fatalibus arvis.

ascanius γ.

hesperioe M (hesperiae M<sup>1</sup>). fraude M (fraudo M<sup>1</sup>). fatalib P.

354-355. me . . . fraudo: Serv. G. 2, 98 — fraudes PHM —; Schol. Lucan. 1, 176, ed. Weber. 354. capitis cari: Gl. Arma, 10, 166 — curi —.

[354\*] 355. quem . . . arvis: Schol. Dan. Aen. 4, 602. 355. quem . . . fraudo: Serv. Aen. 4, 602; Donat. in Ter. Phorm. 371. 355. fatalibus arvis: Gl. Ansil. 236, 567.

Sc. 36; Ter. Andr. 430; Lucr. 3, 431; 4, 972; 4, 988; 4, 1006; Prop. 2, 26, 1; Ov. M. 15, 653; Ep. 19, 229; Juv. 13, 221; etc. For prose instances and a full treatment of the phrase, with references to other discussions, cf. Löfstedt, *Syntactica*, 1 (1928), 50-54, who notes the consistent preference of Latin for *in somnis* rather than *in somno*, and remarks that in adverbial uses the feeling for the logically correct number breaks down. So in Greek we seldom have ὕπνοι, but often find ἐν τοῖς ὕπνοις, κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους, etc. Cf. 4, 81, n. (somnos); Stearns, *Studies of the Dream as a technical Device in Latin Epic and Drama* (1927), 21, n. The phrase *in somnis* regularly introduces a figure seen in a dream as distinguished from a nocturnal apparition like that of Anchises in 5, 722-740; cf. M. H. N. in *Musée belge*, 25 (1921), 205.

353. turbida terret: Schol. Dan.: *id est, prius me admonuit, post negligentiam etiam terruit*; Serv.: *terribilis, quod et umbrae convenit et parentis auctoritati*. The adjective here means 'agitated' or 'troubled'; cf. the phrase which in 6, 695 recalls this line: *tua tristis imago*; also, as Conington (*ad loc.*) suggests, the spirit of 6, 694: *quam metui ne quid Libyae tibi regna nocerent*. Influenced by our line is Stat. *Theb.* 2, 349-350: *turbida noctis imago / terret*.

353. imago: 'ghost'; cf. 1, 353 (quoted above); 6, 480; 6, 701; Hor. C. 1, 24, 15; Ov. F. 5, 463; 5, 477; Plin. Ep. 7, 27, 6; and the Greek εἰδωλον; also, on terms for the shades, Frazer on Ov. F. 5, 421.

354. me: note the anaphora. Whether we should as a verb understand *admonet*, or from it and *terret* supply, by a sort of zeugma, some word like *commovet* (so Conington *ad loc.*) is not certain.

354. puer Ascanius: cf. 4, 156, n. (*at puer Ascanius*); 4, 234, n. (*pater*). It was Mercury who had suggested this idea (4, 274-276) at the command of Jupiter (4, 234).

354. capitis . . . cari: cf. 4, 357, and n. (*caput*); 4, 493: *dulce caput*; 4, 613: *infandum caput*; etc. An imitation of φῖλη (or ἡβελη) κεφαλῇ (Il. 8, 281; 18, 114; 23, 94; Plat. *Phaedr.* p. 264a; etc.) or φῖλον κάρα (Aesch. *Agam.* 905; Soph. *O. T.* 950; *O. C.* 1631; Apoll. Rh. 3, 151; etc.).

354. iniuria: cf. 1, 27: *spretae . . . iniuria formae*.

355. quem: cf. Schol. Dan.: '*quem*' non ad 'caput' sed ad Ascanium retulit; et licet excusetur, tamen σοδοικοφανὲς est.

355. Hesperiae: a term used 13 times in the *Aeneid* (in addition to 3 cases of *Hesperius*) for different parts of Italy; cf. Carcopino, *Virgile et les Origines d'Ostie* (1919), 604, n. 3. Its inclusiveness extends from the Strait of Messina (3, 418) to Cortona (3, 163-170), and it is especially applied to Latium (e.g., 2, 781; 7, 601; 12, 360), while, with the addition of the adjective *ultima*, it may be used of Spain; cf. Serv. Aen. 1, 530. For the metrical convenience of the word as contrasted with *Italia* cf. Norden on Aen. 6, 6.

355. fraudo: cf. 4, 275-276: *cui regnum Italiae Romanaque tellus / debentur*.

355. et: on this use of *et* cf. Wagner, *Quaest. Virgilianae*, no. 33 (in the Heyne-Wagner ed., 4, 545), who renders: *Hesperiae regno fatorum lege illi debito*.

355. fatalibus: granted or appointed by fate; cf. 5, 82: *fataliaque arva*. Analogous uses are collected by Fabricius, *De Iove et Fato in P. Verg. Maronis Aeneide* (1896), 10. Masera (*ad loc.*) compares Dante, *Inf.* 5, 22: *non impedir lo suo fatale andare*.

356. nunc etiam interpres divom Iove missus ab ipso  
(testor utrumque caput) celeris mandata per auras

diuom *P*, diuum *MP<sup>2</sup>γabc*.  
capud *a<sup>1</sup>c*.

356-358. nunc . . . detulit: *Comm. Cruq. in Hor. C. 1, 10, 6* — diuum; ab alto (cf. 4, 574); celeres —. 356. interpres divom: *Gl. Ansil. 314, 1837* — diuum —. 356. Iove . . . ipso: *Gl. Ansil. 317, 13* — iobe —.

[356\*] 357-358. celeris . . . detulit: *Non. p. 289 M. (p. 447 L.)*. 357. testor . . . caput: [*Prob.*] *De ult. Syll. 7 (G. L. K. 4, 237)*; *Anth. Lat. no. 11, 94 (1, p. 44 Riese)*. 357. utrumque caput: *Gl. Ansil. 590, 359* — uirumque —; *q.v.*

356. nunc, etc.: cf. 4, 377-378, where some of these expressions are sneeringly repeated; *Ov. F. 3, 615-616*: *perque deos comites, hac nuper sede locatos, / saepe meas illos increpuisse moras*.

356. interpres divom: cf. 3, 359 (of Helenus); 4, 378; 10, 175 (of Asilas); *C. I. L. VI, 520* (= *Carm. Lat. epigr. no. 1528 B*; Dessau, *Inscr. Lat. sel. 3200*): *interpres divum, caeli terraeque meator, / sermonem docui mortales atque palaestram / . . . / sermonis dator atque somniorum / Iovis nuntius et precum minister*. The Scholia Danielis remark: *sed hic 'interpres' pro 'nuntio' posuit*; and *Hor. C. 1, 10, 5-6* calls Mercury *magni Iovis et deorum / nuntium*. The connection between a messenger and an interpreter — both spokesmen — is close; cf. the use of *ερμηνεύς* in Greek; e.g., [*Orph.*] *Hymn. 28, 6*: *ερμηνεὺ πάντων*. Henry (*Aeneidea*, 2 (1878), 709-710) cites other cases in which a speaker shifts the responsibility for his action upon a divine command.

356. missus: cf. *Sedul. Pasch. Carm. 5, 326-327*: *missus ab astris / angelus*.

356. ipso: *Serv.*: *id est, magno, ut supra (4, 268) 'ipse deum tibi me claro demittit Olympo' (sc. regnator)*.

357. testor: used by Virgil in appeals to gods (2, 155; 4, 519; 7, 593; 12, 201; 12, 496; 12, 581), stars (3, 599; 9, 429), rivers (5, 803), etc. With the phrase cf. *Ermoldus, In Hon. Hludowici, 1, 171 (Poet. Aevi Carol. 2, 10)*: *testor utrumque caput*.

357. utrumque: *Serv.*: *meum et tuum; aut Iovis et Mercurii (so Donat. ad loc.)*; *aut meum et Ascanii*. The first of these views seems the most probable, in view of *Apoll.*

*Rh. 3, 151*: *ἵστω νῦν τόδε σείο φίλον κάρη ἡδ' ἐμὸν αὐτῆς* (cf. *App. B. C. 5, 190*: *διὰ τε τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ δι' ἑμαυτὸν καὶ διὰ σέ, ὦ Λεύκιε*), though swearing by a child (or his head) is not unknown (e.g., *Demosth. De fals. Leg. 292*: *κατὰ τῶν παίδων ὤμους*; *Aen. 9, 300*: *per caput hoc iuro, per quod pater ante solebat* (where cf. the note of *Servius*; *pontificibus per liberos iurare non licebat sed per deos tantummodo*); *Sil. 8, 106-107* (*Aeneas speaking*): *iuro caput, Anna, libique / germanaeque tuae dilectum mihi Iuli*; *Plin. Ep. 2, 20, 6*: *iram deorum . . . in caput infelicis pueri delestatur*; the case in *Chariton, 3, 2*, is not entirely parallel: *οὐκ ἂν ἐπέσθην σέ δμῶσαι καὶ τὸν σὸν υἱόν, εἰ μὴ με προῦδωκε τοῦτο τὸ βρέφος, δείξασα τὴν γαστέρα*, and *Geist, Erkl. einiger Stellen aus d. Aen. Vergils (1878), 9-10*, argues strongly that *utrumque* refers to the heads of *Aeneas* and *Ascanius*, while *Mackail (ad loc.)* thinks them those of *Anchises* and *Ascanius*, just mentioned (to combine in this way a dead and a living witness seems unlikely).

357. caput: cf. 4, 354, n. (*capitis . . . cari*); 4, 613, n. (*caput*). On swearing by the head of one's self, one's children (see above), one's interlocutor, or the gods, cf. *Il. 15, 37-39* (*Hera to Zeus*): *Στυγὸς δ' ὕδωρ, ὅς τε μέγιστος / ὄρκος δεινότητος τε πᾶλει μακάρεσσι θεοῖσι, / σὴ θ' ἱερὴ κεφαλὴ*; *Soph. Trachin. 1185*: *ὄμνυ Διὸς νῦν τοῦ με φύσαντος κᾶρα*; *Eur. Hel. 835*: *ἀλλ' ἀγνὸν ὄρκον σὸν κᾶρα κατώμωσα*; *Callim. Beren. fr. 3 (35 b)*: *σὴν τε κάρην ὤμωσα σὸν τε βίον*; *Plaut. Most. 1002*; *Poen. 645*; *Pseud. 723*: *si quidem hoc vinct caput* (a variation of the idea); *Rud. 885*; *Catull. 66, 40*: *adiuro te tuumque caput*; *Aen.*

358. *detulit; ipse deum manifesto in lumine vidi  
intransem muros vocemque his auribus hausi.*

in *om.* π, *dett.*

ausi (*corr.* in hausi) *Mb*, ausi *Pγc*.

[356, 357] 358. *ipse . . . lumine: Schol. Dan. Aen. 4, 279 — manifesta F; in om. —.*  
358. *manifesto . . . lumine: Gl. Ansil. 356, 654.*

359. *intransem muros: Gl. Ansil. 315, 1888.* 359. *vocemque . . . hausi: Quintil. Inst. 8, 3, 54; Non. p. 319 M. (p. 500 L.) — ausit L<sup>1</sup>A<sup>1</sup> —; Donat. in Ter. Hec. 363 — auribus h. —; Pomp. Comm. (G. L. K. 5, 294); Lact. De Opif. Dei, 8, 8; Serv. Aen. 1, 208 — hisce oculis l —; 1, 614 — omnibus C (auribus C<sup>2</sup>); ausi CL —; 1, 738; Hier. Comm. in Dan. (Patr. Lat. 25, 564); Isid. Etym. 11, 1, 46 — ausit (ausi BC) —; Gilo, 6, 294 (Patr. Lat. 155, 991); [Hugo de S. Vict.] De Best. 60 (Patr. Lat. 177, 122); Gl. Ansil. 275, 140 — ausit —.*

359. *hausi: Gl. Abstr. 13, 42 — ausi —; q.v.*

4, 492-493: *testor, cara, deos, et te, germana, tuumque / dulce caput*; 8, 484; 9, 300 (quoted above); Hor. C. 2, 8, 5-6: *simul obligasti / perfidum votis caput*; Liv. 26, 48, 12: *obstringere periurio non se solum suumque caput, sed, etc.*; Ov. H. 3, 107: *perque tuum nostrumque caput*; Tr. 5, 4, 45: *per caput ipse suum solitus iurare tuumque*; Ex Pont. 3, 3, 68: *per matrem iuro Caesareumque caput*; Val. Max. 7, 2, 5; Juv. 6, 16-17: *nondum Graecis iurare paratis / per caput alterius* (Schol. Paris.: *iurant enim illi* (sc. Graeci) *assidue per caput alterius illa*: νῆ τὴν κεφαλὴν σου); Sil. 8, 106-107 (quoted above); 10, 385: *iuro hoc caput*; 10, 437-438: *perque caput . . . patris / magnanimi iuro*; Athen. 2, 66 c: *οἱ δ' ἱερὸν ἐνόμιζον τὴν κεφαλὴν δῆλον ἐκ τοῦ καὶ κατ' αὐτῆς ὀμνέειν, κτλ. . . ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τὰς συγκαταθέσεις βεβαιοῦμεν τῇ ταύτης ἐπινεύσει*; Synes. Ep. 67; 95; 105; 134; Pappyr. Gr. mag. 4, 1917-1918 (1, p. 130 Preisdanz): *ἐξορκίζω σε, Κέρβερε, κατὰ τῆς ἱερᾶς κεφαλῆς τῶν καταχθονίων θεῶν*; also Matt. 5, 36: *μήτε ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ σου ὀμόσης, ὅτι οὐ δύνασαι μίαν τρίχα λευκὴν ποιῆσαι ἢ μέλαιναν*. Similarly connected with the head are certain *devotiones* (e.g., Liv. 3, 48, 5; Aen. 9, 496; Val. Max. 5, 6, 5; 6, 2, Ext. 2; 7, 2, 5; and many examples in *Thes. Ling. Lat.* 3 (1912), 416, 49-74) and curses (e.g., Hier. Adv. Rufin. 3, 41: *et hoc scandalum redundaturum in caput meum denuntias*; Lasaulx, *Der Fluch bei Gr. u. Römern* (1843), 170; Canter, *Rhet. Elements in the Tragedies of*

*Seneca* (1925), 123; also Henry, *Aeneidea*, 3 (1889), 859-860, for a Coptic instance).

The underlying feeling in all these cases of calling to witness, devoting, or cursing is doubtless that the head is an essential part of the person (cf. McCartney in *Cl. Journ.* 21 (1925), 122, and n. 94, for oaths by the eyes, etc.; Philo Jud. *De Leg. spec.* 1, for those by the face of one's father; Apul. M. 3, 23, for one by a knot of hair on the head), possibly even the seat of the soul (cf. Cook, *Zeus*, 2 (1925), 290, n. o). It is likely that the *caput* by synecdoche represents the whole person, while there may at times be present, to a Roman, the idea that it denotes one's civic status as well.

On the parenthesis cf. 4, 116, n. (*advertē*). Zille, *Virgils Aeneide* (1865), 48, suggests that it is inserted in answer to some sign of scorn or incredulity on Dido's part, which her sarcastic reply in 4, 377-380 might well indicate.

357. *celeris mandata per auras* = 4, 270 (where cf. the n.); cf. 4, 226; 4, 378.

358. *detulit*: similarly 'run-over' in 12, 417.

358. *ipse deum*: cf. *Cir.* 269; and with the thought *Il.* 24, 223: *νῦν δ' αὐτὸς γὰρ ἄκουσα θεοῦ καὶ ἐσέδρακον ἀντήν*.

358. *manifesto in lumine* = Val. Fl. 1, 105. Serv.: *aut claro, aut in nimbo, cuius maius est lumen* (important on the *nimbus* in Latin is Fowler, *Death of Turnus* (1927), 84-86). Cf. 3, 151: *in somnis multo manifesti*

360. desine meque tuis incendere teque querellis:  
 Italiam non sponte sequor.'

incedere *M.* quaerellis *M* (querellis *M*<sup>2</sup>), quaerelis *b.*  
 sponte forte *p.*

360. desine . . . querellis: *Arus. Ex. Eloc.* (G. L. K. 7, 463); *Anth. Lat. no. 17, 247* (1, *p. 70 Riese*) — tequerellis *A* —.

361. Italiam . . . sequor: *Donat. in Ter. Hec. 142* — ytaliam *L*, aliam *cett.* — 361. non sponte: *Gl. Ansil. 395, 197.*

*lumine*, though Mercury's first appearance is by day. Henry (*Aeneidea*, 2 (1878), 393) remarks that the ancients laid especial stress upon the clearness with which objects were seen in a vision; cf. *Od.* 4, 841: ἐναργὲς δνειρον; Aesch. *Pers.* 179-180: ἀλλ' οὔτι πω τοιούδ' ἐναργὲς εἰδόμεν / ὥς τῆς παροῦθεν εὐφρόνης; Hdt. 7, 47: εἰ τοι ἡ ψῆσι τοῦ ἐνυπνίου μὴ ἐναργὲς οὕτω ἐφάνη, εἴχες ἂν τὴν ἀρχαίαν γνῶμην, κτλ. Cf. also *Il.* 20, 131, and Leaf's note; *Od.* 3, 420; *Aen.* 2, 589-593; 3, 173: nec sopor illud erat. Vida, *Christias*, 3, 519-520, says: illum ego saepe / intrantem thalamum manifesto in lumine vidi.

359. *vocem*, etc.: Schol. Dan.: 'haurii' enim pro 'percipii' ponebant veteres; et ideo qua potissimum parte sensus percipiant adiungunt (12, 26) 'simul hoc animo haurii', et (4, 661) 'hauriat hunc oculis ignem' et reliqua. Probus enim ait nemo haurii vocem; cf. Bell, *The Latin Dual* (1923), 391. For the phrase *auribus hausii* cf. Liv. 27, 51, 1: oculis auribusque haurire; Ov. *M.* 13, 787; 14, 309; Hermann of Reichenau (cited by Manitius, *Gesch. d. lat. Lit. d. Mittelalters*, 2 (1923), 771); also Lact. *De Opif. Dei*, 8, 8: aures, quibus est inditum nomen a vocibus hauriendis, unde Vergilius, 'vocemque his auribus hausii'; Ermoldus, *In Hon. Hludowici*, 2, 259 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 2, 32): haurii et aure pia; Walafridus Strabo, *Drog. Episc.* 52 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 2, 354): verba . . . auribus haurii; Anon. *Vita Leudegarii*, 2, 436 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 3, 36): simul auribus hausit; Audradus, *Passiones Iuliani et Soc.* 3, 3 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 3, 101): voces hausere sacralas; Flodoardus Remensis, *De Triumphis Christi* (Palaest.), 1, 21, 85: gemitum . . . auribus hausii; 2, 18, 86-87: vocis honorem / angelicae hausierunt pastores; Vida,

*Christias*, 2, 120; 4, 808; 5, 777; 6, 493: auribus his hausii vocem. The reading of some MSS in *Aen.* 6, 559 is *strepitum* . . . hausit; cf. Val. Fl. 1, 263. The same figure is expressed by *bibere*; e.g., Hor. C. 2, 13, 32, and other cases cited by Forbiger on our line; while Haffter (*Untersuchungen z. allat. Dichtersprache* (1934), 45-46 (in *Problemata*, 10)) cites other circumlocutions for *audire*, such as *edere*, *gustare*; and *devorare*.

360. *desine*, etc.: cf. G. 4, 448; *Aen.* 6, 376; *Il.* 9, 612: μή μοι σύγχεε θυμὸν ἐνὶ στήθεσσιν ἀχέων (cf. 13, 808). The imperative sounds a little brusque, but Aeneas has to struggle to overcome his own feelings. La Cerda cites Soph. *Antig.* 280: παῖσαι, πρὶν ὀργῆς καὶ με μεστῶσαι λέγων; cf. also *Il.* 9, 612: μή μοι σύγχεε θυμὸν ἐνὶ στήθεσσιν ἀχέων.

360. *incendere*: Schol. Dan.: *exagitare*. Glover (*Virgil*, 2 ed. (1912), 210) remarks: "Dido's words must rouse passion; and passion, he feels, helps nothing forward, and he dreads it." Terzaghi (*Virgilio ed Enea* (1928), 49, n. 72) explains the verb by zeugma with *me* and *te*: "to grieve (so *incendentem luctus* in 9, 500) *me* and irritate yourself." On the metaphor cf. Preuss, *Die metaphor. Kunst Vergils in d. Aeneis* (1894), 10; and with the expression Catull. 64, 226: *nostros ut luctus nostraeque incendia mentis*; Val. Fl. 7, 243: *perpetior durae iamdudum incendia mentis*.

360. *querellis*: Schol. Dan.: 'P litteram metri causa addidit; nam 'querela' dicitur, quia 'querulus' facit; hoc modo et 'loquela,' 'suadela.' DeWitt, *The Dido Episode in the Aeneid of Virgil* (1907), 78, calls this "one of the few words in the episode that are characteristic of the erotic elegy," and compares Catull. 64, 130; 64, 195. Note also

## 362. Talia dicentem iamdudum aversa tuetur,

iamdudum *MPp.*

362. talia . . . tuetur: *Auson. Cento nupt.* 91, p. 214 *Peiper* — aduersa Τλ —; *Anth. Lat. no. 11, 62* (1, p. 43 *Riese*); *Serv. Aen.* 1, 482; *Mythogr. Val. III*, 3, 3. 362. tuetur: *Gl. Ansil.* 574, 41; q.v.

*Carm. Lat. epigr.* no. 823, 1 *Bücheler*: *desine iam mater lacrimis renovare querellas.*

361. *Italiam*: cf. *Conway, Vergilian Age* (1928), 67–68: “The slow, mournful syllables of the half-line which is Aeneas’ last word . . . echo the sorrow of men and women doomed by political pressure to destroy their dearest ties”; *Rand, Magical Art of Virgil* (1931), 359: “These last words resume in brief compass the elements of the tragedy that confronts Aeneas: *Italiam* — his mission; *non sponte* — his love; *sequor* — his resolution.” With the situation cf. *Apoll. Rh.* 1, 839–841 (Jason to Hypsipyle): ἀνακτορὴν δὲ μελέσθω / σοίγ’ αὐτῇ καὶ νῆσος· ἔγωγε μὲν οὐκ ἀθερήσω / χάρισμα, ἀλλὰ με λυγροὶ ἐπισπέρχουσιν ἄεθλοι; *Val. Fl.* 8, 468: *me talia velle?* For Ovid’s imitation (*H.* 7, 139: *sed iubet ire deus*) see Eggerding in *Diss. philol. Halenses*, 18 (1908), 167, n. 2; cf. also *Sil.* 8, 105–111 (108–109: *respicens aegerque animi tum regna reliqui / vestra*).

The sincerity of Aeneas’s feeling is indicated again in 6, 460–463: *inuitus, regina, tuo de litore cessi. / sed me iussa deum, quae nunc has ire per umbras, / . . . / imperiis egere suis*; cf. 11, 112: *nec veni, nisi fata locum sedemque dedissent*. *Glover (Virgil, 2 ed.* (1912), 210) well observes that what Aeneas was seeking was a region (Italy), not an idea of an empire to be; this he could hardly have had before the revelations of the Sixth Book.

361. *non sponte sequor*: cf. 4, 341; also the verbal echoes in 11, 828: *ad terram non sponte fluens*; *Stat. Theb.* 8, 630: *non sponte, soror*. The verb (cf. 3, 114: *divom ducunt qua iussa sequamur*; 4, 381: *sequere Italiam ventis*; 5, 629) is appropriate for pursuing the will of the gods; cf. *Heinze, Virgils epische Technik*, 3 ed. (1915), 302, n. 1. *Serv.* remarks: *ut* (5, 629) ‘*Italiam sequimur fugientem*.’ Cf. also *Cic. Ad Alt.* 3, 16: *si spes erit, Epirum; sin minus Cyzicum, aut aliud quid*

*sequemur*; *Ov. H.* 7, 10: *Itala regna sequi*; *Val. Fl.* 1, 2–3: *Scythici quae Phasidis oras / ausa sequi*; *Sil.* 1, 141: *Gades Calpenque secutus*. That Italy seems to recede as Aeneas advances is indicated in 3, 496; 6, 61. The *Scholia Danielis* appropriately say: *et oratorie ibi finivit, ubi vis argumenti constitit* (which *Sparrow (Half-lines and Repetitions in Virgil* (1931), 23; 43) thinks means that Aeneas ended the speech, not Virgil the line, at an effective point); and *Page (ad loc.)*, perhaps a little severely, contrasts the conciseness of this phrase with the wordy rhetoric of the rest of the speech.

362. *talia dicentem*: cf. 8, 152–153: *os oculosque loquentis / iamdudum et totum lustrabat lumine corpus*; *Ov. M.* 9, 27–28: *talia dicentem iamdudum lumine torvo / spectat*; 10, 40; 10, 609; *Stat. Achill.* 1, 956; *Theb.* 10, 927; *Silv.* 3, 3, 205; *Juvenc.* 1, 728; 2, 403; 4, 1; *talia dicenti* in *Ov. M.* 5, 223; 8, 81; *F.* 3, 625; *Stat. Theb.* 1, 88; *Juvenc.* 1, 728; 2, 282; 4, 1; *Stroh, Stud. z. Valerius Flaccus* (1905), 52, who compares *Val. Fl.* 5, 520–521; cf. also *Claud. De Bell. Goth.* 518–519: *talia grandaevo flammata fronte loquentem / obliquisque tuens oculis non pertulit ultra*; and 4, 30, n. (*sic effata*), above.

362. *aversa*: ‘askance.’ *Schol. Dan.*: *id est, irata*; ‘*aversa*’ ergo ad animum referendum est, nam incipit esse contrarium ‘*aversa tuetur*,’ ut est (1, 482) ‘*diva solo fixos oculos aversa tenebat*.’ Cf. *Il.* 3, 427: (Ἑλένη) ἔσσε πάλιν κλισίᾳ; *Sen. Oed.* 339: *vultum obliquat*; *Dante, Inf.* 33, 76: *con gli occhi torti*; *Tennyson, A Dream of fair Women*, 101: “But she, with sick and scornful looks averse”; *Arnold The Scholar-Gipsy*, 208–209: “Averse, as Dido bid with gesture stern / From her false friend’s approach in Hades turn”, alluding to 6, 469 (based on 1, 482): *illa solo fixos oculos aversa tenebat*. These lines sup-

363. huc illuc volvens oculos, totumque pererrat  
luminibus tacitis, et sic accensa profatur:

illucque π.

363-364. totumque . . . tacitis: *Non. p. 463 M. (p. 742 L.); Fulgent. Virg. Cont. p. 95 Helm.* 363. huc illuc: *Gl. Ansil. 284, 5.* 363. pererrat: *Gl. Ansil. 435, 651; q.v.*

[363] 364. luminibus tacitis: *Schol. Lucan. 8, 171.* 364. et . . . profatur: *Schol. Lucan. 3, 357 — et om. U; accessa C —.*

port the view that *aversa* is feminine singular, rather than as has been suggested — on the strength of *torva tuentem* in 6, 467 — neuter plural.

363. huc illuc: initial in the line in *G. 2, 297; Aen. 5, 408; 12, 764.*

363. volvens oculos: cf. 7, 251: *intentos volvens oculos*; 8, 229: *huc ora ferebat et illuc*; 8, 618: *oculos per singula volvit*; this restlessness of the eyes being in contrast to the action of Aeneas in 4, 331-332: *immola tenebat lumina*. Henry (*Aeneidea*, 2 (1878), 710) explains *oculos* as 'eyeballs' and *luminibus* as 'vision,' though that view — which avoids absolute tautology — would be easier if *luminibus* were used in the singular. In *G. 4, 451* the two words appear together in a somewhat similar meaning: *ardentis oculos intorsit lumine glauco*; but cf. *Aen. 10, 446-447* (quoted below).

363. totumque, etc.: cf. 5, 441-442: *omnemque pererrat / arte locum*; 7, 375: *totamque pererrat*; 11, 766-767: *omnemque pererrat / undique circuitum*; also 8, 152-153: *os oculosque loquentis / iam dudum et totum lustrabat lumine corpus*; 10, 446-447: *corpusque per ingens / lumina volvit oblique truci procul omnia visu*. Cf. too the *oculis . . . errantibus* of 4, 691.

364. luminibus, etc.: cf. Paul. Diac. *Carm. 22, 3: luminibus tacitis*.

364. tacitis: *Schol. Dan.: pro 'ipsa tacita,' ut (7, 343) 'tacitumque obsedit limen Amatae' pro 'ipsa tacita.' sequitur autem invection, quae semper statu caret . . . quidam 'tacitis' epitheton oculorum volunt. alii 'tacitis' siccis pro iracundia*; cf. *Apoll. Rh. 2, 48-49: σίγα δ' ἄπωθεν / ἐστηώς εἰς αὐτὸν ἔχ' ὄμματα*; *Ennod. Carm. 2, 83, 4: luminibus tacitis*; Bell, *The Latin Dual* (1923), 325. Henry (*Aeneidea*, 2 (1878), 711) compares

*Sen. Thy. 500-501* (of a hound on the scent): *tacito locum / rostro pererrat*; *Stat. Theb. 1, 674-675: taciteque ad Tydea laesum / obliquare oculos*. Dido has kept an ominous silence during his speech, nor have her eyes given him any sympathetic response such as Ovid describes (*Am. 2, 3, 17*): *non oculi tacuere tui*.

364. accensa: a combination of passion (4, 2, n. (*igni*)) and anger, with the latter uppermost.

364. profatur: cf. 1, 561: *Dido voltum demissa profatur*; 4, 30, n. (*sic effata*); *Hor. S. 1, 6, 57; Ov. M. 11, 290: quibus ille profatur*.

365. nec, etc.: the appearance of calmness on the part of Aeneas serves but to exasperate Dido (cf. Terzaghi, *Virgilio ed Enea* (1928), 43); in her earlier speech she had been stunned by his disloyalty to her (Heinze, *Virgils epische Technik*, 3 ed. (1915), 134), but had hoped to win him back by his sense of pity; now he is obdurate, and the dormant element of Oriental savagery in her nature is set loose; cf. Glover, *Virgil*, 2 ed. (1912), 196.

The literary source of the passage (as recognized by *Macrob. Sat. 5, 11, 14-15*) is *Il. 16, 33-35*, where Patroclus reproaches Achilles: *νηλεές, οὐκ ἄρα σοὶ γε πατὴρ ἔεν ἱππῶτα Πηλεΐδης, / οὐδὲ Θέτις μήτηρ· γλαυκὴ δὲ σε τίκτε θάλασσα / πέτραι τ' ἠλίβατοι, ὃ τέ τοι νόος ἐστὶν ἀπηρής*, and *Macrobius* discusses in detail the additions which Virgil has made to the Homeric passage by his allusion not only to birth but also to suckling. Cf. also *Eur. Bacch. 987-990: τίς ἄρα νυν ἔτεκεν; / οὐ γὰρ ἐξ αἵματος / γυναικῶν ἔφην, λεαίνας δὲ τινος / ὅδ' ἢ Γοργόνων Λιβυσσᾶν γένος*; *Theocr. 3, 15-16; Ecl. 8, 43-45: nunc scio quid sit Amor. duris in cotibus illum / aut Tmaros*

365. 'nec tibi diva parens, generis nec Dardanus auctor,  
perfide, sed duris genuit te cautibus horrens

diuina (corr. in diua) p.

365-367. nec . . . tigres: *Macrob. Sat. 5, 11, 14* — hycanaeque P<sup>1</sup> —; *Schol. Dan. Aen. 2, 540* — cautibus h. c. h. a. u. t. —. 365. nec . . . auctor: *Sacerd. Art. gram. 3* (G. L. K. 6, 503). 365. nec . . . parens: *Sacerd. Art. gram. 1* (G. L. K. 6, 444-445). 365. diva parens: *Gl. Ansil. 184, 1183*. 365. generis . . . auctor: *Schol. Dan. Aen. 4, 369*.

[365\*] 366-367. sed . . . tigres: *Lact. Plac. in Stat. Theb. 3, 693* — caucanus horrens cautibus MPa; h. que a. u. t. Pb, om. LMPa —. 366-367. sed . . . Caucasus: *Non. p. 285 M.* (p. 439 L.); [Acro] in *Hor. C. 1, 22, 7* — seu duris —. 366-367. duris . . . Caucasus: [Acro] in *Hor. C. 3, 11, 32*; in *Hor. Epod. 1, 11-12*. 366. horrens: *Gl. Ansil. 283, 95*; q.v.

aut Rhodope aut extremi Garamantes / nec  
generis nostri puerum nec sanguinis edunt;  
also in *Aen. 2, 540* the charge: non ille, satum  
quo te mentiris, Achilles; *Ov. M. 8, 120-122*:  
non genetrix Europa tibi est, sed inhospita  
Syrilis, / Armeniae tigres austroque agitata  
Charybdis. / nec Iove tu natus; *H. 7, 37-39*  
(Dido to Aeneas): te lapis et montes innataque  
rupibus altis / robora, te saevae progenere  
ferae, / aut mare; *10, 131-132*: nec pater est  
Aegeus, nec tu Pittheidos Aelhrae / filius;  
auctores saxa fretumque tui. Other parallels  
of parts of the speech will be found below.

This scene was much admired and has  
been expanded into a fifteen-line *Thema*  
*Vergilianum* in *Anth. Lat. no. 255* (1, pp.  
211-212 Riese), while *Dictio 28* of Ennodius  
(C. S. E. L. 6, 505-506) paraphrases lines  
365-387, remarking *constat Veneris non esse*  
*filium, nil amantem*. Cf. Castiglione, *De*  
*Eliz. Gonzaga, 17-18*: non tibi Diva parens,  
generis nec Dardanus auctor, / perfide, sed  
duris cautibus es genitus; Tasso, *Ger. lib. 16*,  
56, 1-8: nè te Sofia produsse, e non sei nato /  
dell' Azzio sangue tu: te l'onda insana / del  
mar produsse e'l Caucaso gelato, / e le mamme  
allattor di tigre ircana. / che dissimulo io più?  
l'uomo spielato / pur un segno non diè di  
mente umana: / forse cambiò color? forse al  
mio duolo / bagnò almen gli occhi, o sparse un  
sospir solo?

365. diva parens: cf. 6, 197: diva parens;  
8, 531: divae promissa parentis. *Anth. Lat.*  
*no. 255, 10-15* (1, pp. 211-212 Riese) para-  
phrases: nec non haut Veneris pulcra de  
stirpe crearis / nec pater Anchises vestrae  
(est) aut Dardanus auctor / gentis, sed durae

tigres lapidesque sinistri / te genuere virum,  
silvae montesque profani. / uberaque tibi et  
potum admovere malignum, / quae tibi per-  
fidiam mixto cum lacte dederunt. Servius re-  
marks: non est sola in Aeneam vituperatio,  
sed etiam in se obiurgatio, quia dixerat (4, 12)  
'credo equidem, nec vana fides, genus esse  
deorum,' and Donatus notes the same reversal  
in her sentiments. I prefer to construe parens  
with the preceding words rather than to  
make it govern generis.

365. generis . . . auctor: cf. 7, 49: tu  
sanguinis ultimus auctor; *Ov. M. 4, 640*:  
generis mihi Iuppiter auctor; *Gesta Apollonii*,  
552 (*Poet. Aevi Carol. 2, 500*): generis tibi  
quis fuit auctor; also *Ecl. 8, 45*: nec generis  
nostri puerum.

365. nec: on the postpositive use cf. 4,  
33, n. (*Veneris nec*).

365. Dardanus: the phrase *Dardanus*  
*auctor* occurs at 3, 503; 6, 650. At 1, 617  
Dido had recognized Aeneas's descent from  
Dardanus, and elsewhere she emphasizes it:  
4, 626; 4, 640; 4, 647; 4, 658; 4, 662. The  
relationship is shown in the following pedi-  
gree, based on *Il. 20, 215-239*: Zeus, Dar-  
danus, Erichthonius, Tros, Assaracus, Capys,  
Anchises, Aeneas.

366. perfide: cf. 4, 305, n. (*perfide*); 4,  
421; Serv.: *amantum verbo cum increpat*.

366. duris: on Virgil's feeling for hard-  
ness and softness cf. Anderson, *A Study of*  
*Virgil's Descriptions of Nature* (1916), 154-  
155; 162. The ablative is here perhaps one  
of place (cf. *Ecl. 8, 43*: duris in cotibus, etc.)  
or of source (this idea probably underlies  
Donatus's remark: genuerunt te Caucasi



## 367. Caucasus Hyrcanaeque admorunt ubera tigres.

admorun *P* (admorunt *P*<sup>1</sup>).

[365\*, 366\*] 367. Hyrcanaeque . . . tigres: *Gell.* 12, 1, 20 — hyrcane eque ΖΟΠ —; *Macrob. Sat.* 5, 11, 15 — hircanaeque *P* —; *Prisc. Inst.* 9, 41 — hyrcanaeque *B*, hyrcaneque *GL*, hircaneque *K*; ammorunt *GL*, ad. morunt *K*; ubera ex corr. *B*; tygres *R*, tigris *BDHGLK* —; *Lact. Plac. in Stat. Theb.* 4, 678; 8, 572; *Schol. Lucan.* 3, 268 — hircanaeque —; *Isid. Etym.* 14, 3, 33 — armorum *T*; admorunt tigribus ignes *B* —. 367. Hyrcanae tigres: *Gl. Verg.* (*C. G. L.* 4, 444, 36) — hircane tigræ —. 367. Hyrcanae: *Gl. Ansil.* 318, 9 — ircanae —; *q.v.* 367. admorunt: *Gl. Ansil.* 29, 470; *q.v.*; *Gl. Aa.* 166, 400.

*rupes et cautes*), though some editors, including Forbiger and Conington, construe it with *horrens*.

The thought belongs to a large class of conceits dealing with the barbarous or hard-hearted, who are variously described as born (1) of the sea (e.g., *Il.* 16, 33, quoted above; *Sil.* 1, 638–639; cf. numerous allusions to 'sons of Neptune,' as in *Cic. N. D.* 1, 64, and Mayor's n.), itself a type of insensibility (*Eur. Med.* 28–29; *Catull.* 64, 155–156; *Tib.* 3, 4, 85: *te nec vasti genuerunt aequora ponti*; *Ov. H.* 7, 39 and 10, 131–132 (already quoted); *Butcher, Aspects of the Greek Genius*, 3 ed. (1904), 267); (2) of trees, especially the oak (e.g., 8, 315; also *Od.* 19, 163: οὐ γὰρ ἀπὸ δρυὸς ἔσσι παλαιφάτου οὐδ' ἀπὸ πέτρης (cf. *Il.* 22, 126), echoed by *Plat. Apol.* 34d; *Rep.* 8, 544d; *Plut. Cons. ad Uxorem*, 2; *Sext. Emp.* 11, 161; *Clem. Strom.* 2, 20, p. 494 P.; *Paroem. Gr.* 2, 721, 16a; *Anth. Pal.* 10, 55, 2–3; 11, 253, 1–3; also other traditions of men sprung from trees — perhaps a relic of animistic beliefs —, as in 8, 315: *genusque virum truncis et duro robore nata*; *Lycophr. Alex.* 480 (of the Arcadians); *Apoll. Rh.* 4, 1641 (Talus); *Apollod. Bibl.* 3, 14, 4 (Adonis); *Cic. Acad.* 2, 101: *non enim est (sc. sapiens) e saxo sculptus aut e robore dolatus* (cf. *De Amic.* 48; *Post Red. in Sen.* 14); *Anth. Pal.* 9, 312, 5–6; *Bouché-Leclercq, Placita Graecorum de Origine Generis humani* (1871), 11–14; *Schell in Am Urquell*, 4 (1893), 224–225; *Cook in Cl. Rev.* 15 (1901), 322–326; *Samter, Volkskunde im altsprachlichen Unterricht*, 1 (1923), 17–20 (with many cases of men born from trees or rocks); *Dieterich-Fehrle, Mutter Erde*, 3 ed. (1925), 64; 139; *McCartney in Cl. Journ.*

20 (1925), 367–368; *id.*, in *Papers of the Mich. Acad. of Sci., Arts, and Letters*, 16 (1931), 109–110; *Kummer in Hoffmann-Krayer, Handwörterbuch d. deutsch. Aberglaubens*, 4 (1932), 1353–1356 and works there cited); (3) of the earth, as the giants and other fierce mythical beings (*Apoll. Rh.* 1, 942–943; etc., but cf. *Eur. Ion.* 542: οὐ πέδον τικτει τέκνα); (4) of rocks (e.g., *Aesch. P. V.* 244: σιδηρόφρων τε καὶ πέτρας εὐργασμένος; *Eur. Med.* 1270–1280: τάλαυ', ὡς ἄρ' ἦσθα πέτρος ἢ σίδα-/ρος; *Frag. Com. adesp.* 373 *Kock*: ἀλλ' ἐξ ἀδάμαντος καὶ πέτρας εἴ; *Theocr.* 10, 7: Μίλων δ'ραμᾶτα, πέτρας ἀπόκομ' ἀτεράμνω; *Herond.* 6, 4: λίθος τις, οὐ δοῦλη; 7, 108 (and *Headlam's n.*); *Ter. Hec.* 214: *me omnino lapidem non hominem putas*; *Cic. Tusc.* 3, 12: *non enim silice nati sumus*; *Ov. Am.* 1, 11, 9; 3, 6, 59; *M.* 7, 32–33: *me de tigride natam, / tum ferrum et scopulos gestare in corde fatebor*; 9, 613–615: *neque enim de tigride natus / nec rigidas silices solidumve in pectore ferrum / aut adamantia gerit, nec lac bibit ille leaenae*; *Tr.* 1, 8, 37–44; 3, 11, 3–4: *natus es e scopulis, nutritus lacte ferino, / et dicam silices pectus habere tuum*; *Ex Pont.* 4, 10, 3–4; 4, 12, 31–32; *Tib.* 1, 1, 63–64; 1, 10, 59–60: *a, lapis est ferrumque suam quicumque puellam / verberat*; *Sen. H. O.* 143: *quae cautes Scythiae, qui genuit lapis*; *Stat. Silv.* 1, 2, 69–70: *duro nec enim ex adamante creati / sed tua turba sumus*; *Plin. Ep.* 2, 3, 7; *Illic. Ep.* 14, 3, 2: *non ex silice natos Hyrcanae nutriere tigrides*; 66, 1, 2: *quae enim aures tam durae, quae de silice excisa praecordia et Hyrcanarum tigrum lacte nutrita possunt sine lacrimis Paulinae tuae audire nomen*; *Sedulius, Carm.* 2, 5, 16 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 3, 170): *cautibus e Scithicis es quia nata fera*; certain mythical

figures, like Tages (Pease on Cic. *De Div.* 2, 50), Mithras (Just. *Mart. Dial. c. Tryph.* 70; Hier. *Adv. Iovin.* 1, pp. 246-247 Vall.; Cumont, *Textes et Monum. fig. relatifs aux Mystères de Mithra*, 1 (1899), 159-163; Wüst in *P.-W.* 15 (1932), 2138; Saintyves (pseud. for Nourry), *Les Grottes* (1918), 119-125 (added to Trabucco's French translation of Porphyry. *De Antro Nympharum*), his son Diorphus ([Plut.] *De Fluv.* 23, 4), Sol Invictus (Commod. *Instr.* 13, 1), and Agdistis (Knaack in *P.-W.* 1 (1894), 767), also being thought of as thus born, while from stones cast by Deucalion and Pyrrha came a human race; cf. also Matt. 3, 9: *δύναται ὁ θεὸς ἐκ τῶν λίθων τούτων ἐγείρει τέκνα τῷ Ἀβραάμ*); Bouché-Leclercq, *op. cit.*, 4-7.

In other cases a hard-hearted person is compared to rock, iron, or adamant, without statement of his origin; e.g., *Il.* 22, 357: *ἦ γὰρ σοὶ γε σιδήρεος ἐν φρεσὶ θυμός*; 24, 205 (= 24, 521): *σιδήρεών νύ τοι ἦτορ*; Hes. *Theog.* 239; Pind. *Fr.* 100 (88), 3-4; Aesch. *Sept.* 52 (and Dahlgren, *De Imaginibus Aeschyli*, 1 (1877), 46-47); Soph. ap. Arist. *Rhet.* 2, p. 1400 b 17; Eur. *Cycl.* 596; Arist. *Eth. Eud.* 2, 3, p. 1221 a 22-23: *ἀπαθὴς ὥσπερ λίθος*; [Mosch.] 4, 44-45; Apoll. *Rh.* 2, 231; Plaut. *M. G.* 1024; *Poen.* 290; *Pseud.* 75; Enn. *Sc.* 139: *lapideo sunt corde multi quos non miseret nemini*; Hor. *C.* 3, 7, 21-22; Ov. *Am.* 2, 5, 11; 2, 19, 4; *H.* 4, 14; 16, 136-137; Tib. 1, 1, 63-64; 1, 2, 65; 1, 10, 2; Prop. 1, 16, 30; 2, 8, 12; Sen. *Phaedr.* 580-582; Plin. *Ep.* 2, 3, 7; Opp. *Hal.* 5, 574; Luc. *Philops.* 29; Ambr. *Hexaem.* 3, 70; Liban. *Or.* 61, 13; Eunap. *Vit. Philos.* p. 492 Boissonade; *Acta S. Sebast.* 5 (*Patr. Lat.* 17, 1114B); Donat. *Aen.* 5, 785; Heliod. *Aeth.* 7, 9; Sidon. *Ep.* 5, 7, 4; Paul. Nol. *Carm.* 31, 425; Auson. *Epig.* 11, 2 (p. 315 Peiper); *Paroem. Gr.* 2, 283, 79; 2, 314, 16; *Epigrammata Gr.* no. 513, 2; 551, 3 Kaibel; *Papyr. Gr. mag.* 2, p. 16, 356 Preisendanz: *σιδήρεος*; Arsen. *Violetum*, pp. 54; 82 Walz. Other cases will be found in Otto, *Die Sprichwörter . . . der Römer* (1890), 4; 185; 322; Paul. Diac. *Fab.* 9, 17: *silicibus duris durior esse potes*; Alphanus of Salerno (*Patr. Lat.* 147, 1276; cf. Manitius, *Gesch. d. lat. Lit. d. Mittelalters*, 2 (1923), 636, n. 2): *unde tibi tam ferreum pectus? ante ferae genuere*

*tigrides, Gorgonei aluere parentes*; Sextus Amarcus, *Serm.* 2, 216-217: *non stirps est de rupe tibi, non te peperere / Ismarus aut Rodope*, etc.; Sannazaro, *Eleg.* 1, 9, 7-8 (cf. Smith on Tib. 1, 1, 63); Castiglione, *Hippolyte*, 77-78: *nec tibi sunt praecordia ferrea, nec tibi dura / ubera in Alpibus cautibus ursa dedit*; Tasso, *Ger. lib.* 4, 77, 5-7: *ben fu rabbiosa tigre a lui nutrice, / e 'l produsse in aspr' alpe orrida pietra, / o l'onda che nel mar si frange e spuma*; Shakesp. *Jul. Caes.* Act 3, Sc. 2; *Lear*, Act 5, Sc. 3; *Rich. III*, Act 3, Sc. 7: "I am not made of stones (al. stone) / But penetrable to your kind entreats"; *Venus and Adonis*, stanzas 34 and 36.

The rigidity of which Dido here accuses Aeneas she herself, by poetic justice, illustrates in 6, 471, where she is compared to *dura silex* and *Marpesia cautes*. Virgil's phrase is recalled by Ov. *M.* 4, 672: *duras . . . cautes* (cf. 7, 418: *dura . . . caute*); Ambros. *Ep.* 63, 102: *horret cautibus*; *De Iacob.* 2, 27: *duris atque asperis inhorrentem cautibus*. For *durus* in erotic poetry cf. Pichon, *De Sermone amatorio* (1902), 136. Spelling varies between *cautes* (cf. 3, 699; 6, 471) and *coles* (*Ecl.* 8, 43; *G.* 4, 203).

366. *horrens*: Horace (*C.* 1, 22, 6-7; *Epod.* 1, 12) describes the Caucasus as *inhospitalis*, and Servius calls it *mons Scythiae inhospitalis*; cf. Sen. *Med.* 42-43: *pelle femineos metus / et inhospitalem Caucasum mente induet*; Thy. 1048: *inhospitalis Caucasus rupem asperam*; *H. O.* 1377-1378: *horridus . . . / . . . Caucasus*. From the time of the *Prometheus Bound* the Caucasus had been famed for its harsh cliffs. Tert. *Adv. Marc.* 1, 1 describes Marcion as *Scythia tetrior, Hamaxobio instabilior, Massageta inhumanior, Amazone audacior, . . . Caucasus abruptior*. Cf. also Cayado, *Ecl.* 6, 54: *Caucasus horrens*.

367. *Hircanae . . . tigres*: the region about the Caspian, including Hyrcania at its southeast end, was considered particularly barbarous, and its jungles and forests were full of dangerous beasts; cf. Mela, 3, 38; Sen. *Phaedr.* 70; Solin. 17, 4; Lact. *Inst.* 5, 11, 4; Kiessling in *P.-W.* 9 (1916), 458, who states that the Indian tiger is still found there. Cf. Mela, 3, 43: *silvae alia quoque dira animalia verum et tigres ferunt utique Hircanae*.

## 368. nam quid dissimulo aut quae me ad maiora reservo?

368. nam . . . reservo: *Prisc. Inst.* 8, 28 (G. L. K. 2, 395) — quid dido dī dissimulo *L.* simulo (*corr. in* dissimulo) *G*; quae dis me *D*; reserua (*corr. in* reseruo *Dd*) —; *Anth. Lat.* no. 17, 279 (1, p. 72 Riese) — desimulo *A*; quid (*pro* quae) *A* —. 368. nam quid: *Gl. Ansil.* 383, 30; *q.v.*

*niae, saevum ferarum genus*; Petron. 134, 12: *Hyrcaenae . . . tigres*; Luc. 1, 327–328; Plin. *N. H.* 8, 66: *tigrim Hyrcani et Indi ferunt*; Stat. *Theb.* 9, 15–16; 12, 170 (in 5, 204; 8, 572 he speaks of the lions there); Sil. 4, 331; 5, 280–281; Mart. 8, 26, 1–3; *Epigr.* 18, 2; Solin. 17, 4; Serv. *Aen.* 7, 605; Amm. Marc. 23, 6, 50–52; Claud. *In Rufin.* 1, 227; Sidon. *Carm.* 5, 530–531: *cuius lac tigridis infans / Hyrcana sub rupe bibit*; Dracont. *De Laud. Dei*, 1, 310–311; Romul. 8, 577; Isid. *Etym.* 9, 2, 42; 12, 2, 7; Engelmodus, *Carm.* 1, 67–68 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 3, 57): *e saxis genitum hunc lactarunt ubera tigrum / durum perpetuo frigore Sarmatico*; Gualterus, *Alexandreis*, 5, 477–478; Shakesp. *III Hen. VI*, Act 1, Sc. 4: “But you are more inhuman, more inexorable, / O, ten times more, than tigers of Hyrcania”; *Macbeth*, Act 3, Sc. 4; *Hamlet*, Act 2, Sc. 2; Daniel, *Sonnets after Astrophel*, 11: “Hyrcan tigers.” Bolivar said of Boves that he was not nourished with woman’s milk but with the blood of tigers and of the furies of Hell (Ybarra, *Bolivar* (1929), 105). Tigers are also described as ‘Caspian’ (Stat. *Theb.* 10, 288–289; Maximian, 1, 272; Claud. *De Rapt. Pros.* 3, 105–106: *si . . . non me Caspia tigris / edidit*; Ennod. *Carm.* 1, 9, 63), ‘Armenian’ (*Ecl.* 5, 29; Ov. *M.* 8, 121; 15, 86; *Am.* 2, 14, 35; Tib. 3, 6, 15; Prop. 1, 9, 19; Sen. *H. O.* 241–242; *Anth. Lat.* no. 798a, 25 (2, p. 275 Riese), or ‘Caucasian’ (Sil. 15, 81). Servius’s gloss on *Hyrcaenae: Arabicae*; *nam Hyrcana silva est Arabiae* is hard to explain, unless we may assume some other, less familiar, Arabia near the Caspian, of which we may have a possible trace in the manuscript reading of Aesch. *P. V.* 420: *Ἀραβίας τ’ ἀπειὸν ἄνθος* (near the Caucasus) and in the fortress of Arabio between Persia and Mesopotamia; cf. Archelaus (*Patr. Gr.* 10, 1435, and n. 45).

Tigers were perhaps first seen by Romans in 20 B.C. (Dio Cass. 54, 9, 8) and first ex-

hibited at Rome in the consulship of Q. Tubero and Fabius Maximus in 11 B.C. (Plin. *N. H.* 8, 65). They often appear as typical of savagery; e.g., *G.* 4, 510; Eur. *Med.* 1342; Hor. *C.* 1, 23, 9; 3, 27, 56; Ov. *M.* 7, 32; 9, 613; Juv. 15, 163; note also the form of lycanthropy in which men turn into tigers (Tylor, *Prim. Culture*, 1 (1 Am. ed., 1874), 308–312). Back of the cruelty of the tigresses, however, may lie a connotation of the barbarism of the country (Sen. *Thy.* 630–631: *sub aeterna nive / Hyrcana tellus*) and its people, a race of nomads (*Cosmogr.* 18, in *Geogr. Lat. min.* p. 95 Riese) and robbers (Strab. 11, 7, 2), lawless, like other tribes bordering upon the Caspian (Sen. *Tr.* 1105–1106), and, like the Avars of a later date (Otto of Freising, *Chron.* 5, 9), proverbial for cruelty (cf. Plin. *N. H.* 6, 53; Isid. *Etym.* 14, 3, 32–33), which was remarked especially in their custom of throwing their dead to the dogs (Cic. *Tusc.* 1, 108; Porphy. *De Abst.* 4, 21; Iambl. *Drama*, 8; Hier. *Adv. Iovin.* 2, 7; also Gratt. *Cyneg.* 1, 161–162). Virgil mentions them in 6, 605 as potential foes of Rome. The criticism of the Scholia Danielis is: *sane quidam absurde putant Caucasum et tigris a Didone memoratus, quia nec Didoni perturbatae venire in mentem Caucasus potuit, nec tigres iuxta dum cognitae, et hoc Hyrcanae*. Virgil was probably less disturbed by the anachronism. With the general thought cf. also Catull. 60, 1–5.

367. *admorunt*: for such syncopated forms cf. Priscian, *Inst.* 9 (G. L. K. 2, 478); *Thes. Ling. Lat.* 1 (1900), 770, 1–5; and for the phrase Phaedr. 3, 15, 7: *admoto ubere*; Plin. *N. H.* 10, 168: *lacte nutrit ubera admovens*; Flor. 1, 1, 3: *ubera admovit infantibus*; Aug. *C. D.* 18, 21: *lupa credatur admovisse ubera parvulis*.

On infants suckled by animals, and hence often thought of as partaking of the qualities of their foster-mothers, see the general com-

## 369. num fletu ingemuit nostro? num lumina flexit?

nunc *M* (num *M'*). flutu *M* (fletu *M'*), fleta γ<sup>1</sup>. nostra (corr. in nostro) *P*. .exit *a*<sup>1</sup>, flexit *a*<sup>2</sup>.

369-370. num fletu . . . est: [Iul. Rufin.] *De Schem. Lex.* 6, p. 49 *Halm*; *Donat. in Ter. Ad. 307* — ingemuit n. num l. f. n. l. u. d. a. m. a. e. — 369. num . . . nostro: *Anth. Lat. no. 17, 273* (I, p. 72 *Riese*) — non *A*; fletu ingemui *A* —.

ment of *Plin. N. H.* 8, 61: *quae de infantibus ferarum lacte nutritis cum essent expositi produntur, sicut de conditoribus nostris a lupa, magnitudini fatorum accepta ferri aequius quam ferarum naturae arbitror*; *Tylor, Prim. Culture*, 4 ed., I (1903), 281-282 (and works there cited); *McCartney, Greek and Roman Lore of animal-nursed Infants*, in *Papers of the Mich. Acad. of Sci., Arts, and Letters*, 4 (1924), 15-42, to which add: *Burriss in Cl. Weekly*, 21 (1928), 104; *Kraemer* in the same, 21 (1928), 189-190; *Shewan* in the same, 21 (1928), 190; *Frazer on Ov. F.* 2, 412 (pp. 375-381); also *Aen.* 11, 570-572 (*Camilla*); *Theocr.* 3, 15-16; 23, 19-20; *Luc. De Sacrif.* 5; *Schol. Juv.* 1, 5 (*Telephus*); *Procop.* 6, 17, 3-11; *Isid. Etym.* 12, 7, 42.

368. nam, etc.: *Serv.*: *tacitae quaestioni occurrit, ne quis eius nimiam iracundiam reprehenderet, dicens Aeneam posse mitigari forsitan precibus*. Cf. *Eur. Med.* 282: οὐδὲν δὲ παραμύχεω λόγους. The first clause seems to mean "Why do I conceal my real feelings?" (the indicative being used for vividness in place of a deliberative subjunctive, as in 2, 322; 3, 88; 3, 367; 4, 534; 12, 637). The second clause may mean "For what better opportunity to speak (or, as *La Cerda* thought, "for what more effective appeal") am I keeping myself?" But the more likely meaning is suggested by the first alternative offered by the *Scholia Danielis*: *aut ad maiores scilicet iniurias; aut ad superiora pertinent, quia ei male dixit*.

368. quae, etc.: cf. 5, 625: *infelix, cui te exitio Fortuna reservat* (cf. 8, 575); *Cir.* 318: *quo nunc me, infelix, aut quae me fata reservant*; *Oros.* 2, 11, 9: *suasit ut se ad meliora tempora reservarent*. *Placek, Re in den Compositiis in Vergils Aeneis* (1882), 15, discusses parallels to the use of *reservo*.

369. num: note the anaphora. *Schol.*

*Dan.*: *nam hoc est 'generis nec Dardanus auctor,' while num lumina flexit is explained: hoc est 'genuit Caucasus,' vel ad illud pertinet* (4, 331-332) 'ille Iovis monitis inmota tenebat/lumina.' *Heinze (Virgils epische Technik*, 3 ed. (1915), 134, n. 2) compares *Eur. Med.* 469-470: οὔτοι θράσος τὸδ' ἐστὶν οὐδ' εὐτολμία, / φίλους κακῶς δράσαντ' ἐναντίον βλέπειν; cf. also *Val. Fl.* 7, 483: *hei mihi, cur nullos stringunt tua lumina fletus*; *Ambros. De Virg.* 3, 7, 38: *non vultum inflexit, non ora convertit, non gemitu victa lacrimam dedit*; *Tasso, Ger. lib.* 16, 56, 5-8 (quoted at 4, 365, n. (nec, etc.), above); *Racine, Androm.* Act 5, Sc. 1, 1400-1402: *en ai-je pu tirer un seul gémissement? / muet à mes soupirs, tranquille à mes alarmes, / sembloit-il seulement qu'il eût part à mes larmes?* In a different connection *Cic. Tusc.* 2, 41, remarks: *quis medicis gladiatorem ingemuit, quis vultum mutavit umquam?*

369. fletu: probably dative (cf. *G.* 1, 45-46), dependent upon *ingemuit*. For such dative forms of masculines of the fourth declension in *Virgil* and other writers cf. *Kühner-Holzweissig, Ausf. Gram. d. lat. Spr.* 1, 2 ed. (1912), 395-396. It would not be impossible, however, to construe it as a causal ablative.

369. ingemuit: as a sign of sympathy cf. *Ecl.* 5, 27; *Aen.* 6, 483; 10, 789; 10, 823; 11, 840. From this point to line 380 *Dido* effectively changes from direct address to *Aeneas* to a soliloquy in which he is referred to in the third person, thus adding to the impression of scorn on her part by a refusal, or, what is even more serious, an inability to recognize him as present (the *Scholia Danielis* compare with this shift of persons *Ecl.* 3, 5-6). *Page (ad loc.)* thinks *Dido* forgets his presence; that she speaks, first in sorrowful regret, rising into indignation (373-375) and fury (376), but then controlled into bitter

370. num lacrimas victus dedit aut miseratus amantem est?  
quae quibus anteferam? iam iam nec maxima Iuno

non c. haut γ. miserat a<sup>1</sup>. amantemst P, amantem est MP<sup>2</sup>γbc, amantem (est add. m. 2) a, amanteē p.  
(qu)ae P. iam (corr. in iam iam) c.

[369\*] 370. aut . . . est: *Pomp. Comm. (G. L. K. 5, 238)* — nec miseratus amantem —; *Arus. Ex. Eloc. (G. L. K. 7, 491)* — haud —; *Serv. Aen. 1, 597* — nec miseratus —; *Anth. Lat. no. 17, 273 (1, p. 72 Riese)* — amanti A; est om. A —.

371-372. iam iam . . . aequis: *Macrob. Sat. 6, 1, 59*. 371. anteferam: *Gl. Aa, 177, 1025; q.v.*

sarcasm (376-380), after which she again addresses him directly, in violent tones.

369. *lumina flexit*: cf. 6, 788: *huc geminas nunc flecte acies*; *Ov. M. 8, 696: flexere oculos*; 8, 864-865: *in nullam lumina partem / . . . flexi*; *Tac. Hist. 2, 70: at non Vitellius flexit oculos*; *Sen. Ad Marc. de Consol. 15, 3: flecte populo Romano non flexit vultum*; *Avien. 2, 539: flectaris lumina*; *Claud. In Rufin. 1, 359: huc lumina flecte*; *Sidon. Carm. 7, 509: quid lumina flectis?* Donatus remarks: *haec tria sunt quibus facili homines ostendant quid geratur interius, si miseratione moveantur; aut enim gemunt aut lacrimas fundunt aut oculos flectunt.*

370. *lacrimas . . . dedit*: cf. 9, 292-293: *dedere / . . . lacrimas*; *Ov. Her. 3, 15; Rem. Am. 129; M. 2, 341; 11, 720: lacrimam daret*; *Sen. Agam. 521-522*; the phrase is the opposite of *lacrimas tenere* (e.g., *Cic. 2 Verr. 5, 172*). Aeneas has shown nothing to match Dido's tears in 4, 314.

370. *victus*: Mackail (*ad loc.*) compares 4, 434: *me victam*. There, however, the victory over Dido is to be won by her being crushed by external circumstances, while here she desires Aeneas to be overcome by his own emotions responding to her entreaties to him (cf. 2, 699).

371. *quae*, etc.: cf. *Paul. Nol. Carm. 21, 357: quae quibus anteferam*; *Ennod. Opusc. 2 (C. S. E. L. 6, 292): quae quibus anteferam*; *Vida, Poet. 2, 480-481: anceps / quae quibus anteferat*. *Serv.: amphibolia: quid prius, quid posterius dicam?* — an expression of absolute despair. Cf. also *Od. 9, 14: τί πρῶτόν τοι ἐπειτα, τί δ' ὑστάτιον καταλέξω*; *Eur. El.*

907-908: *τὴν ἀρχὴν πρῶτά σ' ἐξείπω κακῶν, / πόλιν τελευτάς; τίνα μέσον τάξω λόγον*; *I. A. 1124-1126*; *Theocr. 2, 64-65: νῦν δὴ μῶνα εἶσα πόθεν τὸν ἔρωτα δακρύσω; / ἐκ τίνος ἀρξέμεαι*; *Apoll. Rh. 3, 1011: οὐδ' ἔχεν ὅττι πάροιθεν ἔπος προτιμῆσαιτο*; *Ter. Eun. 1044: quid commemorem primum aut laudem maxime*; *Sen. Tr. 1058: quid prius referens gemam*; *Val. Fl. 7, 433-435: nec quibus incipiat demens videt, ordine nec quo, / quovae tenuis, prima cupiens effundere voce / omnia*; *Claud. VI Cons. Honor. 280-281: quae prima miser, quae funera dictis / posteriora querar*; *Tasso, Ger. lib. 16, 57, 1: Quali cose tralascio, e quai ridico?* Henry (*Aeneidea, 2 (1878), 714-717*), in a long discussion of previous interpretations of this phrase, suggests that it is based on *Eur. Med. 475: ἐκ τῶν δὲ πρῶτων πρῶτον ἀρξομαι λέγειν*, said by Medea before beginning the recital of the benefits she had conferred upon the faithless Jason, as here Dido goes on to relate (373-375) her services to Aeneas. Conington (*ad loc.*) compares 4, 284: *quae prima exordia sumat?* Cf. also Anna at 4, 677: *quid primum deserta querar?* I should explain both *quae* and *quibus* as interrogative = "what shall I say first (among all the things that might be said)?" Some editors, however, regard *quae* as a relative: "to what things can I prefer these (as being less intolerable)?" The explanation of Palmer (in *Hermathena, 6 (1888), 303-304*) and Sabbadini (*ad loc.*): = *quae (haec) ad quos deferam?* assumes a meaning for *anteferre* not elsewhere paralleled.

371. *iam iam*, etc.: an emphatic repetition; cf. 2, 701; 12, 676; 12, 875; and for

## 372. nec Saturnius haec oculis pater aspicit aequis.

nes *M* (nec *M*<sup>1</sup>), (ne)c *P*.

[371] 372. nec . . . aequis: *Schol. Dan. Aen. 1, 23; Comm. Cruq. in Hor. C. S. 65.* 372. Saturnius pater: *Gl. Ansil. 509, 576.* 372. Saturnius: *Serv. Aen. 4, 440.* 372. haec aspicit: *Gl. Ansil. 275, 27.* 372. oculis aequis: *Gl. Ansil. 407, 135 (cf. 36, 221); Gl. Abstr. 7, 33).*

the thought *Soph. Ant. 922-924: τὴν χρῆμιν τὴν δύστηνον ἐς θεοὺς ἔτι / βλέπειν; τὴν ἀδδᾶν ξυμμάχων; ἔπει γε δὴ / τὴν δυσσέβειαν εὐσεβοῦσ' ἐκτρεῖν;* *Acc. Sc. 142-143: iam iam neque di regunt / neque profecto deum supremus rex (iam) curat hominibus* (which *Macrob. Sat. 6, 1, 59* compares with this line).

371. *maxima Iuno*: *Serv.: aut in Iunonem male dictum est, ut eam non esse maximam dicat, sicut etiam in Iovem; nam convicium est quod eum Saturnium dicit, hoc est, nocentem; aut certe iungitur, ut 'nec Iuno aspicit nec Iuppiter'; Schol. Dan.: aut certe 'maxima Iuno' quae solet amare Carthaginem; vel quae nuptias dedit, quod oplaverat Dido.* The phrase is certainly parallel to *Saturnius . . . pater*, with which it is joined by the correlative use of *nec*, and as such is a subject of *aspicit* rather than of *est* understood. *Carcopino (Virgile et les Origines d'Ostie (1919), 700-702)* attempts to show that *maxima Iuno* here (though not in 8, 84; 10, 685, and *Ov. M. 3, 263*; cf. *Carter, Epitheta Deorum (1902), 49*) is the Punic Tanit, and has no connection with the Italian Iuno, while *Saturnius . . . pater* is no other than Baal, who in the Punic-Latin syncretism of the African provinces becomes *Saturnus augustus*. But that Virgil archaeologizes to this extent for the antiquities of a country outside the Graeco-Latin tradition it is hard to prove or disprove. *Donatus* says: *apparet cur primam Iunonem posuit, vel quod apud Carthaginem praecipue coleretur vel quod iam ex aliis esset inimica Troianis.*

372. *Saturnius*: *Schol. Dan.: ut supra (4, 92) dictum est, ubicumque infestos vult ostendere vel Iunonem vel Iovem, Saturnios appellat* (citing 1, 23 and 12, 830) . . . *et Iovem ideo Saturnium modo appellat quia Aeneam a Carthagine praecipit abscedere.*

Cf. *Cic. De Div. 2, 64* (translating *Il. 2, 319*): *genitor Saturnius; Ov. M. 1, 163: pater . . . Saturnius; Il. Lat. 223: pater . . . Saturnius.*

372. *oculis . . . aequis*: cf. 9, 209: *Iuppiter aut quicumque oculis haec aspicit aequis; Ov. M. 13, 70: aspiciunt oculis superi mortalia iustis; Curt. 8, 2, 9: aequis oculis videre; Sen. De Tranq. 9, 2: paupertatem aequis oculis aspicere; De Ira, 3, 37, 5: non aequis quendam oculis vidisti; Val. Fl. 1, 795: terras oculis quae prospicis aequis; 4, 1-2: atque ea non oculis divum pater amplius aequis / sustinuit; Sil. 6, 105-106: adverte procellis / aequos Iliacis oculis; Stat. Theb. 10, 884-885: pater aequus utrisque / aspicit ingentes ardentum comminus iras; Suet. Aug. 16: ne rectis quidem oculis . . . aspicere; Hier. Ep. 54, 15, 3: nec aequis aspicere oculis; 66, 1, 2; Contr. Ioan. Hierosol. 4: obliquis oculis despicias; so also *aequis auribus* (e.g., *Cic. Ad Fam. 7, 33, 2; Curt. 8, 5, 20; Amm. Marc. 14, 10, 3*), and the use of *aequus* as applied to divinities; e.g., 1, 479: *non aequae Palladis*; 6, 129-130: *quos aequus amavit / Iuppiter* (echoed in *Plin. Ep. 1, 2, 2; Sidon. Ep. 4, 3, 10*); *Hor. C. S. 65: si Palatinas videt aequus aras* (sc. *Phoebus*); also *Ezech. 18, 25: "Yet ye say 'the way of the Lord is not equal'."* For *iniquus* = *inimicus* cf. *Lucil. 259* and parallels cited by Marx.*

372. *aspicit*: cf. 4, 208, n. (*aspicis haec*), above. *Stephenson (ad loc.)* finds three possible explanations: (1) they no longer look impartially upon actions in this world; (2) they no longer look favorably upon Carthage, i.e., they have deserted its cause; (3) they cannot look favorably on such conduct as that of Aeneas. He decides for the third meaning (cf. *Kvřćala, Neue Beitr. z. Erkl. d. Aeneis (1831), 106-108*); I should prefer the first or the second.

373. nusquam tuta fides. eiectum litore, egentem  
excepi et regni demens in parte locavi,

(n)usquam P. electum γ.  
(ex)cepi P.

373-374. eiectum . . . locavi: *Sen. De Benef.* 7, 25, 2; *Prisc. Inst.* 18, 306 (G. L. K. 3, 377) — li. tore D; eiectum (pro egentem) N; suscepi (suscipiet L); iocavi V —. 373-374. eiectum . . . excepi: *Prisc. Inst.* 18, 208 (G. L. K. 3, 309) — littore (O); suscepi —; 18, 217 (G. L. K. 3, 315) — suscepi (suscepi egentem N) —. 373. nusquam . . . fides: *Sen. N. Q.* 4a, praef., 19; *Donat. in Ter. Andr.* 425; in *Ter. Ad.* 330; *Anth. Lat.* no. 11, 159 (1, p. 47 Riese); no. 17, 19 (1, p. 62 Riese); *Isid. Etym.* 2, 21, 15; *Gilo*, 3, 450 (*Patr. Lat.* 155, 968); *Petrus Venerab. Ep.* 2, 34 (*Patr. Lat.* 189, 256); *Dreves, Analecta hymnica*, 21 (1895), 124, no. 179, 2, 4. 373. eiectum . . . egentem: *Sen. De Benef.* 7, 25, 2; *Serv. Aen.* 1, 578.

[373\*] 374. regni in parte: *Gl. Ansil.* 490, 775.

373. nusquam, etc.: cf. *Eur. Med.* 412-413: ἀνδράσι μὲν δόλαι βουλαί, θεῶν δ' / οὐκ ἐτι πιστὸς ἄραρε; 492: ὅρκων δὲ φροῦδῃ πιστὸς; *Ter. Andr.* 425: nullane in re esse quoquam homini fidem; *Heaut.* 256 (cited by Donatus): O Iuppiter, ubinamst fides; *Adelph.* 330 (cited by Servius): quid iam credas? aut quoi credas; *Catull.* 30, 6: eheu, quid faciant, dic, homines, cuiue habeant fidem; 64, 143-144: nunc iam nulla viro iuranti femina credat, / nulla viri speret sermones esse fideles (cf. *Ov. F.* 3, 475: nunc quoque 'nulla viro' clamabo 'femina credat'); *Val. Fl.* 8, 430: nulla fides; *Ambros. Ep.* 18, 33: si fides tuta sit; *Paul. Petric. De Vita Mart.* 4, 591: sic nuptis est tuta fides; *Prud. Cathem.* 4, 46: o semper pietas fidesque tuta; *Gilo Parisiensis, Hist. Hierosol.* 3, 450 (*Patr. Lat.* 155, 968): nusquam tuta fides posthac; *Anon. in Mon. Germ. hist., Epist.* 6, 183: nusquam tuta fides; *Ermoldus, In Hon. Hludowici*, 3, 401 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 2, 521); *Walahfridus Strabo, Vita S. Galli*, 1801 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 2, 473): ut me tuta fides confirmet; *Werner, Lat. Sprichwörter u. Sinnsprüche des Mittelalters* (1912), 63, no. 291: numquam certa fides, idcirco fallimur omnes; *Shakesp. II Hen. VI*, Act 5, Sc. 1: "O, where is faith, O, where is loyalty?" Cf. also *Pichon, De Sermone amatorio* (1902), 147-148.

373. eiectum litore: cf. *Ov. H.* 7, 89-90: fluctibus eiectum tuta statione recepti / vixque bene audito nomine regna dedi. A locative ablative; cf. 3, 135: subductae litore puppes;

*Kern, Zum Gebrauch d. Abl. bei Vergil* (1881), 21, who compares the use with the preposition in *Ov. M.* 13, 536: eiectum Polydori in litore corpus (to which add: *Ter. Andr.* 923-924: Atticus quidam olim navi fracta ad Andrum eiectus est / . . . tum ille egens, etc.; *Caes. B. G.* 5, 10, 2: naves in litore eiectas; *Catull.* 68, 3: eiectum . . . undis). Servius would punctuate: eiectum (i.e., naufragum, ἐκπεσών, as Donatus also understands the word), litore egentem, explaining: id est, 'egentem litoris', ut (1, 540) 'hospitio prohibemur harenarum', though the Scholia Danielis recognize the correct view: vel si iungas 'eiectum litore' pro 'in litus', ut (1, 6) 'inferretque deos Latio' pro 'in Latium.' I cannot follow Henry in his lengthy attempt to prove (*Aeneidea*, 2 (1878), 719-722) that eiectum here means, not one cast away by the sea but an outcast from his own realm, despite his citation of 1, 578 and 8, 646. On litore Donatus remarks: et per hoc sine tecti subsidio.

With Dido's recital of her services to Aeneas (lines 373-375) cf. 4, 317, n. (si, etc.). Her complaint of the ingratitude of Aeneas parallels that by Iarbas against Dido herself (4, 211-214), who, like Aeneas, was an outcast without a city of her own, to whom he had granted a foothold on the coast (litus arandum), and who had, in turn, declined his advances; cf. *Hahn in Trans. Am. philol. Assoc.* 56 (1926), 186, n. 9.

373. egentem: cf. 1, 384: ipse ignotus, egens; 1, 599; *Sen. Med.* 20; and, for the contrast between the need of Aeneas and the

375. amissam classem, socios a morte reduxi.  
heu, furiis incensa feror! nunc augur Apollo,

(a)missam P, ammissam γα.

(h)eu P, eu γ. auctor Apollo m.

375. amissam . . . reduxi: *Prisc. Inst.* 2, 6 (G. L. K. 2, 47) — eiectam (*pro* amissam; cf. 4, 373), lectam GL; classem GL, classam H; socios (*corr. ex* socius) B, sociosque G; reduxit LK — 375. reduxi: *Gl. Ansil.* 489, 481; q.v.

376–377. nunc . . . sortes: *Donat. in Ter. Eun.* 70 — n. a. a. T; licie T, litie C; sortes om. TC, s. V — 376. heu . . . feror: *Anth. Lat. no.* 17, 153 (1, p. 67 Riese) — ingensa A —

wealth of Dido, 4, 75, n. (*opes*), above. Editors observe that the three cases of asyndeton (*eiectam egentem, classem socios*, and *excepi reduxi*) denote excited feeling.

374. *excepi*: cf. 3, 317–318: *quis te casus deiectam coniuge tanto / excipit*; Ov. F. 5, 391: *excipit hospitio iunctum Philyreius heros*; and the thought in Od. 5, 130: τὸν μὲν ἐγὼν ἐσάωσα, κτλ. The verb is sometimes used in a bad sense, as in 6, 173.

374. *regni*: cf. 4, 214: *dominum Aenean in regna recepit*; 4, 597: *cum sceptrā dabas*; Ov. H. 7, 12: *sceptro tradita summa tuo*; 7, 90: *regna dedi*; also the offer of the royal power of Thoas to Jason by Hypsipyle (Apoll. Rh. 1, 827–829; 1, 890–892).

374. *demens*: Henry (*Aeneidea*, 2 (1878), 722) compares Eur. *Med.* 485: πρόθυμος μᾶλλον ἢ σοφώτερα.

374. *in parte locavi*: cf. Lucr. 3, 98: *in parte locatum*; Aen. 12, 145: *caelique libens in parte locarim*; Juvenc. 4, 263: *libens in parte locabit*. The Scholia Danielis attempt to connect the term *locare* with a technical one applied to the bride in a Roman marriage by *confarreatio*.

375. *classem*: Serv.: *subaudis 'renovavi'*; i.e., *reduxi* is used in zeugma. Donatus explains a little differently: '*a morte*' igitur ad solos homines pertinet, '*reduxi*' vero et ad homines et ad navis. Cf. 1, 551–552: *quasatam ventis liceat subducere classem / et silvis aptare trabes et stringere remos*; 4, 53. On the asyndeton cf. 4, 373, n. (*egentem*); During, *De Vergilii Sermone epico* (1905), 62; and with the two clauses Pind. *Ol.* 13, 54: ναὶ σῶταιραν Ἀργοῖ καὶ προπύλοις; Aesch. *Agam.* 659–660: ὀρώμεν ἀνθοῖν πέλαγος Αἰγαῖον νεκροῖς / ἀνδρῶν Ἀχαιῶν ναυτικοῖς τ' ἐρείπιοις.

For Dido's services to the fleet cf. her promise in 1, 571: *auxilio tulos dimittam opibusque iuvabo*. Ov. H. 2, 45–46 offers a partial parallel: *at laceras etiam puppes furiosa refeci, / ut qua desereret firma carina foret*.

375. *a morte*: Mackail (*ad loc.*) notes the alliteration between *amissos* and *a morte*, lending balance to the two parts of the verse.

376. *furiis incensa*: cf. 9, 342–343: *incensus et ipse / perfurit*; 12, 946: *furiis accensus*; Hor. S. 2, 3, 135: *malis dementem actum furiis*; Prud. *Contr. Symm.* 2, 864: *incensus furiis caeca ad responsa vocatur*; also Aen. 4, 300–301: *totamque incensa per urbem / bacchatur*.

376. *feror*: of one borne on by powers over which he has no control; e.g., G. 4, 497; Aen. 2, 337; 2, 655; 3, 11; 4, 110 (and n.); 10, 631; 10, 670; Ov. H. 4, 47; Ep. 15, 140; Sen. *Med.* 123; Luc. 1, 678; 1, 683; etc.; also Serv.: *quia multa erat in deos locutura. et bona praemittitur excusatio, nam numina non credere curare mortalia et ab his non sperare furoris est. subiungit enim* (4, 382) '*si quid pia numina possunt*'.

376. *nunc*: the threefold anaphora represents the three forms of divine command, Apollo (4, 345), the *Lyciae sortes* (4, 346), and Mercury sent by Jupiter (4, 356), which are ordering Aeneas away from Carthage; cf. Henry, *Aeneidea*, 2 (1878), 722–723. Donat.: *si ista vera sunt, cur non extiterunt ante beneficia mea?* The repetition also suggests, but in an ironical way, that of *nunc* in the speech of Aeneas (4, 345; 4, 356); cf. Hahn in *Cl. Weekly*, 27 (1934), 161, n. 91.

376. *augur Apollo*: the phrase occurs in Hor. C. 1, 2, 32; Val. Fl. 1, 234; cf. *Carm. Saec.* 61–62: *augur . . . / Phoebus*; Stat.



377. nunc Lyciae sortes, nunc et Iove missus ab ipso  
 interpretes divom fert horrida iussa per auras.  
 scilicet is superis labor est, ea cura quietos

et om. πρ.

diuom P<sup>1</sup>, diuom MP<sup>2</sup>prabc. dicta per M (cf. 4, 226; 4, 380).

his γ.

[376\*] 377-378. nunc . . . auras: [Iul. Rufin.] *De Schem. Dian.* 6, p. 61 Halm — diuom —. 377. nunc . . . ipso: *Serv. Aen.* 11, 403. 377. nunc . . . sortes: *Serv. Aen.* 6, 12; 12, 516; *Mythogr. Vat.* III, 8, 1.

[377\*] 378. interpretes divom: *Anth. Lat. no.* 719a, 127 (2, p. 193 Riese) — interpraes monitum P —. 378. horrida: cf. *Gl. Ansil.* 283, 109-110; 416, 206-207.

379-380. scilicet . . . sollicitat: *Sen. Rhet. Suas.* 4, 4 — silicet ST —; 4, 5 — silicet ST; quitos C —; [Acro] in *Hor. C.* 1, 34, 2 — his a, id ArjV —; *Hier. Comm. in Ezech.* 3 (*Patr. Lat.* 25, 91); *Schol. Dan. Aen.* 4, 314 — his F, dis T —; *Lact. Plac. in Stat. Theb.* 3, 350; *Mythogr. Vat.* III, 9, 9; *Hrabanus Maurus, Comm. in Ezech.* 5 (*Patr. Lat.* 110, 633). 379-380. ea . . . sollicitat: [Acro] in *Hor. C.* 3, 3, 35; *Serm.* 2, 6, 65. 379. scilicet . . . est: *Quintil. Inst.* 9, 2, 50; *Iul. Rufin. De Figur.* 1, p. 38 Halm; [Prob.] *De ult. Syll.* 10 (G. L. K. 4, 252) — his B —; *Donat. in Ter. Andr.* 185 — silicet C; his TC; superis l. e. (superis labor est TCV) —. 379. scilicet is superis: *Sacerd. Art. gram.* 1 (G. L. K. 6, 446). 379. quietos: *Gl. Ansil.* 480, 106; q.v.

*Theb.* 1, 495. De la Ville de Mirmont (*Apollo-nios de Rhodes et Virgile* (1894), 345) connects (improbably) *augur* with *augere*; cf. 8, 336: *auctor Apollo*. With this speech cf. *Ov. H.* 7, 139, where Dido quotes Aeneas's excuse 'sed iubet ire deus.' The predicate must be supplied by zeugma from *fert horrida iussa per auras*; perhaps *Italiam sequi iusserunt* is the thought intended.

377. Lyciae sortes: cf. 4, 346.

377. missus ab ipso: cf. 4, 356; 4, 574: *deus aethere missus ab alto*.

378. interpretes divom: cf. 3, 359: *Troiu-gena interpres divom*; 10, 175: *hominum divomque interpres*.

378. fert horrida iussa: cf. *Val. Fl.* 3, 47: *Pan iussa ferens saevissima matris*. With *horrida* cf. 11, 96-97: *eadem horrida belli / fata vocant*. The Scholia Danielis say: *et hoc per inrisionem, quasi plena venerationis, vel quae tu timeas*.

378. per auras: cf. 4, 226, n. (*celeris . . . auras*); 4, 270.

379. scilicet: initial in the line in all but one of its fifteen Virgilian instances; cf. Vessereau on *Aetna*, 102. Though often used in prose in a sarcastic sense, as here, this use is infrequent in verse; yet cf. 2, 577; 11, 371;

*Ter. Andr.* 185; *Hor. C.* 3, 5, 25; *Sil.* 2, 312; 5, 114; Helin in *Rev. des Études lat.* 5 (1927), 66.

379. superis: often applied to the gods; cf. Braumüller, *Über Tropen u. Figuren in Vergils Aeneis*, 2 (1882), 11. The attempt of some ancient scholars (ap. *Schol. Dan.*) to refer *superis* to Mercury, Apollo, and Jupiter, and *quietos* to the dead (cf. 4, 351) is fanciful. With the phrase cf. *Luc.* 6, 492: *quis labor hic superis*.

379. ea cura, etc.: *Serv.*: *Cicero in libris de deorum natura* (1, 63) *triplicem de diis dicit esse opinionem: deos non esse, cuius rei auctor apud Athenas exustus est; esse et nihil curare, ut Epicurei; esse et curare, ut Stoici; secundum quos paulo post* (4, 382) *'si quid pia numina possunt'*; *nam modo secundum Epicureos ait 'ea cura quietos.'* With Dido's allusion to divine ἀταραξία cf. the first of the κῆρται δόξαι of Epicurus (*Diog. L.* 10, 139 = Usener, *Epicurea* (1887), 71; Bailey, *Epicurus* (1926), 94): τὸ μακάριον καὶ ἀφάρπτον οὐτε αὐτὸ πράγματα ἔχει οὐτε ἄλλω παρέχει (translated by Cic. *N. D.* 1, 45, where see the notes of Mayor and of Plasberg). For other passages cf. Usener, *op. cit.*, 241-244; Pease on Cic. *De Div.* 2, 40; 2, 104; Bignone,

380. sollicitat. neque te teneo neque dicta refello:  
i, sequere Italiam ventis, pete regna per undas.

ii *M.* peto γ<sup>1</sup>.

[379] 380-381. neque te . . . undas: Albericus Casin. *Flores rhet.* (cf. Willard in *Anniv. Essays* . . . by Students of C. H. Haskins (1929), 363). 380. neque teneo: *Gl. Ansil.* 389, 357.

[380] 381. i . . . undas: Donat. in *Ter. Ad.* 134; *Lact. Plac. in Stat. Theb.* 1, 659 — insequere *Pb*, id est sequere *L* —; *Isid. Etym.* 2, 21, 18. 381. i . . . ventis: *Quintil. Inst.* 9, 2, 48; [*Serg.*] *Expl. in Donat.* 1 (G. L. K. 4, 100; 4, 520); *Pomp. Comm.* (G. L. K. 5, 100) — uentos *A* —; *Serv. Aen.* 7, 426 — insequere *F* —. 381. i . . . Italiam: *Lact. Plac. in Stat. Theb.* 2, 340 — i om. *MPa*, id est *Pb* —. 381. i . . . undas: *Iul. Rufin. De Figur.* 27, p. 45 *Halm.* 381. sequere Italiam: *Gl. Ansil.* 519, 488. 381. pete regna: *Gl. Ansil.* 441, 1279.

*Epicuro* (1920), 55; Bailey, *op. cit.*, 347; to which add: *Lucr.* 2, 646-651; 5, 82; 6, 58-78 (in 6, 73 he calls the gods *placida cum pace quietos*); *Cic. Off.* 3, 102; *Virg. Ecl.* 8, 35: *nec curare deum credis mortalia quemquam*; *Hor. S. I.* 5, 101; *C.* 3, 3, 35-36: *adscribi quietis / ordinibus patiar deorum*; *Juv.* 6, 394-395; *Plut. Quaest. conv.* 3, 6, 4; *Galen. Hist. Philos.* 16 (*Doxogr. Gr.* 609); *Iren. Cont. Haeres.* 3, 24, 2; *Sallustius, De Diis*, 9; *Serv. Aen.* 1, 11: *Epicurei dicunt deos humana penitus non curare*; 1, 227; *Mart. Cap.* 2, 150; *Reinach in Rev. des Ét. gr.* 29 (1916), 238-244.

This passage — anachronistic in attributing Epicurean doctrines to a lady of the heroic age (unless *Il.* 24, 525-526, which *Buscaroli (ad loc.)* cites, be held sufficient justification); cf. *Pease in Cl. Journ.* 22 (1927), 246-248 — is inadequate, as *Carcopino* well observes (*Virgile et les Origines d'Ostie* (1919), 756), to prove that Virgil still continued an Epicurean (cf. *Pease in Cl. Weekly*, 15 (1921), 2-5), and in 4, 382 and 4, 607-612 *Dido* is herself inconsistent with her attitude here, as *Servius* notes.

With the phraseology cf. 11, 253-254: *quae vos fortuna quietos / sollicitat*; *Dracont. Romul.* 2, 79-80: *quae causa quietas / sollicitet*; *Ioannes Scottus, Carm.* 2, 4, 15-16 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 3, 533): *iustissima cura / illam sollicitat*; *Joseph of Exeter (Iscanus), Bell. Tr.* 3, 133-135: *haec scilicet angil / cura deos, aevi tacitos vexare recessus, / et rerum librare vices*. The adjective *quietos* is perhaps suggested by *Od.* 5, 122: *θεοὶ βῆτα ῥῶοιρες*;

others suggest *Eur. Tr.* 985: *μένουσ' ἂν ἥσυχος σ' ἐν ὄβριον*.

380. sollicitat: in its three other Virgilian cases (*G.* 3, 131; *Aen.* 11, 254; 12, 404) used, as here, as a 'run-over' word.

380. te teneo: cf. *Il.* 1, 173-174: *φῶγε μάλ', ἐλ τοι θυμὸς ἐπέσσυται· οὐδὲ σ' ἐγὼ γε / λίσσομαι εἶναι ἐμείο μένιν*; *Ov. H.* 7, 174: *nec te, si cupies, ipsa manere sinam*; *Racine, Androm.* Act 4, Sc. 5: *Je ne te retiens plus*. With the alliteration cf. 4, 47, n. (*surgere regna*). On the whole passage see the laudatory appreciation by *Charles James Fox* quoted by *Henry, Aeneidea*, 2 (1878), 712.

380. dicta refello: Donat.: *et nunc seu verae sunt adsertiones tuae seu falsae, nec teneo te nec ea quae dicis obiectu cuiuspiam disputationis expugno*.

381. i, sequere Italiam: *Serv.*: *satis artificiosa prohibitio, quae fit per concessionem; quae tamen ne non intellecta sit persuasio permiscenda sunt aliqua quae velent latenter, ut 'ventis', 'per undas.'* *Quintil.* 9, 2, 48, quoting the line, remarks: *ειρωφεία est . . . cum similes imperantibus vel permittentibus sumus*, etc. Note also the rhetorical figure of *permissio* described by *Auct. ad Herenn.* 4, 39; cf. *Roscher in Philologus*, 60 (1901), 85, n. 4; *Schmid in Phil. Woch.* 48 (1928), 617. Parallels, often in the form of *i nunc* followed by an imperative, are: 7, 425-426; 9, 634: *i, verbis virtutem inlude superbis*; *Hor. Ep.* 1, 6, 17; 2, 2, 76; *Liv.* 1, 26, 11; *Sen. Rhet. Suas.* 6, 2; *Curt.* 8, 1, 52; *Petron.* 115, 14; *Sen. H. F.* 89 (= *Med.* 1007); *Tr.* 1165; *Med.* 197 (and *Canter, Rhet. Elements in the*

## 382. spero equidem mediis, si quid pia numina possunt,

sperere (*corr. in spero*) *p.* poscunt *M* (possunt *M*<sup>1</sup>).

382-383. spero . . . scopulis: *Anth. Lat. no. 17, 244-245* (1, p. 70 *Riese*) — quidem *A*; suplicia ausurum *A* — 382-383. mediis . . . scopulis: *Non. p. 398 M.* (p. 640 *L.*) — medii siq. (*corr. B*); ausurum *L* — 382. si . . . possunt: *Serv. Aen. 4, 376*; 4, 379; *Auson. Cento nupt. 77, p. 213 Peiper* — quid mea carmina *λ* (*cf. 9, 446*); *Mythogr. Val. III, 9, 9.*

*Trag. of Seneca* (1925), 137; 148); *De Benef.* 4, 38, 2; 6, 35, 5; *N. Q. 1, 16, 3*; *Pers. 4, 19*; *Mart. Epig. 23, 6*; *Juv. 6, 306*; 10, 166; 10, 310; 12, 57; *Stat. Theb. 9, 784*; *Plin. Ep. 4, 27, 4*; *S. Zeno, 1, 9, 3* (*Patr. Lat. 11, 329*); *Sidon. Ep. 1, 3, 1*; *Carm. 2, 288*; 7, 486; *C. I. L. IV, 5296, 3*; VI, 9604; *Vida, Christias, 5, 924*; *Tasso, Ger. lib. 16, 58, 1*: *vattene pur, crudel*; *Racine, Iphig. 1397: fuyez donc, retournez dans votre Thessalie*. Cf. also 4, 361, above, to which Dido probably here refers; 5, 629; *Il. 1, 173: φεύγε μάλ', εἰ τοι θυμὸς ἐπέσσεται, κτλ.*; *Ov. H. 7, 10: Itala regna sequi*; *Manil. 5, 42-43: ventisque sequetur / fortunam*.

381. ventis: with the ablative cf. 5, 2: *fluctusque altros aquilone secabat*. *Schol. Dan.: sane multi 'Italiam' distinguunt, ut sequatur 'ventis pete regna per undas'*; but in view of *Quintilian's* citation (9, 2, 48) and other considerations *ventis* seems better phrased with the preceding clause (despite the arguments of *Henry, Aeneidea, 2* (1878), 724-725, and other editors to the contrary, and 2, 25: *vento petiisse Mycenae*). We then have two symmetrical clauses, each containing an imperative (*sequere, pete*), an object (*Italiam, regna*), and a modifier (*ventis, per undas*), nor does the addition of *ventis* to the former clause in any way prevent it from sarcastically echoing the *Italiam non sponte sequor* of 4, 361, as the latter clause suggests the *quaerere regna* of 4, 350; cf. *Kvíčala, Neue Beitr. z. Erkl. d. Aeneis* (1881), 108-110. In 3, 253-254 there is similar doubt whether *ventisque vocatis* is to be construed with what precedes or with what follows.

381. pete regna: cf. 12, 190: *nec mihi regna peto*.

381. per undas: a frequent verse-ending; e.g., 1, 119; 5, 595; 5, 796; 6, 370; 7, 299; *Cul. 215*; etc.

382. spero: Dido's sentiments toward Aeneas pass from hopes (*spero*) to predictions (4, 384-387) and later (4, 607-621) to imprecations upon him and even (4, 622-629) upon his race; cf. *Gross, Krit. u. exeg. z. Vergils Aeneis* (1883), 20-21. In *Ov. H. 7, 61-63*, she starts more mildly: *perdita ne perdam, timeo, noceamve nocenti, / neu bibat aequoreas naufragus hostis aquas. / vive, precor. sic te melius quam funere perdam*, etc.

382. mediis . . . scopulis: *Serv.: aut manifestis, ut* (6, 111) '*medioque ex hoste recepi*'; *aut illa saxa dixit quae sunt inter Africam et Sardiniam Siciliamque*.

382. si quid . . . possunt: cf. 9, 446: *si quid mea carmina possunt*.

382. pia numina: cf. 2, 536-537: *di, si qua est caelo pietas, quae talia curet, / persolvant grates dignas*; and with the phrase *Ov. Ars am. 3, 347: o ita, Phoebe, velis ita vos, pia numina vatum*; *Auson. Ep. 19, 37* (p. 256 *Peiper*): *faveant pia numina divum*. On the meanings of *pius* cf. 4, 393, n. (*pius*); and for the meaning of *numina* in *Virgil Dietsch, Theologumenon Vergilian. Particula* (1853), 3-4. The clause echoes, as *Buscaroli (ad loc.)* notes, the expression of scepticism in 4, 371-372. One signification of *pietas* is the devotion of men to the gods, comparable to that of children to their parents, and as the latter relation may be reciprocal, so the gods are sometimes considered as *pii* toward men who show *pietas* toward them. *Virgilian* instances of this divine 'piety' are cited by *Hahn in Cl. Weekly, 19* (1925), 34: 2, 536-537 (as quoted above); 5, 688-689: *si quid pietas* (sc. *Iovis*) *antiqua labores / respicit humanos*; 5, 783: *Iunonem pietas nec mitigat ulla* (if this *pietas*, as some editors hold, is on the part of Juno herself); 12, 839: *supra homines, supra ire deos pietate videbis*; cf. also 1, 603: *si qua pios respectant numina*

## 383. supplicia hausurum scopulis et nomine Dido

scopulis a<sup>1</sup>.

[382\*] 383-384. et . . . vocaturum: *Charis. Inst. gram.* 1 (G. L. K. 1, 63; 1, 117); *Cledon. Ars* (G. L. K. 5, 35). 383. supplicia hausurum: *Gl. Ansil.* 548, 878 — ausurum —. 383. hausurum: *Gl. Ansil.* 275, 147; q.v.

(words which Dido may be here, rather bitterly, recalling); 6, 529-530; Page in *Cl. Rev.* 7 (1893), 417. Aeneas, with his reputation for *pietas*, might be supposed to be particularly under the care of the gods (as Horace says of himself in *C.* 1, 17, 13-14: *di me tuentur, dis pietas mea / et musa cordi est*), but in his ostensible devotion to one set of duties (cf. 4, 597-599), thinks Dido, he has been recreant in his duty toward her. As, then, Althaea is described by Ovid (*M.* 8, 477) as *impietate pia*, so Aeneas is commended by Dido to the attention of whatever gods there be who punish disloyalty; cf. *C. I. L.* X, 8249 (a *defixio* from Minturnae): *dii i(n)feri, vobis com(m)e(n)do si quicqua(m) sa(n)ctitates (= sanctitatis) h(a)betes (= habetis) ac tandro (= trado) Ticene (= Tychemem) Carisi.*

In this phrase *numina* may = *di* (cf. Dietsch, l. c.; Fabricius, *De Iove et Fato in P. Vergili Maronis Aen.* (1896), 7); though Löfstedt (*Synactica*, 1 (1928), 48-49, n. 2) observes that *numina* is a plural construction, found in verse first in Virgil (and in prose in Livy), and sometimes equivalent in meaning to the singular, *numen*; cf. 4, 204, n. (*numina divom*).

383. *supplicia hausurum*: cf. 4, 14, n. (*exhausta*); for the plural cf. Spitta, *Quaest. Vergilianae* (1867), 17. The phrase is recalled by Ov. *H.* 7, 62: *neu bibat aequoreas naufragus hostis aquas*; Stat. *Achill.* 1, 667: *hausurum poenas*; and Greenough and Kirtledge (*ad loc.*) quote Cowley,  *Davideis*, 1, 16: "I drove proud Pharaoh to the parted sea; / He, and his host drank up cold death by Me." Serv.: *hausurum*: *luliturum, daturum*. It seems likely, in view of the context, that the reference is to death by drowning, though Conington would interpret *hausurum* of suffering to the full, comparing *ἀντλήειν*, *exanclare*, and Cic. *Tusc.* 1, 86:

*quot, quantas, quam incredibilis hausit calamitates*; cf. also Hor. *S.* 1, 2, 78-79: *unde laboris / plus haurire mali est*, etc. The usual future form is *hausturum*, but *hausurum* occurs in Sil. 7, 584; 16, 11.

383. Dido: Serv.: *potest et vocativus esse et accusativus*. Virgil is not free from such ambiguities; cf. Bell, *The Latin Dual* (1923), 298-299. Speijer (*Observationes et Emendationes* (1891); known to me only from Güthling in *Jahresb. f. Allert.* 76 (1893), 197-198) holds this to be a vocative, and compares several other passages, including Prop. 1, 18, 31: *resonant mihi 'Cynthia' silvae*; cf. also *Ecl.* 6, 44: *ut litus 'Hyla, Hyla' omne sonaret*. On the other hand note the thrice repeated accusative *Eurydicen* in *G.* 4, 525-527; *Creusam* in *Aen.* 2, 769-770; *Italiam* in 3, 523-524; and cf. Cic. *Phil.* 2, 30: *Ciceronem exclamavit*. For Dido's reference to herself in the third person cf. 4, 308, n. (*Dido*); and for apostrophe by those in peril using the names of persons earlier associated with them (Penquitt, *De Didonis Vergilianae Exilu* (1910), 16, n. 2) the mention of Solon by Croesus on the pyre (Hdt. 1, 86; Luc. *Charon*, 13), of Daedalus by Icarus (Ov. *M.* 8, 229-230: *oraeque caerulea patrum clamantia nomen / excipiuntur aqua*), of Alcyone by Ceyx (Ov. *M.* 11, 544-545; 11, 562-567, 566-567 reading: *dum natal absentem, quotiens sinit hiscere fluctus / nominal Alcyonen*), and the case in Prop. 2, 26, 11-12: *at tu vix primas extollens gurgite palmas / saepe meum nomen iam peritura vocas*; also the imitation of our passage by Tasso, *Ger. lib.* 16, 59, 3-4: *per nome Armida chiamerai sovente / negli ultimi singulti, udir ciò spero*. We may also compare the prayers that lovers or others may, all too late, recall those whom they have injured; e.g., Aesch. *Eum.* 558-559: *καλεῖ δ' ἀκοοντας οὐδὲν (ἐν) μέσῳ / δυσπαλεῖ τε δῖνα*; Apoll. Rh. 4, 383-384: *μνήσαιο δὲ καὶ ποτ'*

## 384. saepe vocaturum. sequar atris ignibus absens

[383] 384. sequar . . . absens: *Schol. Lucan. 7, 808 (ed. Weber)*. 384. atris ignibus: *Gl. Ansil. 71, 71*.

ἐμεῖο, / στρευνόμενος καμάτοις; *Sen. Med.* 20-23: *vival, per urbes erret ignotas, egens, / exul, pavens, invisus, incerti laris, / . . . / me coniugem optet*; Henry, *Aeneidea*, 2 (1878), 726. The view of Kowalski (*De Didone Graeca et Latina* (1929), 21) that a pun was here intended between Δειδῶ and δεῖδω seems oversubtle.

384. *sequar, etc.*: cf. *Apoll. Rh.* 3, 703-704: ἡ σοὶ γὰρ φίλοις σὺν παισὶ θανούσα / εἶην ἐξ 'Αἰδew στυγερῇ μετόπισθεν 'Ερινύς; 3, 1113-1116; 4, 385-387: ἐκ δὲ σε πάτρης / αὐτῆς 'εἰμὰ σ' ἐλάσειαν 'Ερινύες' οἷα καὶ αὐτὴ / σὴ πάθον ἀτροπῆ; *Ov. H.* 7, 69-70: *coniugis ante oculos deceptae stabili imago / tristis et effusis sanguinolenta comis*; *M.* 8, 141-142 (*Scylla to Minos*); *insequar invilum, puppimque amplexa recurvam / per freta longa trahar*; 14, 727-728: *ipse ego, ne dubites, adero, praesensque videbor, / corpore ut exanimi crudelia lumina pascas*; *Suet. Ner.* 44; *Tasso, Ger. lib.* 16, 58, 3-6: *me tosto, ignudo spirto, ombra seguace, / indivisibilmente a tergo avrai, / nova Furia, co'serpi e con la face / tanto l'agilerò, quanto l'amai*. Henry (*Aeneidea*, 2 (1878), 726-728) thinks Aeneas will call upon the name of Dido, not so that she may follow him, but because the remorseful recollection of her will ever haunt him, and he compares *Ov. H.* 7, 65-70. Yet souls who have unwillingly left the body by a violent or untimely death are especially likely to become revengeful revenants; cf. *Tylor, Prim. Culture*, 4 ed., 2 (1903), 27.

384. *atris ignibus*: 'with murky brands'; *Donat.*: *imaginaberis me absentem; quasi te facibus persequar praesens*; *Serv.*: *alii 'furiarum facibus' dicunt, hoc est, 'invocatas tibi inmittam diras'; alii sociorum, ut paulo post (4, 594) 'ferre citi flammas.' melius tamen est ut, secundum Urbanum, accipiamus 'atris ignibus' rogalibus, qui visi tempestatem significant, ut Aeneae, sicut in quinto (5, 7) legitur, contigit. hoc ergo nunc quod factura est dicit, id est, occidam me et rogalibus te persequar flammis 'absens,' quasi mortua. rogalibus autem mali ominis, quod 'atris' dixit;*

*etc.* Henry separates the two clauses connected by *et* so that *sequar* would refer to the time before Dido's death and *adero* to that after it (*Aeneidea*, 2 (1878), 729), but he then finds that *atris ignibus* can be explained neither as the flames of Dido's funeral pyre (Aeneas did not so understand them, as is shown by 5, 4-5; cf. Norden in *Hermes*, 28 (1893), 512) nor as those held by the avenging Fury which she might become after her death (cf. 4, 472: *armatam facibus matrem*; *Cic. Pro Sex. Rosc.* 67: *agitari et perterreri furiarum taedis ardentibus*; *Suet. Ner.* 34: *exagitari . . . verberibusque furiarum ac taedis ardentibus*). Accordingly he falls back upon an unsatisfactory explanation of them as "the fires of a guilty conscience." Penquitt (*De Didonis Vergilianae Exitu* (1910), 16-19) would reject the interpretations of Servius, as either not accounting properly for the words *atris* and *absens* or else implying that Dido was already thinking of a voluntary death, which does not become clear till 4, 450, and, in its manner, more definite in 4, 474 (yet cf. 4, 308, n. (*nec, etc.*)), which may be enough to justify this reference). His positive attempts to connect the words with the idea of a magical *sympathia*, as in the story of Meleager and the brand, are hardly successful; cf. Heinze, *Virgils epische Technik*, 3 ed. (1915), 135, n. o, who decides in favor of the first interpretation suggested by Servius. I think that the true explanation may be found in recognizing an intentional ambiguity or a bit of tragic irony: Aeneas is to think—and perhaps Dido at this time herself believed—that the remorseful thoughts connected with her would follow him like a fury; the reader, however, may also anticipate the murky flames of her funeral pyre; cf. 4, 661-662: *hauriat hunc oculis ignem crudelis ab alto / Dardanus et secum nostrae ferat omnia mortis*; 5, 3-7: *moenia respiciens, quae iam infelices Elissae / conlucent flammis . . . / . . . / triste per augurium Teucrorum pectora ducunt*. Norden, however (in *Hermes*, 28 (1893), 511-

385. et, cum frigida mors anima seduxerit artus,  
omnibus umbra locis adero. dabis, improbe, poenas;

con c. frigidam *M* (frigida *M*<sup>2</sup>). animam *a*.  
improbe *M*.

385. et . . . artus: [Prob.] *De ult. Syll.* 11 (G. L. K. 4, 253); *Serv. Aen.* 3, 140; *Anth. Lat. no.* 15, 148 (1, p. 55 Riese); *no.* 719a, 39 (2, p. 190 Riese) — animas eduxerit *cod.* —; *Cento Probae*, 478 — tum cum (tunc *PA*, et  $\pi$ ); pars anima *A*; animas eduxerit  $\pi$  —. 385. et . . . mors: [Acro] in *Hor. C.* 2, 8, 11. 385. frigida mors: [Acro] in *Hor. Serm.* 2, 1, 62. 385. seduxerit: *Gl. Ansil.* 515, 179; *q.v.*

386. omnibus . . . poenas: *Lact. Plac. in Stat. Theb.* 3, 75 — inprobe *Pa* —; 5, 163; *Comm. Cruq. in Hor. Epod.* 5, 89. 386. dabis . . . poenas: *Anth. Lat. no.* 11, 54 (1, p. 43 Riese) — inprobe *A* —; *no.* 17, 245 (1, p. 70 Riese). 386. dabis poenas: *Gl. Ansil.* 159, 16.

514) would hold the passage to be curable only by supposing that line 387 is a *tibicen* which Virgil would later have removed. Cf. also Smith on *Tibull.* 1, 5, 51, and Hopfner in *P.-W.* 14 (1928), 330–331, on the haunting of living miscreants by ghosts of  $\delta\omega\rho\alpha\iota$ ,  $\beta\lambda\alpha\iota\alpha\iota$ , and  $\delta\rho\alpha\phi\alpha\iota$ .

On 'black fires' cf. 4, 120, n. (*nigrantem*); 7, 456–457 (Allecto's torch): *facem iuveni coniecit et atro / lumine fumantis fixil sub pectore laedas*; 8, 198–199: *atros / ore vomens ignis*; 10, 77: *quid face Troianos atra vim ferre Latinis*; 11, 186–187: *subiectisque ignibus atris / conditur in tenebris altum caligine caelum* (cf. *Serv. ad loc.*); *Hor. C.* 4, 12, 26: *nigrorumque memor, dum licet, ignium*; *Epod.* 5, 81–82: *quam non amore sic meo flagras uti / bitumen atris ignibus*; 5, 91–96; *Ov. F.* 2, 561–562: *conde tuas, Hymenaeae, facis, et ab ignibus atris / aufer*; *Prop.* 4, 3, 13–14: *quae mihi deductae fax omen praetulit, illa / traxit ab everso lumina nigra rogo*; *Luc.* 2, 299–301: *iuvat ignibus atris / inseruisse manus constructoque aggere busti / ipsum atras tenuisse faces*; 3, 98: *ignibus atris*; *Octavia*, 118: *facibus atris armat infirmas manus*; *Stat. Theb.* 6, 81: *ignibus atris*; *Sedul. Pasch. Carm.* 3, 300–301: *ignibus atris / opprimat*; *Claud. In Rufin.* 1, 49: *quid facibus nequiquam cingimur atris*? *Ater* and *niger* are so universally associated with death (4, 454 and n. on *nigrescere*; 4, 472; 6, 429; 11, 28; *Hippocr. De Morb. sacr.* 2:  $\theta\alpha\nu\alpha\tau\alpha\delta\epsilon\varsigma \gamma\alpha\rho \tau\omicron \mu\epsilon\lambda\alpha\nu$ ; *Consol. ad Liv.* 360: *mors . . . atra*; *Prop.* 2, 11, 4; *Thes. Ling. Lat.* 2 (1906), 1021, 47–50; Penquitt, *op.*

*cit.*, 19) as to need no elucidation. Price (in *Am. Journ. of Philol.* 4 (1883), 16) would connect *niger* with IG. *nik, nak* ('slay'), and compare *nex, nox, noceo, vékus*. On *ignes* = *faces* cf. 2, 276; 9, 570; etc.

384. *absens*: cf. 4, 83; *Ov. Ex Pont.* 2, 10, 49–50: *hic es et ignoras; et ades celebrimus absens; / inque Gelas media visus ab urbe venis*; etc. For the contrast between this line and the next (*ignibus* — *frigida, adero* — *absens*) cf. Norden, *op. cit.*, 512.

385. *frigida mors*: cf. *Val. Fl.* 5, 26–27: *mors frigida contra / urguel*; also *Lucr.* 3, 401: *et gelidos artus in leti frigore linquit*; 3, 530: *gelidi vestigia leti*; 3, 930: *frigida quem semel est vilai pausa secuta*; 4, 924: *aeterno corpus perfusum frigore leti*; *Virg. G.* 4, 506: *illa quidem Stygia nabat iam frigida cumba*; 4, 525: *frigida lingua* (of the dead Orpheus); *Aen.* 11, 828; 12, 951: *illi solvontur frigore membra*; *Hor. C.* 2, 8, 11–12: *gelidaque divos / morte carentis*; *Ov. M.* 2, 611: *corpus inane animae frigus letale secutum est*; 15, 153: *gelidae formidine mortis*.

385. *anima seduxerit artus*: *Serv.*: *hypallage pro 'animam artubus seduxerit'*; cf. *Bell. The Latin Dual* (1923), 317. Kvičala (*Neue Beitr. z. Erkl. d. Aeneis* (1881), 113–114), however, would explain the phrase by supposing that the original force of *seducere* has been so weakened that it means merely 'to separate,' and compares a weakening in *prohibere* and *defendere*, with similar instances explicable by this change of meaning rather than by hypallage.

386. *omnibus*, etc.: cf. *Stat. Theb.* 3, 69–

## 387. audiam et haec manis veniet mihi fama sub imos.'

audiat me *P* (audiam et *P*<sup>1</sup>). manis *M*, manes *M*<sup>2b</sup>. imas *c*, subimus *p*.

387. audiam . . . imos: [*Prob.*] *De ult. Syll.* 7 (*G. L. K.* 4, 239) — manis; ueniat; fama s. i. —; *Cledon. Ars* (*G. L. K.* 5, 18) — manes —; *id.* (*G. L. K.* 5, 57) — manis —; *Pomp. Comm.* (*G. L. K.* 5, 225) — manes; ueniat *Ca*; famas sub *B* —. 387. audiam . . . haec: *Cento Probae*, 492 — audiant *Pa*, audite *PbV*, audire *C*, audiam hec *Ra*, annuo et hoc *Ch* —. 387. manis sub imos: *Gl. Ansil.* 357, 665 — sibi mos —.

77 (Mozley in *Cl. Weekly*, 27 (1933), 37: "Statius says all that Vergil leaves to be imagined"); *Orestis Trag.* 835: *omnibus ipsa locis adero tibi saevior umbra*; Metastasio, *Achil.* 3, 3 (Deidamia to Achille): *ombra seguace / presente ovunque sei / vedrò le mie vendette*.

386. adero: Serv.: *dicunt physici biathanatorum animas non recipi in originem suam, nisi vagantes legitimum tempus fati compleverint; quod poetae ad sepulturam transferunt, ut* (6, 329) '*centum errant annos.*' hoc ergo nunc dicit Dido: *occisura me ante diem sum; vaganti mihi dabis poenas; nam te persequar semper; si autem fuero recepta in originem poenas tuas audiam quas videre non potero*; etc. Cf. the Sophoclean threat (*Trachin.* 1201–1202 (Heracles to Hyllus)): *εἰ δὲ μή, μὲν ὦ σ' ἐγὼ / καὶ ῥέπθην ὦν ἀπαῖος εἰσαεὶ βαρὺς*; *Hor. Epod.* 5, 91–96: *quin ubi perire iussus exspiravero, / nocturnus occurram furor, / pelamque volutus umbra curvis unguibus, / quae vis deorum est manium, / et inquietis adsidens praecordiis / pavore somnos auferam*; *Ov. H.* 7, 69–70; *Ibis*, 141–142: *tunc quoque, cum fuero vacuas dilapsus in auras, / exanimis mores oderit umbra tuos*; 153–162; 195–196; *Val. Fl.* 3, 389–390; *Tasso, Ger. lib.* 16, 58, 3–6 (quoted at 4, 384, n. (*sequar, etc.*), above); and, for the notion of avenging furies, the passages cited by Kvičala, *Neue Beitr. z. Erkl. d. Aeneis* (1881), 112–113.

386. dabis, etc.: cf. *Val. Fl.* 4, 13: *dabit impia poenas*; [*Quintil.*] *Decl.* 314, p. 236 Ritter: *tu forsitan, cum miserum patrem trucidares, tollentem ad sidera manus risisti. inane hoc supra nos vacuumque cura caelestium putabas. sunt illa vera quae extremo miseri spiritali dicebantur: 'dabis mihi, scelerate, poenas; persequar quandoque et occurram*;

*Aonius Palearius, De Anim. Immortal.* 3, 324: *dabis, improbe, poenas*; *Politian, Manto*, 296: *dabis, heu, poenas, dabis, improbe*; *Tasso, Ger. lib.* 16, 59, 2: *me pagherai le pene, empio guerriero*; also, for the use of *improbe*, *Anth. Lat.* no. 83, 34 (1, p. 114 Riese): *licet, improbe, tendas*. *Schol. Dan.*: *improbe: scelestes*.

Henry (*Aeneidea*, 2 (1878), 730) well opposes the desire of Ribbeck (followed by Norden in *Hermes*, 28 (1893), 512–513) to delete either line 386 or 387 as inconsistent; in his attempt, however, to show (pp. 731–732) that Dido plans to take no part herself in Aeneas's punishment he is less convincing, as also in his contention that the *umbra* of this line is not the real shade of Dido, which (unless, as Norden, *l. c.*, points out, she already plans to die by a death of violence) will be in Hades, but an image of her in the remorseful mind of Aeneas; for the dead were thought of as having greater freedom of movement than Henry seems to admit, and such revenants were not limited to the *βιωοθάνατοι*; cf. Penquitt, *op. cit.*, 21–22.

387. audiam: Penquitt (*op. cit.*, 22) explains: *de infortunio tuo certior fiam vel viva (audiam) vel mortua (manis sub imos)*. I should make no such distinction. Aeneas will be punished; Dido will learn of this, and the report will reach her even in Hades.

387. haec . . . fama: i.e., *huius rei fama*; cf. 1, 463: *feret haec aliquam tibi fama salutem*; 2, 171: *ea signa dedit*, i.e., *eius rei signa*.

387. manis . . . sub imos: cf. 3, 565: *subducta ad manis imos desedimus unda*; 11, 181: *manis perferre sub imos*; 12, 884: *manisque deam demittat ad imos*; *Ov. F.* 2, 52: *qui sacer est imis manibus imus erat*; *Sil.* 3, 484: *ad manis imos*; *Auson. Parent.* 16, 5: *de manibus imis*; also, above, 4, 243, n. (*Tartara*); *G.* 1, 243: *manesque profundi*.

388. his medium dictis sermonem abruptit et auras  
aegra fugit, seque ex oculis avertit et aufert,

euertit *m.*

388. medium sermonem: *Gl. Ansil.* 362, 124. 388. sermonem abruptit: *Gl. Abba*, 129, 164 — abripuit —.

389. seque . . . aufert: *Cento Probae*, 530.

For *manes* applied to a place underground cf. Van Bleek, *Quae de Hominum post Mortem Condicione doceant Carm. sepulc. Lat.* (1907), 49; 58, n. 4. We need hardly suppose, with some editors, that Dido will hear in the underworld what her *umbra* does to Aeneas on earth, for *dabis* . . . *poenas* need not imply Dido as the sole executrix of punishment. Like a fury her shade will haunt him; he will be punished — perhaps by the intervention of the *pia numina* —, and she will hear of this among the *manes*. It is unfair to expect a logical apportionment of punishment and an exact differentiation of the places involved. Aeneas might have given that, but hardly Dido in her passionate, swooning excitement, and instead of blaming Virgil's inconsistency (as does Peerlkamp, *ad loc.*) we should praise his psychological insight.

387. *veniet* . . . *fama*: for tidings of the living brought to the dead cf. *Od.* 11, 457-461; 24, 106-119; *Pind. Ol.* 8, 79-84; 14, 18-22; *Nem.* 4, 85-86; *Theocr.* 12, 17-21; *Sil.* 11, 255-256: *mihī fama sub umbras / te feret oppressum Capuae cecidisse ruinis.*

388. *his* . . . *dictis*: cf. 4, 30, n. (*sic effata*); 4, 54: *his dictis*; *Schol. Dan.*: *sane multi 'dictis' participium, non appellationem volunt, hoc est, cum haec dicta essent*, but, as Kvíčala (*Neue Beitr. z. Erkl. d. Aeneis* (1881), 114) says, Virgil's usage points to substantial use here. Note the interlocked order of the first four words.

388. *medium* . . . *sermonem*: cf. 1, 385-386; 4, 277, n. (*medio sermone*); 9, 657: *mortalis medio aspectus sermone reliquit*; 12, 318; *Sil.* 2, 328-330: *mediamque loquentis / bis conatus erat turbando abruptere vocem.*

388. *sermonem abruptit*: cf. *Sen. De Ira*, 2, 24, 1: *inchoatum sermonem cito abruptit*; *Tac. Ann.* 4, 60: *plerique inceptum sermonem abruptere*; *Quintil.* 4, 3, 13:

*abrupto quem inchoaverat sermone*; *Suet. Tib.* 21: *sermone superveniente eo abrumperet*. Kvíčala (*Neue Beitr. z. Erkl. d. Aeneis* (1881), 115) well notes that *sermonem* here = *colloquium*, and compares *Varr. L. L.* 6, 64: *sermo . . . a serie . . . sermo enim non potest in uno homine esse solo, sed ubi oratio cum altero coniuncta*; cf. also *Aen.* 6, 160. Terzaghi (*Virgilio ed Enea* (1928), 45, and n. 65) points out that the abrupt ending of Dido's speech leaves the reader's imagination free to complete the thought in many ways and to speculate how Aeneas might have replied, had the lady not had the last word in this, their final dialogue. Analogous is Dido's withdrawal from him — without any words on her part — in 6, 472-474, and Terzaghi would detect the influence of these abrupt departures in certain scenes in Dante. This parting scene has been thought by some to be shown in a mosaic from Hadrumentum; cf. Reinach, *Répertoire de Peintures Gr. et Rom.* (1922), 176, no. 4 (and works there cited). On parting scenes as a specialty of the erotic poets (e.g., *Apoll. Rh.* 1, 886-909; 4, 350-390) cf. DeWitt, *The Dido Episode in the Aeneid of Virgil* (1907), 17.

388. *auras*, etc.: cf. *G.* 3, 417: *caelumque exterrita fugit*; *Aen.* 4, 451: *taedet caeli convexa tueri*. It is not clear at 4, 304 where this interview had taken place, but probably out of doors, and Dido's withdrawal would be into the inner apartments of the palace. Note the parallel between this line and the next: *abruptit et auras* corresponding to *avertit et aufert*.

389. *aegra*: cf. 1, 351-352: *aegram / . . . lusit amantem*; 4, 35, n. (*aegram*); *Enn. Sc.* 254: *Medea animo aegro* (al. *aegra*) *amore saevo saucia*; *Val. Fl.* 7, 5: *contigit aegrotos*; *Preston, Stud. in the Diction of the Sermo amatorius in Roman Comedy* (1916), 5-8.



### 390. linquens multa metu cunctantem et multa parantem dicere. suscipiunt famulae conlapsaque membra

met (*corr. in metu*) γ. et om. π. parentem γ<sup>1</sup>ρ, uolentem Mc (*cf. G. 4, 501; Aen. 2, 790*), parantem Pabyρ<sup>1</sup>r Serv. (*exc. cod. F*).  
succipiunt P, suscipiunt M̄pγabc.

390-391. multa . . . dicere: Serv. Aen. 4, 388 — parantem N, p. L, p̄ H, uolentem F, om. M —. 390. cunctantem: Gl. Ansil. 157, 192; q.v.

[390] 391-392. suscipiunt . . . reponunt: Schol. Lucan. 5, 799. 391. suscipiunt . . . membra: Capē, Orthogr. (G. L. K. 7, 98) — succipiunt —.

389. ex oculis: used by Virgil of disappearances, natural or supernatural: G. 4, 499 (Eurydice); Aen. 1, 89 (the sky); 4, 278 (Mercury); 9, 658 (Apollo); 11, 814 (Ar-runs).

389. avertit et aufert: cf. Sen. Ad Marc. de Consol. 23, 3: *eripit se aufertque ex oculis perfecta virtus*; N. Q. 3, 26, 3: *quaedam flumina palam in aliquem specum decidunt et sic ex oculis auferuntur*; Anon. Vita Leu-degarii, 1, 336 (Poet. Aevi Carol. 3, 15): *te tollis et aufers*.

390. linquens: Schol. Dan.: *multi pro 'relinquens Aeneam,' alii pro 'deficiens' accipi volunt more antiquo, sicut 'delinquere' pro 'deficere.'*

390. multa . . . multa: in this line note the repetition of *multa* and of the ending *-antem*, as well as the alliteration (*multa metu*), the whole giving, as Page (*ad loc.*) suggests, a somewhat stammering effect. The first *multa* is perhaps adverbial; cf. Gk. πολλά; G. 3, 226; 4, 301; Aen. 3, 610: *haud multa moratus*; 4, 395, and n. (*multa gemens*); 5, 869; Val. Fl. 1, 757: *multa leo cunctatus*; etc.

390. metu: from fear of making a bad matter worse by his explanations; yet cf. Rand, *The magical Art of Virgil* (1931), 360, who considers this due to his anxiety for her.

390. parantem: cf. 10, 554-555: *et multa parantis dicere*; Cic. Pro Sest. 144: *plura etiam dicere parantem . . . repressit*; Val. Fl. 8, 444-445: *si fata parantem / red-dere dicta virum furcata mente refugit*. The reading *volentem* is an easy one, but is more likely to have crept in from G. 4, 501-502: *et multa volentem / dicere*; Aen. 2, 790-791: *lacrimantem et multa volentem / dicere dese-*

*ruit*; 7, 449-450: *cunctantem et quaerentem dicere plura / reppulit*. Between the general critical principle of the *lectio difficilior* and the undoubted repetition by Virgil of phrases he had already used, and in view of the fact that each reading has good manuscript support and makes good sense a decision is difficult; cf., however, Sparrow, *Half-lines and Repetitions in Virgil* (1931), 115, for the presumption that a variant which differs from a parallel passage is to be preferred. With the hesitation of Aeneas cf. 4, 76, n. (*incipit, etc.*); 4, 283-286. In the Sixth Book he has another opportunity to speak, when it is too late (cf. Funaioli, *L' Oltretomba nell' Eneide di Virgilio* (1924), 69); here his silence, like that of Dido, has its own dramatic impressiveness (cf. Terzaghi, *Virgilio ed Enea* (1928), 60), perhaps greater than that of a formal rebuttal, no matter how well founded its arguments might have been.

391. dicere: perhaps an ἀπό κοινοῦ construction with *cunctantem* and *parantem*; cf. Lohmann, *De Graecismorum Usu Vergiliano* (1915), 75.

391. suscipiunt: Nettleship (ap. Conington, *ad loc.*) has a long defence of the reading *succipiunt*, for which, however, the manuscript evidence is hardly so good. With the thought cf. 4, 664: *conlapsam aspiciunt comites*; 8, 584: *famuli conlapsum in tecta ferebant*; 9, 708: *conlapsa ruunt immania membra*; 9, 753-754; 11, 805-806: *concur-runt trepidae comites dominamque ruentem / suscipiunt*; Ov. M. 6, 295; 7, 826: *subito conlapsa dolore*; 9, 708; 10, 186; Apul. M. 8, 7; while Henry (*Aeneidea*, 2 (1878), 737) compares Xen. Cyrop. 6, 4, 11: οἱ εὐνοῦχοι καὶ αἱ θεραπαίαι λαβοῦσαι ἀπήγον αὐτὴν

392. marmoreo referunt thalamo stratisque reponunt.

At pius Aeneas, quamquam lenire dolentem

stristis *M* (stratis *M*<sup>1</sup>).

linire γ<sup>1</sup>.

[391] 392. stratisque reponunt: *Auson. Cento nupt. 82, p. 214 Peiper.*

(Panthea) εἰς τὴν ἀρμάμαξαν καὶ κατακλί-  
ναντες κατεκάλυψαν τῇ σκηνῇ. The swooning  
of Dido may be considered as a touch  
designed to show her real womanhood as  
distinguished from her queenliness, which  
has already been revealed. La Cerda (*ad  
loc.*) cites examples of the swooning of lovers  
in the cases of Penelope (*Od.* 4, 716-720),  
Laodamia (*Ov. H.* 13, 23-26), and Cornelia  
(*Luc.* 8, 58-61). On the rapid metre, ap-  
propriate for the occasion, cf. Maxa in  
*Wiener Stud.* 19 (1897), 105.

391. *famulae*: Virgil's avoidance of the  
words *servus* (not found in his works) and  
*serva* (occurring only twice) has been re-  
marked by Haarhoff, *Virgil in the Experi-  
ence of S. Africa* (1931), 64-67; cf. Heitland,  
*Agricola* (1921), 237.

392. *marmoreo*: the adjective suggests  
the wealth of Carthage (cf. 4, 75, n. (*opes*),  
above), as well as the beauty of the African  
marbles (cf. *Hor. C.* 2, 18, 3-5; Fiehn in  
*P.-W.* 2 Ser. 3 (1929), 2268-2269).

392. *referunt . . . reponunt*: the two com-  
pounds in the same line are noteworthy, as in  
3, 170: *refer . . . requirat*. Page (*ad loc.*)  
renders: "carry back to her marble chamber  
and duly place upon the couch."

392. *thalamo*: dative, as noted by the  
Scholia Danielis; cf. 2, 19: *includunt caeco  
lateri* (and other parallels cited by Page on  
that line). From now on Dido no longer  
ranges through the city, but remains within  
the rooms, courtyards (4, 504), and towers  
(4, 586) of the palace.

392. *reponunt*: with the ending of the  
line cf. 4, 403: *lectoque reponunt*. The verb  
denotes a careful placing of the queen by  
attentive servants.

393. *at*: cf. 4, 1, n. (*at*); 4, 279, n. (*at*);  
Gladow, *De Verg. ipsius Imitatore* (1921), 11.

393. *pius*: in twenty places in the *Aeneid*  
Aeneas (*insignem pietate virum* of 1, 10; cf.

1, 544-545; 6, 403-405; 6, 688; 11, 291) is  
characterized by this epithet *pius*, not to  
mention less direct allusions, in all but one  
(5, 418) of these instances in the nominative  
case, preceded by *at* (1, 305; here; 6, 9; 6,  
232; 12, 311), another monosyllable (*hoc,  
quam, quem, quid, sum, tum*; cf. Moseley in  
*Cl. Journ.* 20 (1925), 390; Parry, *L'Épithète  
traditionnelle dans Homère* (1928), 38-39;  
Terzaghi, *Virgilio ed Enea* (1928), 74-80, on  
the metrical aspects of the case), a trisyllable  
(*actutum*), or a quadrisyllable (*praecipue*).  
In 7, 5 still another element is introduced:  
*at pius exsequiis Aeneas*. That the epithet  
was no perfunctory one (cf. Kroll, *Stud. z.  
Verständnis d. röm. Lit.* (1924), 276), but  
recognized as appropriate for Aeneas is seen  
both by the care with which Virgil employs  
it and by many allusions in other writers to  
this quality of Aeneas; cf. *Il.* 20, 297-299:  
ἀλλὰ τίη νῦν οὗτος (Aeneas) ἀναίτιος ἄλγεα  
πάσχει, / μὰς ἔνεκ' ἄλλοτρίων ἀχέων, κεχαρι-  
μένα δ' αἰεὶ / δῶρα θεοῖσι δίδωσι, τοὶ οὐρανὸν  
εὐρὺν ἔχουσιν (cf. Glover, *Virgil*, 2 ed. (1912),  
88-89); Xen. *Cyneg.* 1, 15: Αἰνείας δὲ σώσας  
μὲν τοὺς πατρώους καὶ μητρώους θεούς, σώσας  
δὲ καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν πατέρα, δόξαν εὐσεβείας ἐξηνέγ-  
κατο ὥστε καὶ οἱ πολέμιοι μόνω ἐκείνῳ ὦν  
ἐκράτησαν ἐν Τροίᾳ ἐδόσαν μὴ συληθῆναι;  
Lycophr. 1270: τῷ καὶ παρ' ἐχθροῖς εὐσεβέ-  
στατος κριθεῖς; Apollod. *Epit.* 5, 21: Αἰνείας δὲ  
'Αγχίστην τὸν πατέρα βαστάσας ἔφυγεν, οἱ δὲ  
'Ἑλλήνες αὐτὸν διὰ τὴν εὐσεβείαν εἰσasan;  
Auct. ad Herenn. 4, 46 (of paradoxical ex-  
pressions): *ut si quem impium, qui patrem ver-  
beraverit, Aenean vocemus*; Hygin. *Fab.* 254:  
*Aeneas item in Ilío Anchisem patrem humeris  
et Ascanium filium ex incendio eripuit* (in a  
list of *piissimi*); Diod. 7, 2, 4: ἐφαίνετο γὰρ  
ὁ ἀνὴρ ἐν τοῖς μεγίστοις κινδύνοις πλείστην  
φροντίδα πεποιημένος τῆς τε πρὸς γονεῖς δού-  
λητος καὶ τῆς πρὸς θεοῦ εὐσεβείας; *Ov. Am.*  
2, 18, 31; *Ars am.* 3, 39-40: *et famam pietatis*

*habet tamen hospes etensem / praebuit et causam mortis, Elissa, tuae; M. 13, 626; F. 1, 527 (= 3, 601): iam pius Aeneas; 2, 543: Aeneas, pietatis idoneus auctor; 6, 434: seu pius Aeneas; Sen. De Benef. 3, 37, 1: Aeneas . . . tulit illum (sc. Anchisen) per ignes et (quid non pietas potest)? pertulit, etc.; Sil. 7, 474: tum pius Aeneas; Ael. V. H. frg. 148: ὁ δὲ Αἰνείας τὸν πατέρα ἐπιθέμενος τοῖς ὤμοις ἐξῆγε φόρτον ὡς υἱεὶ φιλοπάτορι καὶ τοῦτον ἐράγκαλον; Tert. Ad Nat. 2, 9: pius Aeneas ob unicum puerum et decrepitum senem Priamo et Astyanacte destitutus; Quint. Smyrn. 13, 342-349; Aug. C. D. 1, 3: Aeneas ipse, pius totiens appellatus; 3, 14 (sarcastic): apud Vergilium pius Aeneas, etc.; Auson. Epitaph. 13, 4 (of Deiphobus): non habeo tumulum, nisi quem mihi voce vocantis / et pius Aeneas et Maro composuit; 19, 5: pius Aeneas; Dante, Inf. 1, 73-74: quel giusto / figliuol d'Anchise; Convito, 2, 11; etc.; Carter, Epitheta Deorum (1902), 5. Lists of those famous for pietas are found in Hygin. Fab. 254; Val. Max. 5, 4-6; Plin. N. H. 7, 121-122.*

Piety has been well defined by Santayana (*The Life of Reason*, 3 (1928), 179) as "man's reverent attachment to the sources of his being and the steadying of his life by that attachment." Nearest among these sources are parents; then come family, ancestors, fatherland, humanity, and the whole cosmos (*id.*, 179). By reciprocal notions the idea may be extended to sentiments felt by parents toward their children, by the gods toward men (cf. 4, 382, n. (*pia numina*), above), or the care of a country for its citizens.

The first of these types is defined by Cic. *Pro Planc.* 80: *quid est pietas nisi voluntas grata in parentes; De Invent.* 2, 161: *pietas per quam sanguine coniunctis patriaeque benevolis officium et diligens tribuitur cultus; Partit. orat.* 78: *iustitia . . . erga deos religio, erga parentes pietas; Rep.* 6, 16: *iustitiam cole et pietatem, quae cum magna in parentibus et propinquis, tum in patria maxima est.* Among the stock examples, named by Hyginus, Valerius Maximus, and Pliny (*ll. cc.*), are Hypsipyle, Harpalyce, Erigone, Agave, Xanthippe, Tyro, Pythia, Cleops and Bitias, Coriolanus, the elder Africanus, Manlius Torquatus, M. Cotta, and many others; also

the famous tale of the Catinaean brothers (*Aelna*, 623-644, and to the passages cited by Ellis (*ad loc.*) add: Apul. *De Mundo*, 34; Solin. 5, 15; Nonnus Abbas ad Greg. Naz. *Or. 1 c. Iul.* 46; Cosmas Hierosol. ad Greg. Naz. *Carm.* 62; DeWitt, *Virgil's Biographia litteraria* (1923), 102-103), and the case of Metellus, who was given the cognomen of *Pius* (Dio Cass. 28, 95, 1). This sense of the word is especially recognized in 3, 480: *o felix nati pietate* (said to Anchises).

On *pietas* directed toward the gods cf. Cic. *N. D.* 1, 116: *est enim pietas iustitia adversum deos*; 1, 117: *religionem, quae deorum cultu pio continetur*; 2, 153: *cognitionem deorum e qua oritur pietas*; *Top.* 90: *aquilas tripartita dicitur esse: una ad superos deos, altera ad manes, tertia ad homines pertinere. prima pietas, secunda sanctitas, tertia iustitia aut aquilas nominatur*; *Fin.* 3, 73: *pietas adversum deos*; *Off.* 2, 3, 11: *deos placatos pietas efficit et sanctitas*; *Donat. Aen.* 12, 310: *Aeneas pius, id est, deorum cultor*; *Aug. C. D.* 10, 1: *pietas quoque proprie Dei cultus intelligi solet, quam Graeci εὐσεβειαν vocant. haec tamen et erga parentes officiose haberi dicitur*; etc. In this sense *pius* and *pietas* are often used by Christian writers, as well as by pagan (Hor. *C.* 1, 17, 13; 2, 13, 23; 2, 14, 2-7; *Ov. Am.* 3, 13, 9; etc.). The opposites are *impius* and *impietas*; e.g., *Lucr.* 1, 81-83; *Hor. C.* 4, 4, 46-47; 4, 8, 17; while Mezentius, the *contemptor divom* (7, 648), though not specifically called *impius* is so characterized as to contrast him with the piety of Aeneas and the Trojans; cf. *Serv. ad loc.*; Hahn in *Cl. Weekly*, 25 (1931), 9-13; 17-21.

For piety toward one's fatherland cf. Cic. *Rep.* 6, 16 (quoted above) and the instances collected by Val. Max. 5, 6; also Hor. *C.* 3, 3, 58; *Amm. Marc.* 27, 6, 9; *Isid. Etym.* 9, 3, 5, who calls it an especial virtue in rulers; Green, *Stray Studies from England and Italy* (1876), 281. Its opposite — *impietas* — is most often seen in violence and particularly in civil warfare; e.g., *Ecl.* 1, 70; *G.* 1, 468; 1, 511; *Aen.* 1, 294; 6, 612-613; 12, 31.

The reciprocal devotion of parents for children occasionally appears as *pietas* (e.g., *Ov. M.* 8, 508; *Claud. Laus Seren.* 133; *C. I. L.* VI, 25351, where *pius* is used of a

father), and is further extended to the relations of brothers and sisters (e.g., Antigone, Electra, and Ilione in Hygin. *l.c.*; the cases in Val. Max. 5, 5; Ov. *M.* 8, 477, where Althaea, for avenging the death of her brothers by that of her son, is *impietate pia*; Anth. Lat. no. 428, 3 (1, p. 327 Riese): *esse putas fratres; tanta pietate fruuntur*; Pygmalion (*Aen.* 1, 349) shows the reverse quality and is *impius*), to husbands and wives (Ti. Gracchus the elder (Cic. *De Div.* 1, 36, and passages cited in my note *ad loc.*); Hypermetra (Ov. *H.* 14, 84)), and to the relation between client and patron (Plin. *N. H.* 7, 122) or that between close friends (*Aen.* 5, 296; 9, 294). On the *pietas* of the gods toward men cf. 4, 382, n. (*pia numina*); also 2, 536: *di, si qua est caelo pietas, quae talia curet*; *Cir.* 219; Coripp. *Ioh.* 1, 11: *iam Pietas caelo terras prospexit ab alto*.

The possession of this quality may characterize a group or a race; cf. Cic. *De Cons. ap. De Div.* 1, 21; *Aen.* 1, 526; 2, 690; 7, 21; 12, 838-839; Hor. *Epod.* 16, 63-66; Schol. Dan. *Aen.* 1, 273; Gernentz, *Laudes Romae* (1918), 85-86 (on *pietas* and *fides* as stock qualities in encomia of Rome). Further, the *pietas* of Aeneas may typify that of Augustus, who states (*Mon. Ancyr.* 34; cf. *Mon. Antioch.* 34) that a gold shield had been set up in his honor (in 27 B.C.) in the *curia Iulia* because of his *virtus, clementia, iustitia*, and *pietas*; cf. Tac. *Ann.* 1, 10, 1: *pietatem* (sc. *Augusti*) *erga parentem*; Moseley in *Cl. Journ.* 20 (1925), 398-400; *id.*, *Characters and Epithets* (1926), 99-101; Drew, *The Allegory of the Aeneid* (1927), 78-79; Bellessort in Goelzer and Bellessort's ed. of *Aen.* 1-6 (n. d.), xvi-xvii; Terzaghi, *Virgilio ed Enea* (1928), 161; 170; 188.

Other meanings are, to be sure, at times found in *pius* and *pietas*; e.g., it may = *gratus* (cf. Catull. 73, 2; Ov. *Tr.* 5, 4, 43), or *innocens, omni carens scelere* (Schol. Dan. *Aen.* 1, 378; cf. *piare, piacula*, etc.); Tromp, *De Romanorum Piaculis* (1921), 4, or be used of the blessed dead (e.g., 5, 734; 8, 670; Hor. *C.* 2, 13, 23; Ov. *M.* 11, 62; etc.), or emphasize the quality of mercy or pity (Henry, *Aeneidea*, 1 (1873), 182-183, who traces at length its later separation into the two derivatives, 'piety' and 'pity'), yet, in

the case of *pius Aeneas*, I believe the meaning is essentially that of 'devotion.' Whether that is the original signification of the word its etymology is too disputed to allow one to assert.

Among many later discussions of the term may be mentioned as typical Dante, *Convito*, 2, 11: *ma pietade non è passione, anzi è una nobile disposizione d' animo, apparecchiata di ricevere amore, misericordia, e altre caritative passioni*; Ruskin, *Val d'Arno* (1873), Lect. 9, 223 (Libr. Ed. 23 (1906), 130); Henry, *Aeneidea*, 1 (1873), 175-187, emphasizing the tenderness and pity implied in the word; Nettleship, *Suggestions introd. to a Study of the Aeneid* (1875), 11: "not one heroic quality merely, but the character of the son who loves his father, of the king who loves his subjects, of the worshipper who reverences the gods"; Liverani, *La Pietà di Enea* (1896), not seen by me; De Crescenzo, *Studi su i Fonti dell' Eneide: Pius Aeneas* (1902), 1-39; Conway, *Virgil* (1903), 5, who translates *pius* as 'faithful'; Fowler, *Relig. Experience of the Roman People* (1911), 466, who makes *pietas* a sense of duty; Glover, *Virgil*, 2 ed. (1912), 222-226, who to the *humani nihil a me alienum puto* of Ter. *Heaut.* 77 would add a *nihil divini*, and call the result *pietas*; Yeames in *Cl. Journ.* 8 (1913), 195: "love combined with devotion to duty"; Heinze, *Virgils epische Technik*, 3 ed. (1915), 29-30; 33; 55; 302, of filial devotion and submission to the divine will; Fowler, *Aeneas at the Site of Rome* (1918), 89-90, of tenderness added to devotion to the decrees of fate and of Jupiter; Warren, *Virgil in Relation to the Place of Rome in the Hist. of Civilization* (1921), 14-15, who compares the *pietas* of Aeneas with that of King Arthur; Tromp, *De Romanorum Piaculis* (1921), 4-10; Moseley in *Cl. Journ.* 20 (1925), 387-400; *id.*, *Characters and Epithets* (1926), 73-88, emphasizing Aeneas's religious devotion; Fowler, *Death of Turnus* (1927), 75-76; 146-148: "a calm reasonableness of mind, taking effect in constant and active goodwill towards man and god"; Prescott, *Development of Virgil's Art* (1927), 330-331: "full performance of one's duties to one's family and fellowmen as well as towards the gods"; Santayana, *op. cit.*, 180: Aeneas "was bearing

394. solando cupit et dictis avertere curas,  
multa gemens magnoque animum labefactus amore,

auortere *Mentel. tert.*

*Versum 395 om. cod. Parrhas.*

395. multa gemens: *Anth. Lat. no. 8, 109* (1, p. 38 *Riese*); *no. 15, 51* (1, p. 52 *Riese*) — multas *A* —; *Gl. Verg. (C. G. L. 4, 453, 36)*. 395. animum . . . amore: *Anth. Lat. no. 14, 21* (1, p. 49 *Riese*). 395. animum labefactus: *Gl. Ansil. 54, 276*. 395. labefactus: *Gl. Ansil. 326, 22; q.v.*

the Palladium of his country to a new land, to found another Troy, so that the blood and traditions of his ancestors might not perish. His emotions were only the appropriate expression of his priestly office. . . . If those embers, so religiously guarded, should by any chance have been extinguished, there could never have been a Vestal fire nor any Rome . . . (p. 181). His tenderness, like Virgil's own, was ennobled and made heroic by its magnificent and impersonal object. It was truly an epic destiny that inspired both poet and hero"; Terzaghi, *op. cit.*, 69-97, who finds it often merely a decorative or metrically convenient epithet, but at other times applied to Aeneas's devotion to his father or to the gods; Herrmann in *Aus Unterricht u. Forschung*, 1 (1929), 119, who recognizes in *pietas* devotion to gods and family, but stresses as novel and typically Roman that towards people and fatherland; Ulrich (in *Hist. Untersuchungen* (Breslau), 6 (1930)), *Pietas (pius) als politischer Begriff im röm. Staate bis zum Tode d. Kaisers Commodus*, especially 28-33; Anderson in *Cl. Rev.* 44 (1930), 4, n. 1; Mackail (edition of *Aeneid* (1930), lxi): "conscientiousness, the steady fulfilment of duty to God and man, is the central quality of Virgil's hero"; Haarhoff (in *Cl. Rev.* 44 (1930), 62), who notes that the order of words in the phrase *pius Aeneas* makes *pius* especially emphatic; Howe in *Cl. Journ.* 26 (1930), 192, emphasizing the loyalty of Aeneas; Meister in *Heidelb. Universitätsreden*, 11 (1930), 20; Alföldi in *Hermes*, 65 (1930), 375-376; Hahn in *Cl. Weekly*, 25 (1931), 9-13; 17-21, contrasting the *pietas* of Aeneas and the Trojans with the *violentia* and *impietas* of their opponents; Malten in *Archiv f. Religionswiss.* 29 (1931),

54 and n. 2; De Graff, *Naevian Studies* (1931), 7; Fécherolle in *Les Études classiques*, 2 (1933), 167-181 (175-178 on *pius Aeneas*); Kroll, *Die Kultur d. cic. Zeit*, 1 (1933), 6, and n. 8; 26. Cf. also Dryden, *Dedication of Aeneis* (14 (1889 ed.), 161-164).

If the view outlined be correct, we may well translate *pius* (as applied to Aeneas) by 'devoted' (or, when used of his relation to the gods, 'devout'), or 'loyal.' Why, then, for the first time in this book is the term used of him when he is on the point of leaving Dido? The obvious answer is that at this point the hero of the story turns from an affection real but temporary, to which he never should have yielded, to a renewed pursuit of his appointed duty to his family (past, present, and future), his gods, and his state; cf. 4, 68, n. (*infelix*); Yeames in *Cl. Journ.* 8 (1913), 199; Conway, *New Studies of a great Inheritance* (1921), 151, n. 1; Irvine *ad loc.*; Ogle in *Cl. Journ.* 20 (1925), 268; Cartault, *L'Art de Virgile dans l'Énéide*, 1 (1926), 151, who gives a brief but good analysis of the cases in which Aeneas is described as *pius*; Anderson in *Cl. Rev.* 44 (1930), 4, n. 1, who warns us to understand *pius* aright by considering the context which follows rather than in harking back to the previous paragraph; Conway, *Anc. Italy and modern Religion* (1933), 109. It is no mere accident that in the flight from burning Troy Aeneas had himself rescued Anchises, Ascanius, and the *penates*, and had been the guide to others of his band (2, 747-748; cf. 4, 689-690), for toward all these was his complete and far-reaching *pietas* directed; cf. Prescott, *op. cit.*, 331. Of the present situation the Scholia Danielis remark: *bene autem excusat Aeneam 'pium' dicendo, cum ei et*

396. iussa tamen divom exsequitur classemque revisit.  
tum vero Teucri incumbunt et litore celsas

diuum *codd.* exequitur *M.*

*gemitus dat, et ostendit solacia dolenti velle praestare, et probat religiosum, cum deorum praeceptis pareat.* If my analysis is correct, however, this view is wrong, and there is, for Aeneas, a clash between affection and duty which is the essence of tragedy, but none between *pietas* and *religio*.

393. *lenire dolentem*: cf. *Apoll. Rh.* 1, 265: *κατεπρήνεν ἄντας*; *Aen.* 6, 468: *lenibat dictis animum*; *Hor. C.* 3, 1, 41-43: *quod si dolentem nec Phrygius lapis / nec purpurarum . . . / delenit usus*; *Ep.* 1, 1, 34-35: *sunt verba et voces quibus hunc lenire dolorem / possis*; *Aug. De catechiz. Rudibus*, 21: *dolorem lenire*.

394. *avertere*: cf. *Lucr.* 2, 363: *oblectare animum subilamque avertere curam*; *Aen.* 2, 775 (= 3, 153): *curas his demere dictis*; 4, 547: *ferroque avertit dolorem*.

395. *multa gemens*: cf. *G.* 3, 226: *multa gemens*; *Aen.* 1, 465: *multa gemens largoque, etc.* (where Servius remarks: *Graecum est πολλά στενάζων*); 5, 869: *multa gemens casuque, etc.*; 12, 886: *multa gemens*; *Sparrow, Half-lines and Repetitions in Virgil* (1931), 64. For the adverbial use of *multa* cf. 4, 390, and *n.* (*multa . . . multa*).

395. *labefactus*: *Schol. Dan.*: *pro 'animum labefactum habens'*; cf. 8, 390.

395. *amore*: *Schol. Dan.*: *num Didonis, quo illa flagrat?* So DeWitt, *The Dido Episode in the Aeneid of Virgil* (1907), 35, who renders: "his heart was broken at the sight of her great love"; cf. Cartault, *L'Art de Virgile dans l'Énéide*, 1 (1926), 322. In view, however, of the general character of Aeneas and of 4, 448 (*magno persentit pectore curas*) the tragic effect is greatly increased by understanding this to be the love felt by Aeneas, for whom the clash is between love and duty (*pietas*); cf. *Rand, The magical Art of Virgil* (1931), 360; 400.

396. *iussa*: cf. *Ter. Heaut.* 635: *imperium exsequi*; *Cic. Phil.* 9, 9: *exsequi mandata*; *G.* 3, 40-41: *sequamur / . . . tua, Maecenas, haud mollia iussa*; *Aen.* 3, 114:

*divom ducunt qua iussa sequamur*; 6, 236: *exsequitur praecepta Sibyllae*; 6, 461; 10, 155: *classem conscendit iussis gens Lydia divom*; *Aug. Contr. Faust. Man.* 22, 75: *exsequendi . . . iussa bellica*.

396. *revisit*: the prefix recalls the preparations started at 4, 288-290; cf. 4, 288, *n.* (*vocal*). Henry's assumption (*Aeneidea*, 2 (1878), 737) that Aeneas had long been absent from the fleet seems to rest on no evidence. With the phrase cf. 6, 899: *viam secut ad navis sociosque revisit*; and Mackail (on our line) remarks: "This melancholy line is echoed at the end of Book VI and the transition to the main theme of the *Aeneid*. Here too, though through no ivory gate, Aeneas returns to the task of life from the interlude of a dream-Paradise."

397. *tum vero, etc.*: Servius apparently (and Henry certainly) thinks that the crews did not begin to execute the orders until Aeneas appeared in person among them; cf. 9, 73: *tum vero incumbunt, urget praesentia Turni*. For the absolute use of *incumbere* cf. *Ov. M.* 10, 657: *nunc, nunc incumbere tempus*. With the description as a whole cf. *Il.* 2, 149-154: *τοὶ δ' ἀλαλητῶ / νῆας ἐπ' ἐσσεύοντο, ποδῶν δ' ὑπένερθε κοίη / ἴστατ' ἀειρομένη τοὶ δ' ἀλλήλοισι κέλευον / ἀπτεσθαι νηῶν ἥδ' ἐλκόμεν εἰς ἄλα δῖαν, / οὐροὺς τ' ἐξεκάθαιρον αὐτῇ δ' οὐρανὸν ἴκε / οἴκαδε ἱεμένων ὑπὸ δ' ἥρεον ἔρματα νηῶν*; *Sil.* 5, 218-219; 5, 501. For the zeal of the Trojans to depart cf. 4, 193, *n.* (*hiemem*); 4, 581-583; also *Pacuv. Trag.* 409: *profectione laeli*.

Noteworthy in this line and the next is the contrast between the heavy, spondaic movement of ships being dragged down the beach and the light, dactylic effect of those once afloat (*natae uncta carina*). Norden (2 ed. of *Book VI* (1916), 423) collects other instances in the *Aeneid* in which spondees represent the toilsome details of the operation of ships, and quotes *Aristid. Quint. De Mus.* 2, 4: *ναυτιλίας τε καὶ εἰρεσίας καὶ τὰ χαλεπώτατα τῶν χειρωνακτικῶν ἔργων*. Norden

398. deducunt toto navis. natat uncta carina,  
frondentisque ferunt remos et robora silvis

totoque *M* (toto *M*<sup>2</sup>). naues *b*. nata iuncta *p*.  
que *om. p.* feront (*corr. in ferunt*) *c.* ramos *dett.* robore *b*<sup>1</sup>.

398. natat . . . carina: *Eutyck. Ars* (G. L. K. 5, 483) — uicta carita (*corr. al. m. in uncta carina*) *P* —; *Serv. Aen.* 1, 538.

399. frondentis: *Gl. Ansil.* 255, 216; *q.v.*

believes that Virgil (like Cic. *Arat.* 346) derives this metrical effect from some lost passage in Ennius.

397. litore: Schol. Dan.: *de litore*. Note the interlocking order: *litore celsas . . . toto navis*.

397. celsas: the high part was the stern (4, 554 (where see *n.* on *celsa in puppi*); other cases are listed by Segebadé, *Vergil als Seefahrer* (1895), 3-4), from which the adjective is sometimes, as here and in 8, 107, extended to the ships as a whole. The lofty effect of the Trojan ships is emphasized by Procopius (8, 22, 9: τὸ δὲ γε ὕψος τοσαύτη ἐστὶν ὅσον αὐτὴν ἐπέσσεσθαι μὴ ἀδύνατα εἶναι), who describes at length the ship of Aeneas still preserved in his day at Rome! The number of vessels in the fleet was twenty at the start (1, 381), but was now reduced to nineteen (cf. 1, 583-585; Cassius Hemina ap. Solin. 2, 14 says Aeneas reached Italy with not over 600 companions); for inconsistencies in Virgil's later enumeration cf. Guillemin, *L'Originalité de Virgile* (1931), 18; note also *Serv. Aen.* 1, 170.

398. deducunt: cf. *G.* 1, 255: *armatas deducere classis*; *Aen.* 3, 71: *deducunt socii navis et litora complent*; *Ov. Ep.* 20, 67; *M.* 6, 444-445: *iubet ille carinas / in freta deduci*; 8, 104: *deductas . . . carinas*; *Hor. C.* 1, 4, 2: *trahuntque siccas machinae carinas*; *Gesta Apollonii*, 763 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 2, 505): *deducere litore naves*; Segebadé, *op. cit.*, 8. The expression is the opposite of *subducere* (e.g., 1, 551; 1, 573; 3, 135; etc.).

398. natat, etc.: cf. *Enn. Ann.* 386 (= 478): *labitur uncta carina*; *Catull.* 4, 3: *natantis impetum trabis*; *Aen.* 8, 91: *labitur uncta vadis abies* (these borrowings being noted by *Macrobi. Sat.* 6, 1, 51); 8, 93: *innare carinas*; *Prop.* 2, 25, 24: *cum . . . carina*

*nalet*; *Stat. Achill.* 1, 452: *vidit tranare rates*; *Sil.* 12, 448: *innabat . . . sine remige classis*; *Tac. Ann.* 1, 70, 1; *Vida, Poet.* 3, 397: *labitur uncta vadis abies, natat uncta carina*; *Aonius Palear. De Anim. Immortal.* 2, 134: *volat uncta carina*; *Tennyson, In Memoriam*, 9: "perplex thy sliding keel."

398. uncta: Schol. Dan.: *pice delibuta*; cf. *Torr, Anc. Ships* (1895), 34-35 and *n.* 88.

399. frondentis, etc.: *Serv.*: *non qui erant sed qui esse poterant* [*sc. remi*], *ut* (4, 536) '*quos ego sim lotiens iam dedignata maritos*.' The allusion to leafy oaks leads *Roiron (Étude sur l'Imagination auditive de Virgile* (1908), 225) to inquire whether (1) winter were now over and spring coming on (cf. *Ecl.* 3, 57: *nunc frondent silvae*); or (2) the poet had fallen into inconsistency of detail; or (3) on the African coast there were not at all seasons of the year trees in leaf — a question which perhaps need not be settled. In 1, 552 *Ilioneus* had asked permission of *Dido* *silvis aptare trabes et stringere remos* (*Od.* 6, 269: ἀποξύνουσιν ἑρεμὰ). Apparently these had not yet been prepared but were now brought in the rough to be finished on shipboard, like the *robora . . . infabricata*. *Mandra (Time Element in the Aen. of Verg.* (1934), 213) cites evidence from the 'Service botanique de Tunisie' that there are not now and probably never were near Carthage trees large enough to furnish timber for oars of about 35 feet, but he gives no reason for supposing that Aeneas's oars were of such a size, and, as he admits, Virgil was a poet rather than a botanist. The expression is imitated by *Val. Fl.* 8, 287: *illi autem intorquent truncis frondentibus undam*; and *Henry (Aeneidea*, 2 (1878), 738) compares *Claud. De Cons. Stil.* 3, 324-325: *rudibus fagis texuntur et ornīs / frondentes caveae*.

400. infabricata fugae studio.  
migrantis cernas totaque ex urbe ruentis,

infabricataque (*corr. in* infabricata) *p.*  
migrantes *ab.* ruentes *bc.*

400. infabricata: *Gl. Ansil.* 299, 632; *q.v.*; *Gl. Abol.* 138, 245. 400. fugae studio: *Gl. Ansil.* 257, 49 — fuge —.

401. migrantis . . . ruentis: *Macrob. Sat.* 5, 14, 10 — migrantes; ruentes —; *Charis. Inst. gram.* 4 (*G. L. K.* 1, 270) — ruentes —; *Donat. in Ter. Andr.* 460 — migrantes *B*, migratis *AC*, migrati *T*, gratis *V*; *c. t. e. u. r.* (*e. t. c. u. r. TC*, cernas totaque ex urbe ruentes *B*) —. 401. migrantis cernas: *Donat. in Ter. Andr.* 66 — cernasque *A*, ternasque (*corr. in* cernasque) *V* —; *in Ter. Eun.* 375 — migrantes *B* —; *Serv. Aen.* 4, 491 — migrantes (*nigrantes M*) —.

399. *remos*: the variant *ramos* of some inferior MSS is ignored by Servius and leaves us uncertain why such branches should have been brought. It may be due to confusion with *ramis* . . . *frondentibus* in 3, 25.

399. *robora*: whether for joints, planks, masts, or yards is uncertain; cf. Segebade, *op. cit.*, 3, n. 2 (who thinks them reserve masts and yards); During, *De Vergilii Ser-mone epico* (1905), 12, n. 1 (whose view that they were for oars involves an awkward tautology). Perhaps 5, 752–753 may indicate that there was more than one purpose in sight: *ipsi transtra novant flammisque ambesa reponunt / robora navigiis, aptant remosque rudentisque*.

399. *silvis*: Roiron (*Étude sur l'Imagination auditive de Virgile* (1908), 153) observes that Virgil often mentions woods near the seashore, citing fourteen instances in his works.

400. *infabricata*: on the half-line cf. 4, 44, n. (*germani, etc.*); 4, 402, n. (*ac velut*). Sparrow (*Half-lines and Repetitions in Virgil* (1931), 41–45) does not include this in his list of 'effective hemistiches', perhaps because he thinks it due to incompleteness rather than intention (*id.*, 32–33). Whatever its cause, however, it seems very effective, and appropriate to the hasty and unfinished character of the action described; cf. also Zille, *Virgils Aeneide*, Viertes Buch (1865), 50–51.

The adjective is first used by Virgil (cf. Ladewig, *De Vergilio Verborum Novalore*, 1 (1870), 4; Güthling, *Adnot. ad Verg. Aeneidem* (1877), 19), and occurs ten times in En-

nodius; cf. Hartel's index in *C. S. E. L.* 6, 675.

400. *fugae*: *Serv.*: *celeris projectionis*; comparing *G.* 3, 201; to which add *G.* 3, 142; *Aen.* 1, 317.

401. *migrantis*: the suggestion of Mac-kail (*ad loc.*) that this line should follow 407 hardly improves the abrupt way in which it is here introduced, without any connective, and Mackail himself admits that "alteration of the vulgate order is precarious." The position of the participles should be noticed, at the two ends of the line.

401. *cernas*: *Serv.*: *honesta figura si remertiae personae in secundam referas, hoc est, 'si quis cernat.'* For the present subjunctive used for vividness where the imperfect would have been more regular (as in 3, 187), cf. 8, 691–692: *alta petunt; pelago credas innare revolsas / Cycladas*; *Ov. M.* 1, 242: *in facinus iurare pules*; 10, 654; 11, 517: *inque fretum credas totum descendere caelum*; and other cases cited by Kühner-Stegmann, *Ausf. Gram. d. lat. Spr.* 2, 1, 2 ed. (1912), 179, n., in which the present subjunctive follows historical presents. Cf. the optative in *Il.* 4, 223: *ἔθ' οὐκ ἂν βρίζοντα ἴδοις Ἀγαμέμνονα δῖον*. Henry (*Aeneidea*, 2 (1878), 739) pictures the reader as observing from a distance (or a height; cf. 4, 408–410) the movements of the Trojans, which are appropriately compared to the swarming of ants, and compares Basil. *Hexaem.* 6, 9: *εἰ ποτε ἀπὸ ἀκρωρείας μεγάλης πεδῖον εἶδες πολὺ τε καὶ ὕπτιον, ἥλικα μὲν σοι τῶν βοῶν κατεφάνη τὰ ζεύγη; πηλικοὶ δὲ οἱ ἀροτῆρες αὐτοί; εἰ μὴ*



## 402. ac velut ingentem formicae farris acervom

ueluti *Μασπ.* acervum *Μαβσρ*, acervom (*corr. in acervum*) γ.

402-403. velut . . . reponunt: *Claud. Mamert. De Statu Animae*, 2, 3 (C. S. E. L. 11, 109) — ueluti; acervum; conpopulant (compopulant *DEFMb*, conpopulant (*corr. in cum populant*) *S*, cum populant *BG*) — 402-403. ingentem . . . reponunt: *Lact. De Ira*, 7, 11 — acervum (acerbum *B<sup>1</sup>*, *corr. B<sup>2</sup>*); cum populant (*corr. ex conpopulant ?*) *B*; hiemes *P<sup>1</sup>* — 402. ingentem . . . acervom: [*Acro*] in *Hor. C. 2, 2, 24* — formice *Ar*, euanuit γ; acervum —.

μυρμήκων τινά σοι παρέσχον φαντασίων; cf. also *Ambr. Hexaem.* 4, 26: *de summo vertice montium si subiectum oculis tuis campum spectare desideras, atque illic armenta pascentia, nonne formicarum similia corpora iudicabis?*

402. ac velut: Sparrow (*Half-lines and Repetitions in Virgil* (1931), 32-33) notes that in all the cases in Virgil in which a simile is introduced by *ac velut(i)*, with the exception of 2, 626 and the present line, there is found an 'apodosis' describing the incident or scene which has provoked the comparison, and he considers its absence here a sign of incompleteness. Mackail (*ad loc.*) stresses other such signs in the passage, including "the feebleness of line 412, the awkward repetition of *cogis . . . cogitur*, and the absence of any introductory line to the speech which follows, lines 416-436." Perhaps, however, as in 2, 626, the lack of an 'apodosis' is in considerable measure due to the extent to which the poet has become involved in the details of the simile, a cause of not infrequent difficulty to writers.

On the following simile cf. Hornbostel, *Die Gleichnisse bei Vergil* (1870), 14; Houben, *De Comparationibus Vergilianis* (1876), 4; 8; Kopetsch, *De Comparationibus Vergilianis* (1879), 8. It is probably suggested by *Apoll. Rh.* 4, 1452-1456: *ὥς δ' ὅποτε στενὴν περὶ χηραμόν εἰλίσσονται / γειομόροι μύρμηκες ὀμιλαδόν, ἧ ὅτε μύλαι / ἀμφ' ὀλίγην μέλιτος γλυκεροῦ λίβα πεπτηνύαι / ἄπλητον μεμάασιν ἐπῆτριμοι / ὥς τότ' ἀολλεῖς / πετραῖα μινύαι περὶ πίδακι δινέεσκον.* Jerome, in a passage (*Vit. Malch.* 7) too long to quote, recalls the present lines, using such phrases as *aspicio formicarum gregem angusto calle fervere, venturae hiemis memores, suppositis humeris adiuvabant*; cf. *Dial. adv. Lucif.* 22: *hinc ferventi agmine segetem formica populatur*;

while *Plin. N. H.* 29, 28 alludes either to these lines or to *G. 1, 186*; 1, 379-380, when he says *at non Vergilio fuit* (sc. *fastidio*) *nominare formicas* (on the interest of Alexandrian writers in describing small animals cf. Biese, *Die Entwicklung des Naturgefühls bei den Griechen* (1882), 88-90).

The laborious thrift of ants in collecting and storing food appears frequently in proverbs (*Otto, Die Sprichwörter . . . der Römer* (1890), 141) and fables (*Marx in P.-W.* 1 (1894), 1821), as well as in other types of writing; e.g., *Pseudophocylidea*, 165-171: *μύρμηκες, γαῖης μυχάτους προλελοιπότες οἴκου, / ἔρχονται βιότου κεκρήμενοι, ὀππότε ἄρourke / λήϊα κειράμεναι καρπῶν πλήθωσιν ἀλώας / οἱ δ' αὐτοὶ πυροῖο νεοτριβὲς ἄχθος ἔχουσιν, / ἧ κριθῶν αἰεὶ δὲ φέρων φορέοντα διώκει, / ἐκ θέρεος ποτὶ χεῖμα βορὴν σφετέρην συνάγοντες / ἄτρυτοι / φίλον δ' ὀλίγον τελέθει πολύμοχθον; Arist. Hist. Anim. 9, 40, p. 623 b 13-14: οἱ μὲν οὖν μύρμηκες θηρεύουσι μὲν οὐδέν, τὰ δὲ πεποιημένα συλλέγουσιν; Theocr. 17, 107: μυρμήκων ἅτε πλούτος αἰεὶ κέχεται μογεόντων; Virg. G. 1, 185-186: *populaturque ingentem farris acervom / curculio atque inopi metuens formica senectae*; *Hor. S. 1, 1, 33-35: parvola (nam exemplo est) magni formica laboris / ore trahit quodcumque potest atque addit acervo / quem struit, haud ignara ac non incauta futuri*; *Ov. Ars am.* 1, 93-94: *ut redit itaque frequens longum formica per agmen, / granifero solitum cum vehit ore cibum*; *M. 7, 624-626: hic nos frugilegas aspeximus agmine longo / grande onus exiguo formicas ore gerentes / rugosoque suum servantes cortice callem*; *F. 1, 685: vos quoque, formicae, subiectis parcite granis*; *Colum. 10, 322: neu formica rapax populari semina possit*; *Plut. De Soll. Anim.* 11 (important, but too long to quote, as is *Plin. N. H.* 11, 108-*

403. cum populant hiemis memores tectoque reponunt,

hyemos c<sup>1</sup>. reponant π.

[402\*] 403. populant: *Gl. Ansil.* 451, 274; *Gl. Aa.* 324, 823; *q.v.*

110); M. Aurel. 7, 3: *μυρμήκων τάλαιπωρίαί καὶ ἀχθοφορίαι*; Juv. 6, 360–361: *frigusque famemque / formica tandem quidam expavere magistra*; Ser. Sammon. 79: *dulcibus e latebris patiens formica laborum*; Cels. ap. Orig. *Contr. Cels.* 4, 83; Ambros. *Hexaem.* 6, 16; [Basil.] *In illud, Ne dederis*, etc. (*Patr. Gr.* 31, 1504 B); Avian. 34, 5, 1–20 (the original of *La cigale ayant chanté*); several passages in Augustine noted by Vasold, *Augustinus quae hauserit ex Vergilio*, 2 (1909), 29; Symphos. *Aenig.* 22, 1–3: *provida sum vitae, duro non pigra labore, / ipsa ferens umeris securae praemia brumae. / nec gero magna simul, sed congero multa vicissim*; Isid. *Etym.* 12, 3, 9: *formica dicta ab eo quod ferat micas farris* (borrowed from Servius on our line). *cuius sollertia multa*, etc.; Milo, *De Sobrietate*, 1, 864 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 3, 641): *providitque sagax formica ut farris acervum*, etc.; Arsen. *Violetum*, pp. 12–13 Walz; also *Prov.* 6, 6–8; 30, 25. Ma-phaeus Vegius, *Aen.* 13, 220–229, has an elaborate simile drawn from ants, and showing the influence of this passage.

The notion that ants collect grains has been doubted by some writers (cf. Marx in *P.-W.* 1 (1894), 1820), but is confirmed by modern observation; cf. Lubbock, *Ants, Bees, and Wasps*, 3 ed. (1882), 59–61; Linsenbarth in *Neue Jahrb. f. Philol. u. Paed.* 143 (1891), 706–707; Royds, *Beasts, Birds, and Bees of Virgil* (1918), 29–31; Frazer on *Ov. F.* 1, 685. Crowds of men are elsewhere compared to bees (*Il.* 2, 87–90; *Cic. De Har. Resp.* 25; *Aen.* 1, 430–436 — a simile to be closely compared with the present —; 6, 707–709 (of shades); *Ov. F.* 3, 555–556), wasps (*Il.* 16, 259–265), or flies (*Il.* 2, 469–471; 16, 641–643), and at least the first named of these were sometimes regarded as typifying (or even embodying) the souls of the dead; cf. Pease on *Cic. De Div.* 1, 73. Ants, the γῆς σπαράξ of *Anth. Pal.* 9, 438, 1, are also thought of as embodying the soul

(Cook, *Zeus*, 1 (1914), 532, n. 12) and at times interchangeable with men; cf. Myrmex and the Myrmidons, described by Tümpel in Roscher, *Ausf. Lex.* 2 (1897), 3312–3314; Frazer on Apollod. *Bibl.* 3, 12, 6; to which add: Rufin. *Comm. in Symbol. Apost.* 11 (*Patr. Lat.* 21, 350); Lact. *Plac. in Stat. Theb.* 7, 310. The Scholia Danielis on our line set these tales forth at length, and also remark: *ad studium respicit comparatio hoc loco, non ad personas*.

Perhaps the comparison to ants suggests not only the industry of the Trojans at this time but also that, at the distance from which Dido viewed them, they seemed scarcely distinguishable one from another. In fact, though many individual Trojans are named in the *Aeneid*, the number to whom any distinct individuality attaches is small, and the host in general might well appear like those ἀήσυροι μύρμηκες with whom Aeschylus (*Prom.* 452–453) compares primitive men.

Whether in addition there is a faint suggestion of an omen in the mention of ants is uncertain; in dreams they appear as a good omen to rulers (*Artemid. Onirocr.* 2, 22) but a bad one to all others (*op. cit.*, 1, 24; 2, 22; 3, 6; Suet. *Tib.* 72; *Nero*, 46; *Plut. Cim.* 18).

402. *ingentem*: cf. 4, 89, n. (*ingentes*); *Hor. S.* 2, 3, 111: *ingentem frumenti . . . acervum*.

402. *formicae farris*: note the alliteration.

403. *populant*: Serv.: *antique dixit; nam hoc verbum apud veteres activum fuit, nunc tantum deponens est*. The uses of the active and the deponent of this verb seem more or less evenly divided in Latin, but Virgil does not use it in a deponent sense; cf. *G.* 1, 185 (quoted above); etc. The Scholia Danielis add: *et bene rei parvae per metaphoram sublimitatem dedidit, ut non videatur de formicis sed de exercitu loqui*.

403. *hiemis*: cf. *G.* 4, 156–157 (of bees): *venturaeque hiemis memores aestate laborem /*

404. it nigrum campis agmen praedamque per herbas  
convectant calle angusto, pars grandia trudunt

predam *M* (praedam *M*<sup>4</sup>). herbam *b*.  
pras *M* (pars *M*<sup>6</sup>).

404-405. praedamque . . . angusto: *Non. p.* 197 *M.* (*p.* 290 *L.*) — herbam —. 404. it . . . agmen: *Sen. N. Q.* 1, praef. 10; *Schol. Dan. Aen.* 11, 142 — sit nigrum *F*; agmen campis *T* —. 404. nigrum agmen: *Gl. Ansil.* 391, 59.

[404] 405. convectant: *Gl. Ansil.* 145, 1963; *Gl. Aa.* 206, 926; *Gl. Abol.* 115, 256; *q.v.* 405. pars . . . trudunt: *Schol. Dan. Aen.* 1, 212 — tradunt *C* (trudunt *C*<sup>2</sup>) —.

*experiuntur et in medium quaesita reponunt*;  
*Hor. S.* 1, 1, 35 (quoted above).

403. tecto: primarily of human structures but also applied to those of birds, bees, and wild beasts; cf. Braumüller, *Ueber Tropen u. Figuren in Vergil's Aeneis*, 1 (1877), 30; Kunz, *Realien in Vergil's Aeneis*, 1 (1894), 19. The Scholia Danielis gloss: *suo tecto, id est, cavernis*.

403. reponunt: cf. 4, 392.

404. it, etc.: Serv.: *hemistichium Ennii* (*Ann.* 474) *de elephantis dictum, quod ante Accius est usus de Indis*. There is an almost comic effect in applying to ants this phrase the associations of which were originally so different (cf. Norden, *Ennius u. Vergilius* (1915), 44, n. 1), which is increased by the heavy and stately metre of the line and the two following; cf. *Maxa in Wiener Stud.* 19 (1897), 88; Norden, 2 ed. of Book VI (1916), 424; Page, ed. of *Buc. and Georg.* (1922), xxxv, n. Ambr. *Hexaem.* 6, 16, recalls the passage: *nigro convectatur agmine praeda per campos, fervent semitae comitatu vianitium et quae comprehendī angusto ore non possunt humeris grandia frumenta truduntur*; and Vida, *Scacchia*, 443, reads *it nigrum campis agmen*. Le Breton, *De Animalibus apud Vergiliū* (1895), 60, thinks the short word *it* appropriate for the short legs of the ants; but this would not explain why the hemistich had been previously used of *Indi* and of elephants, so that it is better to find a certain ritual character in the line; cf. 4, 130, n. (*it*); 4, 665; 11, 192; etc.

404. nigrum: appropriately used of ants, but perhaps also as an ominous color; cf. Artemid. *Oniocr.* 3, 6: *δλεθρον προσαγορεύουσιν* (sc. *μύρμηκες*), *ὅτι γῆς ἐλατ παῖδες καὶ*

*ψυχροὶ καὶ μέλaves*; Fowler, *The Death of Turnus* (1927), 92-93, discussing 12, 450: *campoque atrum rapit agmen aperto*. Cf. also the *graniferum agmen* of *Ov. M.* 7, 638; and the *nigra cohors* (ants) of Maphaeus Vegius, *Aen.* 13, 220.

404. praedam . . . convectant: cf. 7, 749: *convectare iuvat praedas et vivere rapto*; 9, 613: *comportare iuvat praedas et vivere rapto*; *Jul. Val.* 3, 23: *praeda totius Indiae . . . convectata*.

404. per herbas: a frequent verse-tag; cf. *Lucr.* 1, 260; *G.* 3, 162; 3, 436; *Aen.* 3, 221; and the phrase *per herbam*; 3, 236; etc.

405. convectant: a rather rare verb, of which this is the first instance; cf. Ladewig, *De Vergilio Verborum Novatore*, 1 (1870), 3; *Plin. N. H.* 11, 109, in speaking of ants, uses *convexunt*.

405. calle angusto: cf. *Arist. Hist. Anim.* 9, 38, p. 622, b 25: *καὶ ὡς αἰὲ μίαν ἀτραπὸν πάντες βαδίζουσι* (sc. *οἱ μύρμηκες*); *G.* 1, 380: *angustum formica terens iter*; *Ov. Tr.* 5, 6, 39-40: *quam multae gracili terrena sub horrea ferre / limite formicae grana reperta solent*; *Sen. N. Q.* 1, praef. 10: *formicarum discursus est in angusto laborantium*; *Ambr.* *Hexaem.* 3, 40: *calle . . . angusto*; *Hier. Vit. Malchi*, 7: *formicarum gregem angusto calle fervere*; and on their paths cf. *Plin. N. H.* 11, 110. *Servius* distinguishes *via*, *semita*, and *callis*, defining the last as *semita tenuior, callo pecorum praedurata*.

405. pars . . . trudunt: cf. Kühner-Stegmann, *Ausf. Gram. d. lat. Spr.* 2, 1, 2 ed. (1912), 22-24; *Ecl.* 1, 65; *G.* 2, 14; 4, 159; 4, 378; *Aen.* 1, 212; 2, 400; 5, 108; 5, 661; 6, 218; 6, 222; 6, 642-644; etc.

406. obnixae frumenta umeris, pars agmina cogunt  
castigantque moras, opere omnis semita fervet.  
quis tibi tum, Dido, cernenti talia sensus,

humeris γαβ.

operae *M* (opere *M*<sup>4</sup>).

tunc *M*. taliae *p*.

406-407. pars . . . fervet: *Gl. Ansil.* 101, 870.

[406] 407. castigantque . . . fervet: *Non. p.* 251 *M.* (*p.* 380 *L.*) — opera (opere *B*<sup>1</sup>) —.

407. opere . . . fervet: *Anth. Lat. no.* 7, 7 (*1*, *p.* 33 *Riese*).

408-409. quis . . . gemitus: *Prisc. Inst.* 17, 80 (*G. L. K.* 3, 153) — tunc *N*; sensu (*corr. in sensus*) *Rr* —. 408. quis . . . sensus: *Donat. in Ter. Ad.* 668 — tibi *n.* (*i.e.*, nunc *p*) *d. c. t. s.* —.

405. grandia: relatively, of course, to the size of the ants themselves.

406. obnixae: cf. 9, 725: *obnixus latis umeris*; *Plin. N. H.* 11, 108: *gerunt (sc. formicae) ea (sc. onera) morsu; maiora aversae postremis pedibus moliantur, umeris obnixae*; *Mar. Victor, Aleth.* 2, 174-175: *nigra cohors, maiora suis in pabula trudens / semina corporibus*.

406. agmina cogunt: a technical military term; cf. *Thes. Ling. Lat.* 1 (1900), 1345, 84-1346, 10; *Val. Fl.* 3, 496-497; also such expressions as 9, 27: *postrema coercent*; 9, 463: *acies in proelia cogit*; *Hor. C.* 1, 10, 18-19: *virgaque levem coerces / aurea turbam*; *Tac. Hist.* 2, 68: *agminis coactores*; *Lowell, Epistle to G. W. Curtis*, 180: "Checks the retreat, and spurs our lagging lines"; *Arnold, Rugby Chapel*, sub fin.: "Ye fill up the gaps in our files, / Strengthen the wavering line."

407. castigantque: cf. 6, 567: *castigatque auditque dolos*; *Caes. B. C.* 1, 3, 1: *seniores castigat atque incitat*; *Mart.* 10, 104, 16-17: *iam tumidus vocal magister / castigatque moras*; *Plin. N. H.* 11, 25: *cessantium inertiam notant, castigant, mox et puniunt morte (sc. apes)*; *Sen. Ep.* 99, 32: *ut castigarem exiguum illam moram*; *Gualterus, Alexandreis*, 4, 502: *castigare moras*; *Vida, Scaccia*, 523: *castigatque moras*. On this verb used in reproof of various faults cf. *Thes. Ling. Lat.* 3 (1912), 533, 82-534, 22; and on *moras* for *morantes* *McCartney in Cl. Weekly*, 13 (1920), 220.

407. semita: cf. 4, 405, *n.* (*calle angusto*).

407. fervet: *Schol. Dan.*: *aptum verbum festinationi, ut e contrario 'frigidum' tardum*

(cf. *Serv. Aen.* 1, 436: *fervet: concelebratur, ut contra 'friget' cessat dicimus*); *G.* 4, 169 (= *Aen.* 1, 436): *fervet opus* (cf. *Claud. In Eutrop.* 2, 450: *flagrat opus*); *Aen.* 4, 409: *litore fervere late*; 8, 676-677: *totumque instructo Marte videres / fervere Leucaten*; *Mart.* 2, 64, 7: *fora litibus omnia fervent*; *Stat. Theb.* 3, 120: *fervet iter gemitu*; 10, 560: *fervent discursibus arces*; *Sil.* 6, 316-317: *multusque per arva / fervebat Mavors*; 8, 620; *Rufin. Hist. Monach.* 21: *nusquam sic vidimus opus fervere misericordiae*; *Aug. Ep.* 41, 1: *ferveat iter sanctarum formicarum*; *Enarr. in Ps.* 147, 13: *fervens in ipsis bonis operibus misericordiae*; *Serm.* 88, 18: *cum quisque Christianum coeperit . . . fervere bonis operibus*; *Vida, Christias*, 3, 12-13; 3, 49: *fervere cuncta vident*; *Dryden, Annus mirabilis*, 144, 1-2: "All hands employ'd, the royal work grows warm: / Like labouring bees on a long summer's day." With the hemistich cf. also the account of the bees in 6, 709: *strepit omnis murmure campus*.

408. quis, etc.: cf. *Il.* 24, 367: *τίς ἂν δὴ τοι νόος εἴη*; *Soph. Philoct.* 276-278: *σὺ δὲ, τέκνον, πολὺν μ' ἀνάστασιν δοκεῖς / ἀνδρῶν βεβῶτων ἐξ ὕπνου στήναι τότε; / ποῦ ἐκδακρύσαι, ποῦ ἀποιμῶσαι κακά*; *Ov. M.* 1, 358-359: *quis tibi . . . / nunc animus, miseranda, foret*; 7, 582: *quid mihi tunc animi fuit*; *Sedul. Pasch. Carm.* 2, 127-130: *quis tibi tunc, latio, cernenti talia sensus? / quosve dabas fremitus, cum vulnera fervere late / prospiceret arce ex summa, vastumque videres / misceri ante oculos tantis plangoribus aequor*; *Leopardi, A Silvia*, 28-31: *che pensieri soavi, / che speranze, che*

409. quosve dabas gemitus, cum litora fervere late  
prospiceres arce ex summa totumque videres

quosuidebas (*corr. in quosue dabas*) *Mc.*  
et *M* (ex *M*<sup>1</sup>).

[408] 409. quosve: *Gl. Ansil.* 482, 133; *q.v.* 409. dabas gemitus: *Gl. Ansil.* 159, 9.  
409. cum . . . late: [*Prob.*] *De ult. Syll.* 7 (*G. L. K.* 4, 241).

410. arce . . . summa: *Gl. Ansil.* 61, 102.

*cori, o Silvia mia! / quale allor ci apparia / la vita umana e il fato!* Our line furnishes another case of the intrusion into the epic of the subjective attitude of the poet; cf. 4, 65, n. (*heu, etc.*), above; also, for the apostrophe, Hampel, *De Apostrophac apud Romanorum Poetas Usu* (1908), 15-16. Parallels for the omission of the copula in such a rhetorical question are given by Winter, *De Ellipsi Verbi esse*, etc. (1907), 6; 14-15. The Scholia Danielis remark: *totum hoc magna prophonesi dictum est; plus enim est in re quam in verbis; quamvis enim totum dictum non sit, tamen et cogitatur et capitur ab auditore; haec est enim magna emphasis quae perpetuam personam complectitur.* Terentius (*Ad.* 668) 'quid illi tandem credis fore animi misero, qui cum illa consuevit prior?'

408. *tum*: it might seem preferable to stress *tunc* in the lines of Sedulius just quoted (though even there cod. *E* has been corrected to *tum*, and cod. *Arnltz.* m<sup>1</sup> reads *nunc*), and to assume that *tunc* was corrupted in one direction into *tum* and in another into *n(unc)* of Donatus, rather than to suppose that *tunc* and *n(unc)* were derived from *tum*. Yet when we examine the 23 occurrences of *tunc* in the Virgilian corpus and note that in none of the 8 in which it precedes a vowel is there any serious suggestion of variant readings, while in every one of the 15 in which it precedes a consonant there is opposing MS evidence favoring *tum*, it prompts the suspicion that there may be, in Virgil at least, a real distinction in use between the two words based on that particular consideration; cf. also Wagner, *Lect. Vergilian.* (1859), 79-80.

408. *cernenti talia*: cf. *Anth. Lat.* no. 17, 349 (1, p. 75 Riese): *talia cernentem.*

409. quosve, etc.: cf. Hrab. Maur. *Carm.*

9, 20 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 2, 171): quosve dares gemitus.

409. gemitus: cf. 1, 485: *ingentem gemitum dat*; 2, 53: *gemitumque dedere cavernae*; 9, 709: *dat tellus gemitum*; 11, 377: *dat gemitum*; 12, 713: *dat gemitum tellus*. On the tears and groans of Dido cf. lines 413, 437, 439, 548, 553, 649; see also Pichon, *De Sermone amatorio* (1902), 159.

409. fervere: cf. 4, 407, and n. (*ferret*), above; Serv.: *infinitus hic a tertia est coniugatione, id est, a 'ferro, fervis'; nam secundae coniugationis verba perdito 'e,' quod habent ante 'o,' in tertiam migrant, ut 'ferveo, fervo,' 'fulgeo, fulgo' (also Brev. Exp. in G. 1, 456); Non. p. 503 M. (p. 808 L.), who cites examples from Naevius, Afranius, Lucilius, Accius, Lucretius, Varro, and Virgil, to which add: *Lucr.* 2, 41; 2, 928 (*effervere*); 6, 442; *G.* 1, 456; 1, 471 (*effervere*); 4, 556 (*effervere*); *Aen.* 4, 567: *iam fervere litora flammis*; 8, 677 (and the Schol. Dan.); 9, 693; *Petron.* 123, 214; *Val. Fl.* 1, 121; 6, 588; *Quintil.* 1, 6, 7: *si quis antiquos secutus 'fervere' brevi media syllaba dicat deprehendatur vitiose loqui, etc.*; *Stat. Theb.* 3, 314: *late defertere campo*; 4, 664 (*effervere*); 7, 795 (*effervere*); *Sil.* 8, 619-620: *tantis agminibus Rhoeteo litore quondam / fervere*; 9, 243: *toto fervere campo*; *Avien.* 3, 1053; [*Claud.*] *Carm. min. App.* 5, 22; also the infinitives *fulgere* (6, 826, and Serv.; *Sen. N. Q.* 2, 56, 2; etc.) and *stridere* (*G.* 4, 556); *Wotke in Wiener Stud.* 8 (1886), 144.*

410. prospiceres: cf. *Catull.* 64, 241: *at pater, ut summa prospectum ex arce pebat*; Serv.: *regum enim fuit habitare in arcibus propter tutelam.* So Priam's palace is placed in 2, 760. With the situation cf. *Catull.* 64, 52-54: *namque fluentisono prospectans litore*

411. *misceri ante oculos tantis clamoribus aequor!*  
*improbe Amor, quid non mortalia pectora cogis!*  
*ire iterum in lacrimas, iterum temptare precando*

412. *improbe . . . cogis*: *Anth. Lat. no. 17, 12* (1, p. 62 Riese) — *improbe*; *pectora om. A* (add. a) —. 412. *quid . . . cogis*: *Anth. Lat. no. 8, 27* (1, p. 35 Riese) — *cocis* (*cogis m. rec.*) *A* —. 412. *mortalia pectora*: *Anth. Lat. no. 719, 8* (2, p. 185 Riese).

413. *ire . . . lacrimas*: *Anth. Lat. no. 11, 80* (1, p. 44 Riese); *no. 16, 79* (1, p. 59 Riese) — *lacrimis A* (*lacrimas A<sup>1</sup>*) —; *no. 17, 14* (1, p. 62 Riese). 413. *temptare precando*: *Anth. Lat. no. 15, 72* (1, p. 53 Riese) — *temperare A* —.

*Diae / Thesea cedentem celeri cum classe  
tuelur / indomitos in corde gerens Ariadna  
furores, etc.*

410. *arce ex summa*: cf. 2, 41; 4, 586, n. (*e speculis*); 6, 519; *Ov. Rem. Am.* 57-58: *nec moriens Dido summa vidisset ab arce / Dardaniis vento vela dedisse rates*.

411. *misceri*: cf. 4, 160, n. (*misceri*).

411. *ante oculos*: in the same position in the verse in 1, 114; 2, 531; 2, 773; 7, 420; 11, 887; *Lucr.* 1, 62; 1, 342; 1, 998; etc.; cf. also *Aen.* 2, 270; 3, 150; 5, 109; 11, 311; 12, 638.

411. *clamoribus*: *Serv.*: *navtarum scilicet*; cf. 3, 128: *nautilus exoritur vario certamine clamor*; 5, 140-141: *ferit aethera clamor / nauticus*; *Val. Fl.* 1, 186-187: *non clamor anhelis / nauticus*; 2, 112: *sonat aequore clamor*. In our passage, however, there cannot yet be any reference to the formal *celeuma*, for the actual start of the Trojans does not occur until 4, 581.

412. *improbe Amor*: *Serv.*: *exclamatio a poeta contra amorem*. A similar subjective intrusion into the epic is found in *Apoll. Rh.* 4, 445-446: *σχέτλι' Ἔρως, μέγα πῆμα, μέγα στίγος ἀνθρώποισιν, / ἐκ σθένος οὐλόμεναι τ' ἐρίδες στοναχαὶ τε γόοι τε, κτλ.*; cf. *Aen.* 3, 56-57: *quid non mortalia pectora cogis, / auri sacra fames*; *Ov. F.* 2, 331: *quid non amor improbus audet*; *Prop.* 1, 1, 6; 2, 33, 42; *Claud. Carm. min.* 8, 1: *quid non saevus Amor flammaram numine cogat*; *Epithal. de Nupt. Hon.* 111-113: *quae proelia sudas, / improbe? quis iacuit telis? iterumne Tonantem / inter Sidonias cogis mugire iuencas*; *Prud. Hamartig.* 149: *improba mors, quid non mortalia pectora cogis*; *Anth. Lat. no. 253, 6-7* (1, p. 202 Riese): *improbe dure puer, crudelis crimine matris, / pompam ducis,*

*Amor, nullo satiate triumpho*; *Maphaeus Vegius, Aen.* 13, 146-147: *o nimium dominandi innata cupido, / mortales quo caeca vehis*; *Cayado, Ecl.* 5, 111: *Amor improbe*. In *Ecl.* 8, 49-50 *Amor* is further described as *puer improbus*; cf. 10, 29: *crudelis Amor*. The *improbus . . . amor* of *Hor. S.* 1, 3, 24 is of a different kind. The purpose of the highly subjective apostrophe is doubtless, as Kappes and Wörner (*ad loc.*) suggest, to explain and ease the sudden change in Dido's plans, which makes necessary the humbling of her pride; cf. Cartault, *L'Art de Virgile dans l'Énéide*, 1 (1926), 322; see also Hampel, *De Apostrophae apud Romanorum Poetas Usu* (1908), 16; 28.

412. *quid*: on the double accusative with *cogo* cf. Kühner-Stegmann, *Ausf. Gram. d. lat. Spr.* 2, 1, 2 ed. (1912), 303, with many illustrations.

412. *mortalia pectora*: cf. *Ov. M.* 4, 201; 6, 472.

412. *cogis*: the verb is awkwardly repeated two lines below, doubtless because Virgil had, like many authors, a naturally and unconsciously repetitive mind; cf. Sparrow, *Half-lines and Repetitions in Virgil* (1931), 60. Perhaps, however, the duplication might be justified on the ground that two sides of the same process are described: Love constrains and Dido is constrained.

413. *ire*: cf. 5, 782: *cogunt me, Neptune, preces descendere in omnis*; *Ov. M.* 5, 668: *ibimus in poenas*; *F.* 6, 89: *in litem . . . issent*; *Flor.* 1, 20, 2: *in sudorem eunt*; *Stat. Theb.* 6, 234-235: *ibat / in cineres*; 11, 193: *ibant in lacrimas*; *Serv.*: *hinc est amoris improbitas, quae cogit lacrimis rogare dudum superbam*.

413. *iterum . . . iterum*: cf. the repeti-

414. cogitur et supplex animos submittere amori,  
ne quid inexpertum frustra moritura relinquat.

cogitor *P* (cogitur *P*<sup>2</sup>). submittere *b*.

fr. ustra γ, om. *m*. relinquit *M* (relinquat *M*<sup>1</sup>; Fairclough in *Trans. Am. philol. Assoc.* 63 (1932), 218), relinquit *c*.

414. cogitur . . . animos: *Anth. Lat. no.* 15, 72 (1, p. 53 Riese) — animum —. 414. animos submittere: *Gl. Ansil.* 54, 269 — animo —.

415. ne . . . relinquat: *Non. p.* 296 *M.* (p. 458 L.); *Donat. in Ter. Andr.* 311 — nequit *A*; inexpertum (expertum *C*) f. m. r. —; *Auson. Epigr.* 79, 8 (p. 341 Peiper). 415. ne . . . frustra: [*Prob.*] *De ult. Syll.* 10 (G. L. K. 4, 252) — inexpertum f. —. 415. inexpertum: *Gl. Ansil.* 299, 613; 299, 615; q.v.

tion of *bis* in *G.* 1, 48; 2, 150; *Aen.* 2, 218; 6, 134. Dido's earlier tears appeared at 4, 314.

413. in lacrimas: Knight (in *Cl. Weekly*, 26 (1933), 202, n. 16) compares the phrase *pedibus ire in sententiam*.

413. temptare precando: cf. 4, 113: *animum temptare precando*.

414. animos: Schol. Dan.: 'animos' quidam pro 'iras' accipiunt, ut 'animosus' dicitur pro 'iracundus', etc. For many Virgilian cases of *animus* in the plural meaning 'courage,' 'spirit,' etc., cf. Spitta, *Quaestiones Vergilianae* (1867), 40; Braumüller, *Ueber Trophen u. Figuren in Vergil's Aeneis*, 1 (1877), 15; Bowra in *Cl. Quart.* 23 (1929), 69. Here the context, and especially the word *supplex*, indicate that *animos* means 'her proud spirit'; cf. 11, 366: *pone animos*; and other cases cited in *Thes. Ling. Lat.* 2 (1900), 104, 46–57.

414. submittere: cf. Cic. *Ad Fam.* 11, 3, 3: *neque enim decet . . . periculo ulli submittere animum nostrum*. Palmer in the introduction to his discussion of *Ov. Heroides*, 7, thinks that this is the point in the story at which that poem is laid.

415. ne quid, etc.: cf. Liv. 25, 23, 4: *ne quid inexpertum relinqueret*; Curt. 3, 6, 14: *nec Philippus quicquam inexpertum omisit*; 4, 4, 2: *ne quid inexpertum omitteret*; 8, 14, 29: *nec quicquam inexpertum . . . timor omitebat*; 9, 2, 27: *qui nihil inexpertum, nihil metu omisum relinquant*; Sen. *Ep.* 101, 4: *nullum relinquens inexpertum genus quaestus*; Gualterus, *Alexandreis*, 6, 418–419: *nihil est quod . . . virtus / linquat inexpertum*; Vida, *Christias*, 4, 206: *nil ut inexpertum mori-*

*bundo in corpore linquat*; also *Ter. Andr.* 311: *omnia experiri certumst prius quam pereo*.

Interpretations of the passage differ according as *frustra* is phrased with *inexpertum* . . . *relinquat* or with *moritura*. The Scholia Danielis take the former view: *rogabat, inquit, non spe inpetrandi, sed ne esset quod sibi posset inpulare si non rogasset, quamquam frustra rogaret; id est, ne derelinqueret medium aliquod intemptatum; et hoc 'frustra,' quia moritura erat*; cf. the explanation of Page (*ad loc.*): "If she left anything unattempted which might have saved her, she would die though she need not have done so." But Servius probably comes nearer the truth: *et 'frustra' ex iudicio poetae est*; i.e., this is another of those subjective, more or less parenthetical, intrusions by the poet (cf. 4, 65, n. (*heu, etc.*), above) of which we have had examples in 4, 408–412. We need not assume that Dido had as yet planned her own death (cf. 4, 308, n. (*nec, etc.*), above; Gross, *Krit. u. exeget. zu Vergils Aeneis* (1883), 23), and still less that she felt it would be to no purpose; *frustra moritura* — which might, without injustice, be set off as a parenthetical expression — is analogous to Virgil's use of *infelix* in 4, 68 (where cf. the note), as an expression of the poet's own sympathy. A close parallel is *G.* 4, 458–459: *immanem ante pedes hydrum moritura puella / servantem ripas alta non vidit in herba*, where *moritura* reveals the reflection of the poet rather than the consciousness of Eurydice herself (cf. Klouček, *Vergiliana* (1883), 5), who, like Dido in the present line, is recognized by Virgil as doomed to death.

416. 'Anna, vides toto properari litore circum;  
undique convenere; vocat iam carbasus auras,

properi *P.*  
(u)ndique *P.*

416. Anna . . . circum: *Prisc. Inst.* 14, 33 (G. L. K. 3, 41) — arua ?*K* (corr. *k*); properare *R*; littore *D* —; 14, 51 (G. L. K. 3, 55) — littore *H*, littorae (corr. in littore) *L* —; *Clemens, Ars gram.* 165, 13 (*Philol., Supplbd.* 20, 3 (1928), 105).

415. frustra: Knapp (in *Cl. Weekly*, 24 (1931), 188, n. 18) notes the connection of the word with *fraus* (Walde, *Lat. etym. Wörterb.* 2 ed. (1910), s. v.), and sees in its use "the suggestion that the person of whom it is said was deceived, cheated of his expectation, e.g., by his own blundering or by the Fates."

416. Anna: the only introduction of the speech is that implied in *precando* (4, 413), cf. 3, 85; Wilms, *Qua Ratione Verg. in Aen. aut locuturum aliquem aut locutum esse indicaverit* (1865), 18. Anna's presence has not been recently noted, but it is Virgil's fashion not to emphasize the whereabouts and actions of minor characters until such time as they are needed in the story; cf. Heinze, *Virgils epische Technik*, 3 ed. (1915), 338. Dido here makes no reproaches against Anna, like those in her soliloquy (4, 548-549), for her advice in 4, 31-52 (cf. Heinze, *op. cit.*, 128, n. 1), perhaps because she has not yet completely abandoned hope (4, 429-434), but Anna is now the only medium through which that hope might be realized. I cannot agree with the Scholia Danielis in their statement: 'Anna' prope invidiose, quia ipsa nuptias suaserat. The speech is free from the recurrent sarcasm of her second speech to Aeneas (4, 365-387), unless we are to see such in *pulchro* (4, 432).

416. vides: Schol. Dan.: *est maior vis adfirmantis cum dicit 'vides.'* petitio autem haec etiam deliberationis modum a quibusdam putatur tenere; cf. Val. Fl. 2, 400-402: *ipsa quoque Hypsipyle subitos per litora cursus / ut vidit, totaque viros decedere Lemno, / ingemit*; etc.

416. toto . . . litore: cf. 4, 397-398: *litore . . . / . . . toto.*

416. properari: for the impersonal use cf. 6, 45: *ventum erat.*

416. circum: Servius says: *circum litus; nam postposita praepositio et accentum mutavit et suas perdidit vires*; while the Scholia Danielis more precisely state: 'circum' non est praepositio sed adverbium loci; cf. 10, 118: *portis circum omnibus instant*. Markland's attempt (on *Stat. Silv.* 2, 5, 12) to construe *circum* with the words following it, though adopted by various editors and seemingly in part supported by the occasional grouping of *circum* and *undique* (e.g., 2, 598-599; 3, 635; *Thes. Ling. Lat.* 3 (1912), 1114, 73-81), has been well refuted by Henry (*Aeneidea*, 2 (1878), 741-742) and rejected by Hirtzel, Janell, and Goelzer.

417. undique convenere: = 2, 799; cf. 5, 293 (= 9, 720; *Cir.* 452): *undique conveniunt*; 7, 551: *undique ut auxilio veniant*; Schol. Dan.: *bene non addidit qui; intellegitur*. Schüler (*Quaestiones Vergilianae* (1883), 27-28) notes that the fleet is now ready to set sail but does not leave during lines 450-553 (or, in fact, till 4, 582), and wonders why it lingers all this time, which he supposes a delay of several days. I cannot myself see, however, that we need assume so long a time; cf. 4, 460 n. (*exaudiri*). It is now still daylight, so that Dido can see and point out to Anna the activities of the Trojans; night supervenes (4, 461), during which Dido has bad dreams (4, 465-473), which lead her to address her sister and prepare the pyre, ostensibly for magical purposes (4, 494-521). Probably during the latter part of this same night, while Dido is awake (4, 522-553), Aeneas sleeps (4, 554-555) on the eve of his departure (4, 555), sees Mercury in a dream (4, 556-570), and rouses his men (4, 571-581), who set forth just at daybreak (4, 582-586); cf. Heinze, *op. cit.*, 341; 343-344, who doubts whether all the events noted could have occurred in this time, and yet finds no clear



## 418. puppibus et laeti nautae imposuere coronas.

(p)puppibus P. naute γ. inposuere Mp.

418. puppibus . . . coronas: Donat. in Aen. 1, 190 — inposuere —. 418. imposuere coronas: Anth. Lat. no. 11, 29 (1, p. 42 Riese) — inposuere —.

indication on Virgil's part of a longer interval. Virgil's desire for concentration of time is rather clear.

417. *vocat*: on the variety of phrases used by Virgil for setting sail cf. Segebade, *Vergil als Seefahrer* (1895), 9, n. 1; these include 3, 70 (= 5, 764): *vocat auster in altum*; 3, 269; 3, 356–357: *aurae / vela vocant tumidoque inflatur carbasus austro*; 3, 454–455: *cursus in altum / vela vocet*. Norden (2 ed. of Book VI (1916), 433), commenting on Ennius's use of *carbasus* (Ann. 576) and Virgil's employment of *convenere* in a passage (11, 236) of Ennian flavor, considers our line also a possible imitation of some lost line of Ennius. Cf. also what Dido declares in Ov. H. 7, 171: *cum dabit aura viam, praebebis carbasa ventis*.

417. *carbasus*: Serv. Aen. 3, 357: *genus lini est, quod abusive plerumque pro velo ponitur*; cf. the glosses cited in *Thes. Ling. Lat.* 3 (1912), 429, 2–7; Torr, *Anc. Ships* (1895), 96 and n. 207. Buscaroli (ad loc.) suggests a reminiscence in Ov. Rem. Am. 531–532: *referent tua carbasa venti; / quaque vocant fluctus hac tibi remus eat*.

418. *puppibus*: Schol. Dan.: *Probus sane sic adnotavit 'si hunc versum omitteret, melius fecisset'*; yet the criticism overlooks the fact that the rejoicing is that of the Trojans rather than of Aeneas, who, it has been clearly indicated, departs with an inward struggle rather than with unmixed joy. As Buscaroli (ad loc.) observes, in this detail of enthusiasm the sailors are probably doing what was customarily done (and may we compare some modern conventional signs of joy at the departure of an ocean liner?) rather than anything that Aeneas had specifically ordered. The line is repeated from G. 1, 304, where, as usually, the ceremony takes place after port has been reached (either in thanksgiving, or, as Köchling, *De Coronarum apud Antiquos Vi atque Usu* (1914), 82, thinks, to avert the

evil eye; cf. also Eitrem, *Opferitus u. Voropfer d. Gr. u. Römer* (1915), 67, n. 3; Deubner in *Arch. f. Religionswiss.* 30 (1933), 73), rather than, as here, before setting sail. Sparrow (*Half-lines and Repetitions in Virgil* (1931), 97–98) cites other parallels; cf. Prop. 3, 24, 15: *ecce coronatae portum teligere carinae*; 4, 7, 59–60 (doubtfully apposite): *ecce coronato pars altera vecta phaselo / mulcet ubi Elysias aura beata rosas*; Ov. Am. 3, 11, 29–30: *iam mea votiva puppis redimita corona / lenta tumescentes aequoris audit aquas*; Rem. Am. 811: *fessa date sarta carinae*; Ep. 15, 211–212: *sive redis, puppique tuae votiva paranda / munera*; M. 15, 695–696: *Aeneadae gaudent, caesoque in litore tauro / torta coronatae solvunt retinacula classis*; F. 4, 335; 6, 779 (in rituals of thanksgiving); Vitruv. 2, 8, 15: *Rhodii . . . cum prospexissent suas naves laureatas venire* (as a sign of victory); Sil. 11, 484–485: *lauro redimita subibat / optatos puppis portus*; Val. Fl. 1, 301: *visa coronatae fulgens tulula carinae*; Curt. 4, 4, 5: *navigia consendunt redimita floribus coronisque*; Suet. Vitell. 10: *delicatissimis navigiis et variarum coronarum genere redimitis* (during a river trip); Dracont. Orest. 233: *regia puppis adest variis ornata coronis*. In few, if any, of the above cases can we be sure that the garlanding took place as ships set sail. In Aesch. Suppl. 345 (*αἰδοῦ σὺ πρῖν θῆναι πόλεος ὧδ' ἐστεμμένην*) this question is not clear, and it is perhaps only in Plat. *Phaedo*, 58 a–c, Xen. *Hell.* 5, 1, 3, and in Ov. M. 15, 696: *torta coronatae solvunt retinacula classes*, that it is plainly done before the ships start. Cf., however, Paschalius, *Coronae* (1671), 98–99.

Even granted, however, that garlands may have sometimes been placed at the beginning of a voyage, it has been queried whether the Trojan sailors, in the haste of departure, would have had time for this rite; cf. Schol. Dan.: *multi funium coronas accipi volunt, qui*

419. hunc ego si potui tantum sperare dolorem,

tantum potui *dell.*

419-420. hunc . . . potero: *Macrob. Sat.* 4, 6, 6; *Serv. Ecl.* 9, 3. 419. hunc . . . dolorem: *Donat. in Ter. Phorm.* 239; 250; *Serv. Aen.* 1, 543; 11, 275; *Schol. Dan. Ecl.* 8, 26; *Charis. Inst. gram.* 4 (G. L. K. 1, 270); *Diomed. Art. gram.* 2 (G. L. K. 1, 449) — dolorem *om. ABM* —; *Aug. Enchirid.* 1, 8 (*Patr. Lat.* 40, 234); *Prisc. Inst.* 18, 203 (G. L. K. 3, 307) — tantum potui *N* —; *Donat. Ars gram.* 3 (G. L. K. 4, 394); *Pomp. Comm.* (G. L. K. 5, 293); *Sacerd. Art. gram.* 1 (G. L. K. 6, 453) — spererare *B* —; *Isid. Diff.* 1, 513; *Humbert. Adv. Simoniacos*, 2, 15 (*Patr. Lat.* 143, 1082) — hinc —; [*Serg.*] *frag. ap. G. L. K.* 4, 564, n.; *Iulian. Tolet. De Vitiis et Figuris*, 3, 1 — po. renouare do. *F* —. 419. hunc . . . potui: *Philargyr. in Ecl.* 9, 3. 419. tantum . . . dolorem: *Quintil. Inst.* 8, 2, 4.

*solent, quotiens navigatur, in modum coronarum componi; nam fugientes quemadmodum naves coronabant?* Kvřířala, on the contrary (*Neue Beitr. z. Erkl. d. Aeneis* (1881), 118), thinks that, since a day and a night intervened before setting sail, this crowning of the ships is far too early! Sparrow (*l.c.*) suggests that this line was one of Virgil's *libicines*, inserted temporarily to support the structure of the poem and later to be replaced by something else. I should retain the line without change.

The term *puppis* is often figuratively used for *navis* (cf. Braumüller, *Ueber Tropen u. Figuren in Vergil's Aeneis*, 1 (1877), 20; *Quintil.* 8, 6, 20 speaks of this use as poetic), but it is more likely here used literally of the sterns of the vessels, or, better, of the images of protecting deities placed on them; cf. 10, 171: *aurato fulgebat Apolline puppis*; Kunz, *Realien in Vergils Aeneis*, 1 (1894), 16; Segebad, *Vergil als Seefahrer* (1895), 8.

418. *et*: postpositive; cf. 4, 33, n. (*Veneris nec*); 4, 124, n. (*et*); 4, 190, n. (*gaudens*).

418. *laeti*: cf. 4, 295, n. (*laeti*); *Schol. Dan.*: *id est, aut minime timentes; aut adeo non necessitate nec iussu abeunt sed volentes. et hoc aut ad spem retinendi aut ad indignationem commovendam dictum est*; etc.

419. *hunc*: before this verse Ribbeck placed lines 548-549, and assumed a lacuna after them — a procedure which made no improvement in the text and which Janell has very properly disregarded.

419. *si potui*: various interpretations of this sentence are collected by Kvřířala, *Neue Beitr. z. Erkl. d. Aeneis* (1881), 119-121; by

Klouček, *Vergiliana* (1883), 6-7; and by Murley (in *Cl. Weekly*, 23 (1929), 67-68). Of these that of Heyne, by which *si potui* is interpreted to mean *si debui*, and that of Servius (*si potui autem pro 'si potuissem'*), which Murley follows but for which he offers no convincing parallels, must certainly be rejected. The best sense is gained by taking the words literally, as do Henry (*Aeneidea*, 2 (1878), 742-743) and Conington (*ad loc.*): "if I was able (as I was; on this use of *si* cf. *Ecl.* 2, 27; *G.* 1, 7) to anticipate this great grief I shall also be able to bear it." With the sentiment Servius compares 6, 105: *omnia praecepti atque animo mecum ante peregi*, and Henry cites Dante, *Parad.* 17, 27: *chē suelta previsa vien più lenta* (which commentators compare to a Latin verse ascribed to Ovid but not found in his works: *nam praevisa minus laedere tela solent*), suggesting that in 4, 298 (*omnia tuta timens*; cf. also 4, 296-297) Dido had shown a misgiving that her felicity was too great to continue.

419. *tantum . . . dolorem*: to Anna this is the grief which Dido will feel at Aeneas's departure; whether for Dido herself there is a *double entendre*, implying also her impending suicide, is perhaps doubtful (cf. Penquitt, *De Didonis Vergilianae Exitu* (1910), 23-24), though she may have anticipated dying from unrequited love. Perhaps Virgil may have intended a bit of tragic irony, so that the reader, foreseeing Dido's death, might read into the words what even she herself did not yet suspect. Another form of *double entendre* is found in the explanation of Thiel, followed by Gebhardi (cf. Klouček, *op. cit.*, 6) and

420. et perferre, soror, potero. miserae hoc tamen unum  
exsequere, Anna, mihi; solam nam perfidus ille

e)t P.

(ex)sequere P.

[419] 420-421. miserae . . . mihi: *Donat. in Ter. Ad. 291* (p. 68 Wessner). 420. hoc . . . unum: *Gl. Ansil. 282, g.*

[420] 421-422. solam . . . sensus: *Non. p. 32 M.* (p. 46 L.) — te collet ego lere arc L<sup>1</sup> —; *Donat. in Ter. Andr. 301* — nam p. (perfidus V) i. t. c. a. (a om. V) e. t. c. s. (var. lecti. in Wessneri adn. crit.) —. 421-422. solam . . . colere: *Non. p. 250 M.* (p. 377 L.); *Donat. in Ter. Phorm. 92* — nam om. V; ille t. c. a. R —; *Prob. Inst. Art. (G. L. K. 4, 144)*; *Schol. Dan. Aen. 4, 305*. 421-422. solam . . . te: *Donat. in Ter. Eun. 407* (p. 360 Wessner) — solam om. V —.

Plessis and Lejay, that Anna understood the words to mean "as I have had the strength to anticipate this grief, so I shall be able to bear it", while Dido herself meant "as little as I was able to bear it in anticipation, so little shall I be able to endure it." This is more subtle but less easy to read into the words of the text.

With the line cf. its echo in 6, 463-464: *nec credere quivi / hunc tantum tibi me discessu ferre dolorem*; also 9, 426: *tantum potuit perferre dolorem*; and, for the use of *dolor*, Pichon, *De Sermone amatorio* (1902), 132-133.

419. sperare: most grammarians who quote this line (see above) do so because of supposed *acyrologia* (ἀκυρολογία) in its use of *sperare*, Donatus describing it as *inpropria dictio*, and Serv. (*ad loc.*) remarking *nam speramus bona, timemus adversa* (cf. *Sacerd. l. c.*), while Priscian compares a similar use of ἐλπίζειν. Cf. also 4, 292, n. (*speret*). Parallels may be found in other writers, especially in verse.

420. perferre: cf. *G. 2, 343* (= *Aen. 5, 617*; *5, 769*; *9, 426*): *perferre laborem*; *Aen. 6, 437* (= *12, 177*): *perferre labores*; *8, 291-293*: *labores / . . . / pertulerit*; *9, 289*: *lacrimas perferre parentis*; also *5, 710*: *superanda omnis fortuna ferendo est*; *Sen. Thyest. 307*: *leve est miseras ferre, perferre est grave*. For *ferre* and compounds as applied to lovers cf. Pichon, *De Sermone amatorio* (1902), 145-146.

420. miserae . . . mihi: cf. *4, 20, n.* (*miseri*); *4, 117*; *4, 429*; also, for the adjective joined with a pronoun in the first

person, *Ecl. 2, 58*; *G. 4, 494*; *Aen. 2, 70*; *4, 315*; *9, 285*; *10, 849*. *Donat. ad Ter. Adelph. 291* remarks: *proprium est mulierum, cum loquuntur, aut aliis blandiri . . . aut se commiserari*. On the somewhat unusual form of elision shown in *miserae hoc* cf. Norden, 2 ed. of *Book VI* (1916), 455.

420. tamen: i.e., I shall bear it, but it will be an unhappy experience for me, so that I beg you to carry out for me this one thing.

421. exsequere: cf. *4, 396*; *6, 236*.

421. mihi: *Schol. Dan.*: *pro me exsequere, id est, pro mea causa*.

421. solam, etc.: whether Dido in her realization that she did not herself share the inner confidence of Aeneas (Heinze, *Virgils epische Technik*, 3 ed. (1915), 135, n. 1) — one of the most tragic features of this tragic story — turns in desperation to her sister and ascribes to her a greater influence over his feelings than Anna really possessed (which would be psychologically true and artistically effective; cf. Cartault, *L'Art de Virgile dans l'Énéide*, 1 (1926), 323), or Virgil here shows a slight trace of a varying tradition found in Varro (ap. *Schol. Dan. Aen. 4, 682* and ap. *Serv. Aen. 5, 4*; cf. *Ov. F. 3, 545-654*), according to which Aeneas and Anna were in love, is not certain; cf. Wörner, *Die Sage von den Wanderungen des Aeneas*, etc. (1882), 19; Pichon in *Rev. de Philol.*, n. s., 33 (1909), 254; Crump, *Growth of the Aeneid* (1920), 58, n. 3; Terzaghi, *Virgilio ed Enea* (1928), 10, n. 2. This second tradition, however, would have been hard to reconcile with that used by Virgil without assuming some

422. te colere, arcanos etiam tibi credere sensus;  
sola viri mollis aditus et tempora noras.  
i, soror, atque hostem supplex adfare superbum:

(*te*) P. archanos *ac*<sup>1</sup>.

ii MP (i M<sup>1</sup>). adferre *c*<sup>1</sup>.

[421\*] 422. arcanos: *Gl. Ansil.* 61, 95 — archanos —.

423. sola . . . noras: *Non. p.* 346 M. (*p.* 549 L.) — molles —; *Schol. Dan. Aen.* 4, 293 — sula F; molles; moras F —; *Eugraph. in Ter. Heaut.* 364. 423. mollis aditus: *Gl. Ansil.* 374, 198.

424. i . . . superbum: *Non. p.* 463 M. (*p.* 742 L.) — supplexa A<sup>a</sup> —; *Serv. Aen.* 4, 496; *Schol. Dan. Aen.* 4, 416.

jealousy on Dido's part of the success of Anna's affection for Aeneas, and of this there seems no trace, though La Cerda (*ad loc.*) would suspect it. It is more probable that Anna had acted as a go-between, but that the account of this relation would have extended the story too much; cf. Heinze, *op. cit.*, 393-394. Less plausibly Irvine (*ad loc.*) remarks: "Aeneas was never quite at ease with his mistress and more at home with her less passionate sister. This surely suits his character well. Virgil's Dido could never have made a Roman wife for Aeneas; Virgil's Anna might have done so."

421. *nam*: for the postpositive use Norden (2 ed. of Book VI (1916), 403) compares 1, 444; 1, 518; 1, 731; 3, 379; 6, 667; 9, 803; 10, 585; 12, 206; and instances from other poets. The slight cacophony, *sola nam*, has been unfavorably criticized.

421. *perfidus*: cf. 4, 305, n. (*perfide*); *Ecl.* 8, 91: *perfidus ille*.

421. *ille*: Donat. *ad Ter. Andr.* 301, notes that this pronoun is used *amatorie*, and La Cerda (*ad loc.*) cites as examples of such use 4, 28-29; *Ter. Andr.* 301; *Prop.* 1, 5, 8; 1, 17, 23.

422. *colere*: *Serv.*: *colebat*; *infinitivus pro indicativo*; this and *credere*, representing repeated action (Kühner-Stegmann, *Ausf. Gram. d. lat. Spr.* 2, 1, 2 ed. (1912), 137), are the only such infinitives in Book IV (cf. the cases cited from Virgil by Ley, *Vergilian. Quaest.* 1 (1877), 22; Schlicher in *Cl. Philol.* 9 (1914), 392-393; cf. *id. p.* 380), unless we consider *queri* and *ducere* (4, 463) as such, rather than as dependent on *visa* (4, 461).

Nonius (*p.* 250 M. = *p.* 377 L.) defines *colere* as *diligere*, citing this instance (cf. 4, 421, n. (*sola*, etc.), above), but the word is ambiguous in meaning and may refer to nothing more than attention or respect.

422. *arcanos*: cf. *Cic. De Fin.* 2, 85: *at quicum ioca seria, ut dicitur, quicum arcana, quicum occulta omnia*; *Hor. C.* 3, 21, 15-16: *arcanum iocoso / consilium relegis Lyaeo* (cf. *Val. Max.* 2, 2, 1; *Liv.* 35, 35, 4); *Macrob. Sat.* 1, 24, 13: *arcanorum sensuum investigato aditu*; etc.). In the other Virgilian instances of the word (1, 262; 6, 72; 7, 123) it is applied to the hidden decrees of fate rather than the intimate thoughts of human beings.

423. *sola*, etc.: cf. *Ioan. Saresb. Policr.* 3, p. 484 a: *huius cautela meminit Maro, cum ad Eneam revocandum sororem a Didone missam asserit, quae sola viri molles aditus et tempora norat*.

423. *mollis aditus*: = *Sil.* 4, 489.

423. *aditus et*: = 9, 67; cf. 4, 293-294: *templaturum aditus et quae mollissima fandi / tempora*; on the plural cf. Braumüller, *Ueber Tropen u. Figuren in Vergil's Aeneis*, 1 (1877) 16; Norden, 2 ed. of Book VI (1916), 409. Conington (*ad loc.*) thinks *virī aditus et tempora* a kind of hendiadys for *tempora virī adeundi*. Cf. also *Sall. Iug.* 35, 5: *loca atque tempora* (*sc. eius*) *cuncta explorat*; *Hor. S.* 1, 9, 56: *difficiles aditus primos habet*; *Ov. M.* 9, 611-612: *non adiit apte nec legit idonea, credo, / tempora*; [Quintil.] *Decl.* 9, 2: *qui dum tempus opportunum, faciles aditus capto. On tempora* (*καίροι*) cf. also 4, 477, n. (*hinc atque hinc*).

424. *i*, etc.: not sarcastic, as in 4, 381.

## 425. non ego cum Danaïs Troianam exscindere gentem

excindere *codd.* (excingere (*corr. in excindere*) *p.*, excidere *delt.*).

425-426. non . . . iuravi: *Quintil. Inst.* 9, 2, 39 — excindere —; *Macrob. Exc. Bob.* (G. L. K. 5, 638) — dum Danaïs; excidere g. a. i. —; [*Acro*] in *Hor. C.* 1, 15, 7 — ergo A; excindere —; *Lact. Plac. in Stat. Theb.* 7, 332 — excindere —. 425. non . . . Danaïs: *Macrob. Exc. Paris.* (G. L. K. 5, 617).

Anna here suggests the ἀγγελος of tragedy (cf. DeWitt, *The Dido Episode in the Aeneid of Virgil* (1907), 41), save that we learn the message when it is committed to her rather than when it is delivered by her. Virgil in the *Aeneid* mentions writing only at 3, 444-445 (in Homer mentioned only in *Il.* 6, 169), so that a personal messenger is essential, as well as here more effective.

A MS of S. X/XI in the Laurentian Library (no. 23 of the Ashburnham catalogue), perhaps originating at St. Gall and copied from an earlier one, shows musical neums for 4, 424-436 and 4, 651-658 (among other passages so noted, all in direct discourse), and Combarieu, *Fragments de l'Énéide en musique d'après un manuscrit inédit* (1898), 67-69 and Plate IV, transposes these passages into modern notation (with harmonization on pp. 82-85 by Missa).

424. *hostem*: cf. 4, 323, n. (*hospes*); 4, 549: *his, germana, malis oneras atque obicis hosti*; Serv.: *postquam ex aperto denegavit se Carthagini esse mansurum*; Schol. Dan.: *nonnulli autem iuxta veteres 'hostem' pro 'hospile' dictum accipiunt* (citing Plaut. *Curc.* 5) . . . *nec enim vere 'hostem' diceret quem revocare cupiebat*. But the context shows that Dido means one more unsympathetic than a mere stranger; either she considers him an enemy in his attitude toward her (rather than because of hers toward him) or, as is quite possible, she is too distracted and confused in mind to distinguish logically, in which case the last clause of the explanation of the Scholia Danielis would demand from her a consistency of which she is at this moment incapable.

424. *supplex*: La Cerda (*ad loc.*) remarks that though Scaliger had called this an *odiosum verbum* yet *nullam indignitatem perpendit qui amat*.

424. *superbum*: because of his obduracy; cf. *Cic. Tusc.* 1, 17, where failure to answer is called *superbum*; Pichon, *De Sermone amatorio* (1902), 271. Editors differ as to whether a period or a colon should follow *superbum*, i.e., whether the following lines are Dido's explanation to Anna of why she deserves friendly consideration from Aeneas rather than treatment as an enemy, or the substance which she desires conveyed to him. Certainly 429 and the following lines contain such a message, and it may well be that from the data given her by 425 ff. Anna is expected to construct her appeal. With the phrase cf. *Stat. Theb.* 2, 524: *hostemque superbum*.

425. *non ego*, etc.: Schol. Dan.: *sensus illi contrarius* (3, 602) '*scio me Danaïs e classibus unum*', which is followed by the line *et bello Iliaco fateor petiisse penates*. Cf. 1, 527-528: *non nos aut ferro Libycos populare penatis / venimus aut raptas ad litora vertere praedas*; 4, 227, n. (*non illum*); 12, 189; and *Il.* 21, 95-96: *μή με κτεῖν', ἐπεὶ οὐχ ὁμογάστριος Ἑκτορός εἰμι, / ὅς τοι ἑταῖρον ἔφρονεν*; Catull. 64, 221; *Hor. C.* 1, 15, 7-8; 2, 20, 5; *Ov. H.* 5, 156: *non ego cum Danaïs arma cruenta fero*; 7, 165-166: *non ego sum Phthia magnisque oriunda Mycenis, / nec steterunt in te virque paterque meus*; *Ep.* 20, 117; *Rem. Am.* 5: *non ego Tydides, a quo tua saucia mater*; *M.* 1, 182; *Ex Pont.* 2, 9, 67: *non ego caede nocens in Ponti litora veni*; *Tibull.* 1, 2, 83; 1, 2, 85; 1, 6, 73; 3, 5, 7; *Petron.* 133, 3: *non sanguine tristi / perfusus venio, non templis impius hostis / admovi dextram*; *Stat. Theb.* 11, 344-345: *non ego te contra Stygiis feralia sanxi / vota deis*; *Silv.* 5, 5, 66; *Sil.* 6, 504-505: *non ego Amyclaeum ductorem in proelia misi, / nec nostris tua sunt circumdata colla catenis*; *Claud. De Rapt. Pros.* 2, 255-256: *non ego, cum rapido saeviret Phlegra tumultu, / signa deis adversa*

426. Aulide iuravi classemve ad Pergama misi,  
nec patris Anchisae cineres manesve revelli;

aulidae p. aut pergama c<sup>l</sup>.

anchise γ. cinerem Mp (cf. Fairclough in Trans. Am. philol. Assoc. 63 (1932), 220). mane b<sup>l</sup>. reuulsi cod. Oblongus Pierii (cf. Serv. inf. cit.).

[425\*] 426. Aulide iuravi: Schol. Lucan. 5, 236 (ed. Weber). 426. iuravi: Gl. Ansil. 322, 179; q.v. 426. classemve: Gl. Ansil. 121, 94.

427. nec . . . revelli: Schol. Dan. Aen. 10, 150; Donat. Aen. 5, 80 — manisue —. 427. manesve revelli: Diomed. Art. gram. 1 (G. L. K. 1, 372). 427. revelli: Gl. Ansil. 497, 1794; q.v.

tuli. Quintil. 9, 2, 39 calls this figure *aversio*, quae a proposita quaestione abducit audientem. Virgil here uses direct rather than indirect discourse, to avoid the cumbersome character of the latter; cf. Kvřčala, Neue Beitr. z. Erkl. d. Aeneis (1881), 122.

425. Troianam . . . gentem: cf. 6, 767: Troianae gloria gentis.

425. excindere: cf. 2, 177; 7, 316: amborum populos excindere regum; 9, 137: sceleratam excindere gentem; Tac. Ann. 2, 25: excindit . . . hostem; Hist. 5, 16: ut . . . hostem in aeternum excinderent. To a Roman reader Dido's statement might suggest, by contrast, the famous oath of the young Hannibal (cf. the passages collected by Lenschau in P.-W. 7 (1912), 2323, noting especially Sil. 1, 114-119); cf. also 4, 625-629, infra.

For the infinitive depending upon *iurare* cf. 4, 487, and n. (*solvere*); also Cato ap. Plin. N. H. 29, 14; Sil. 2, 351-352: flammis urere gentem / iurabat Phrygiam; Claud. De Bell. Goth. 81-82; Krause, De Vergilii Usurpatione Infinitivi (1878), 92 (who suspects imitation of Greek usage; cf. ὀμνειν with the infinitive); Kühner-Stegmann, Ausf. Gram. d. lat. Spr. 2, 1, 2 ed. (1912), 668.

426. Aulide: Serv.: Aulis insula (for this same mistake elsewhere cf. Oberhammer in P.-W. 2 (1896), 2409), in qua coniuraverunt Graeci se non ante reversuros quam Troia caperetur; Il. 2, 303-304 (translated by Cic. De Div. 2, 63): ὅτ' ἐς Ἀλίδᾳ νῆες Ἀχαιῶν / ἡγερῆοντο κατὰ Πριάμῳ καὶ Τρωσὶ φέρουσαι; 2, 496; Hor. C. 1, 15, 5-8: mala ducis avi domum / quam multo repetet Graecia milite, / coniurata tuas rumpere nuptias / et regnum

Priami vetus; Mela, 2, 45: Aulis, Agamemnoniae Graiorumque classis in Troiam coniurantium statio; Paus. 2, 22, 2: Ἀνκίας . . . ἔφη τοὺς ἐπὶ Ἰλιον στρατεύσαντας ἐνταῦθα ὁμόσαι παραμένειν πολέμουτας ἔστ' ἂν ἢ τὸ Ἰλιον ἔλωσιν ἢ μαχομένους τελευτῇ σφᾶς ἐπιλάβῃ; Solin. 7, 24: Aulidis portum, saeculis traditum Graiae coniurationis memoria; and, for a description, cf. Oberhammer, l. c.

426. ad Pergama: cf. 4, 344, n. (Pergama).

427. nec, etc.: in Ov. H. 7, 161-162 Dido declares: Ascaniusque suos feliciter inpleat annos, / et senis Anchisae molliter ossa cubent. Servius on Anchisae . . . revelli remarks: quod dicitur ex oraculo fecisse Diomedes, et secum eius ossa portasse, quae postea reddidit Aeneae cum multa adversa perferret; hinc est (5, 80-81, where cf. Serv.) 'salvete recepti nequiquam cineres.' sciendum sane Varronem dicere Diomedem eruta Anchisae ossa filio reddidisse, Catonem autem adfirmare quod Anchises ad Italiam venit (cf. Serv. Aen. 1, 267). tanta est inter ipsos varietas et historiarum confusio. There seem to be no other traces of this tradition of the violation of the tomb of Anchises, though the accounts of the place of his death vary greatly (cf. Rossbach in P.-W. 1 (1894), 2108), placing it at Aeneia, on Mt. Anchisia in Arcadia, at Anchisus in Epirus, in Latium, or, according to Virgil, at Drepanum (3, 708-711; 5, 55-57; 5, 759-761; Hygin. Fab. 273). The Diomedes story is not told in Book III, where it would naturally be expected, and, in fact, from the account of the death of Anchises (3, 708-715), it would seem that this immediately preceded Aeneas's coming to

428. cur mea dicta negat duras demittere in auris?  
quo ruit? extremum hoc miserae det munus amanti:

negat  $MP^2\gamma abc$ , neget  $M^1P$ . demittere  $P\gamma abc\kappa$ . auris  $M$ , aures  $M^2b$ , aures (*corr. ex auris*)  $\gamma$ , auras  $c$ .

428. cur . . . auris: *Schol. cpv in Hor. Epod. 17, 53* — demittere; aures —. 428. mea dicta: *Gl. Ansil. 361, 6*. 428. duras: *Gl. Ansil. 191, 159; q.v.*

429. munus amanti: *Anth. Lat. no. 11, 97 (1, p. 44 Riese)*.

Carthage, leaving no time for this violation to have occurred. Yet Dido speaks as though Aeneas had told her of the sacrilege (cf. Georgii, *Über das dritte Buch der Aeneide* (1877), 68). The allusion may be explained either as an inconsistency not yet removed (cf. Henselmanns, *Die Widersprüche in Vergils Aeneis* (1914), 18) or as a purely hypothetical case of a crime particularly atrocious because affecting the status of the dead in the next life, the mention of which by Dido happens to show some coincidences with the Varronian tradition.

427. patris Anchisae: cf. 4, 351, n. (*patris Anchisae*).

427. cineres manesve: cf. 4, 34: *cinerem aut manis* (and note on *cinerem*). As between the readings *cinerem* and *cineres* Ribbeck (*Prolegomena crit.* (1866), 309) observes that Virgil uses *cinerem* only before a vowel; cf. Maas in *Archiv f. lat. Lexikog.* 12 (1902), 516; Unterharnscheidt, *De Veterum in Aeneide Coniecturis* (1911), 36. So, for the singular, cf. G. 1, 81: *cinerem immundum*; *Aen.* 4, 34: *cinerem aut*; 5, 743 (= 8, 410; 11, 211): *cinerem et*. The ashes had doubtless been buried beneath a *tumulus*; cf. the treatment of those of Misenus (6, 212–235); Saunders in *Am. Journ. of Philol.* 46 (1925), 357.

427. manes: cf. 4, 34, n. (*manis . . . sepultos*). According to some (e.g., Bell, *The Latin Dual* (1923), 311; Plessis and Lejay, *ad loc.*), *revelli* is used with *manes* by zeugma (= *laesi*), but in other cases cited by Marbach (in *P.-W.* 14 (1928), 1057; including 3, 63; Liv. 31, 30, 5; Tibull. 3, 2, 15; Prop. 2, 13, 32; Plin. *N. H.* 11, 148; Plin. *Ep.* 7, 27, 11; Val. Max. 6, 9, 9) *manes* may be used of a corpse, and it is doubtless

so employed here, Dido allowing for either the cremation or the inhumation of Anchises.

427. revelli: Serv.: *non 'revulsi'; nam 'velli' et 'revelli' dicimus; 'vulsus' vero et 'revulsus' usurpatum est tantum in participiis contra naturam*; cf. Kühner-Holzweissig, *Ausf. Gram. d. lat. Spr.* 1, 2 ed. (1912), 761. The feeling of the ancients toward *τυμβωρυχία* is seen in many literary passages (e.g., Cic. *Tusc.* 1, 27; Hor. *Epod.* 16, 13–14; Ov. *M.* 1, 386–387; *Anth. Pal.* 8, 253) as well as in numerous sepulchral inscriptions; e.g., Des-sau, *Inscr. Lat. selectae*, 2 (1906), nos. 8172–8207 b.

428. cur, etc.: *Schol. Dan.: non interrogat sed queritur* (i.e., this is a rhetorical rather than a real question). *quidam 'revelli' iungunt, ita ut sequatur 'cur mea dicta negel'*; so various modern editors, and Irvine (*ad loc.*) compares Plin. *Ep.* 3, 5, 16: *repeto me correptum ab eo cur ambularem*.

428. duras, etc.: cf. Sall. *Iug.* 102, 11: *hoc in pectus tuum demitte*; Liv. 34, 50, 2: *ut eas voces velut oraculo missas in pectora animosque demitterent*; Hor. *Epod.* 17, 53: *quid obseratis auribus fundis preces*; Ov. *H.* 7, 27: *ille* (i.e., Aeneas) *quidem male gratus et ad mea munera surdus*; *M.* 9, 468–469: *spes tamen obscenas animo demittere non est / ausa suo*; Sil. 6, 519: *ultima vox duras haec tunc penetravit ad auris*; Claud. *De VI Cons. Hon.* 368: *nec duras tantis precibus permovimus aures*; Pichon, *De Sermone amatorio* (1902), 136. The phrase is recalled by Walahfridus Strabo, *Ad Wenib. Abb.* 9 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 2, 359): *si dicta pias dimittis in aures*.

428. demittere: for *negare* followed by an infinitive cf. the numerous cases cited by Krause, *De Vergilii Usurpatione Infinitivi* (1878), 34–35 (including G. 3, 207–208:

430. expectet facilemque fugam ventosque ferentis.  
non iam coniugium antiquom, quod prodidit, oro,

expectet *P.* faciem *P* (facilem *P*<sup>1</sup>). uestos *M* (uentos *M*<sup>1</sup>). furentis *a*<sup>1</sup>.  
anticum *P*, antiquum *MP*<sup>1</sup><sub>γabc</sub>.

430. facilem fugam: *Gl. Ansil.* 231, 128; *Gl. Arma*, 20, 109 — falicem —.

431. non . . . oro: *Anth. Lat. no.* 17, 78 (1, p. 64 Riese) — antiquum —; *Lact. Plac. in Stat. Theb.* 2, 340 — antiquum (antiquum uel quod *Pa*) —.

*negabunt / verbera lenta pati et duris parere lupatis*; Kühner-Stegmann, *Ausf. Gram. d. lat. Spr.* 2, 1, 2 ed. (1912), 675.

429. quo ruit: cf. *Il.* 8, 94: πῆ φεύγεις; *Hor. Epod.* 7, 1: quo, quo scelesti ruitis; *Ov. H.* 7, 41: quo fugis? obstat hiems; and for the phrase *Aen.* 2, 520: quo ruis; 5, 741: quo deinde ruis; 10, 811: quo, moriture, ruis. That Dido still loves Aeneas to such an extent that, as in 4, 309, she dreads his exposure to the stormy sea, is emphasized by Rébeliau, *De Verg. in informandis muliebribus quae sunt in Aen. Personis Inventore* (1892), 81, n. 2; cf. *Serv.*: properat sine respectu salutis; nam hoc dicit, quod peto etiam ipsi prodest; amoris scilicet impatientia. Conington (*ad loc.*), on the other hand, remarks: "She tells him in effect that the last request she will ask him is that he will abandon an intention fraught with danger to himself — an artful way of pleading for her own interest." Perhaps the real answer to the dilemma is that to a lover in her state the two sets of considerations — the safety of Aeneas and her own hopes — are one and inseparable; disunited, perhaps, by philologists but not by the poet.

429. extremum hoc: cf. *Ecl.* 8, 60 (= *Cir.* 267): extremum hoc munus morientis habeto; 10, 1: extremum hunc . . . laborem; also 4, 435, below: extremam hanc. Note the alliteration of *m* in this line.

429. miserae: cf. 4, 20, n. (*miseri*); 4, 315, n. (*miserae*); 4, 420, n. (*miserae* . . . *mih*); *Carm. Lat. epigr.* no. 386, 5 Bücheler: miserae solacia linquit amanti.

429. munus amanti: = 6, 526. With the thought cf. *Ov. Rem. Am.* 277–280: ne properes, oro; spatium pro munere posco; / quid minus oplari per mea vota potest? / et

freta mota vides et debes illa timere; / utilior velis postmodo ventus erit.

430. expectet, etc.: cf. *Ov. H.* 7, 73: da breve saevitiae spatium pelagique tuaeque; *Ars am.* 2, 125–126: o quotiens illum (sc. *Ulixem*) doluit properare Calypso / remigioque aptas esse negavit aquas; *Rem. Am.* 279–280: et freta mota vides et debes illa timere; / utilior velis postmodo ventus erit; also 4, 52, n. (*hiems*), above; 4, 309; 4, 562.

430. facilem . . . fugam: cf. *G.* 1, 40: facilem cursum; 1, 122: facilem . . . viam; *Aen.* 3, 529: ferle viam vento facilem et spirare secundi; 6, 126: facilis descensus; 6, 894: facilis . . . exitus. Note the alliteration (facilem . . . fugam . . . ferentis). With fugam cf. 4, 281; 4, 309–311.

430. ferentis: *Serv.*: bene flantes, propitios; cf. *G.* 2, 311: glomeratque ferens incendia ventos; *Aen.* 3, 130: prosequitur surgens a puppi ventus euntis; 3, 473: fieret vento mora ne qua ferenti; 5, 832: ferunt sua flamina classem; 7, 594: ferimurque procella; *Caes. B. G.* 3, 15, 3: quo ventus ferebat; *Hor. C.* 3, 29, 62–64: me . . . / tutum per Aegaeos tumultus / aura feret; *Ov. Ep.* 15, 127: ventisque ferentibus usus; *Sen. Dial.* 7, 22, 3: secundus ac ferens ventus; *Stat. Theb.* 3, 29: fert ingens a puppe notus; *Quintil.* 10, 3, 7: si feret flatus danda sunt vela; *Plin. Panegy.* 31: venti ferentes; *Tac. Ann.* 2, 23, 4; and in Greek φέρων ἄνεμος (*Od.* 3, 300; 5, 111; 7, 277), φορὸς ἄνεμος (*Aesch. Choeph.* 813–814; *Polyb.* 1, 60, 6; *Poll.* 9, 105), or ἐπιφορὸς ἄνεμος (*Paus.* 8, 28, 4; *Poll. l. c.*). The North wind prevailing at the time (4, 310) would naturally hinder a voyage from Carthage toward Italy.

431. non iam: cf. 5, 194: non iam prima peto; in 3, 192; 3, 260 amplius is further



432. nec pulchro ut Latio careat regnumque relinquit;  
tempus inane peto, requiem spatiumque furori,

pulcro *Mac* (pulchro *M*<sup>1</sup>). lato (*corr. in latio*) γ. regnum .ue γ. relinquit (*corr. in relin-*  
*quat*) c.

furoris *p* (cf. *Chatelain in Bibl. de l'école des hautes études*, 70 (1887), 378-380), *Mentel. m. pr.*

433. tempus . . . furori: *Prisc. Inst.* 6, 58 (G. L. K. 2, 242). 433. tempus . . . peto: *Anth. Lat. no.* 17, 79 (1, p. 64 *Riese*); *Schol. Lucan.* 2, 342 — *om. U* —. 433. inane: *Gl. Ansil.* 292, 29; *q.v.* 433. requiem . . . furori: *Charis. Inst. gram.* 1 (G. L. K. 1, 69; 1, 128; 1, 142); *Exc. Charis.* (G. L. K. 1, 547) — furoris —.

added; cf. also *Sil.* 6, 447-448: *non ego complexus et sanctae foedera taedae / coniugumve peto*. *Sabbadini (Il primitivo Disegno dell' Eneide* (1900), 44, n. 2) supposes that lines 431-434 are not part of the original plan of the work but were added by Virgil when he introduced the section on magic rites, but I see no need to assume this.

431. coniugium: cf. 4, 172, n. (*coniugium*); 4, 338.

431. antiquom: *Schol. Dan.: aut primum, aut carum, ut 'nihil antiquius habui' dicimus; aut antiquitatum et inritum*. It seems a little inappropriate to apply the word in a literal sense to a relation of such comparatively short duration (in 4, 458, where *Sychaeus* is called *coniugis antiqui*, it is more fitting, both in respect of the number of years involved and with reference to his priority to *Aeneas* as a consort). Since the disavowal by *Aeneas*, however, in 4, 338-339, the relationship coveted by *Dido* seemed to have sunk into the distant past and to belong to an order of things now forever gone. *Mackail (ad loc.)* thinks we must understand in the word both 'old' and 'honorable.'

431. prodidit: *Serv.: quod decepit. et bene; ad diremptionem enim coniugii inmutata voluntas sufficit*; cf. 10, 593. So in *Catull.* 64, 190, *Ariadne* describes herself as *proditā*.

432. pulchro: occasionally applied to places; so *Cicero* several times uses it of towns or *agri*, and *Virgil* (G. 2, 137) of the river *Ganges* and the city of *Rome* (G. 2, 534). Here the sense is sarcastic (cf. 4, 266, n. (*pulchram*); 4, 416, n. (*Anna*); *Glover, Virgil*, 2 ed. (1912), 197), though there is no other trace of sarcasm in the speech. The note of *Servius* is *quod illi pulchrum videtur*

(which is what we might indicate by putting 'beautiful' in quotation marks), and he compares the use of *sordida rura* in *Ecl.* 2, 28.

432. Latio: seekers for inconsistencies in *Virgil* have been troubled because *Aeneas* has not mentioned *Latium* to *Dido*; hence how could she use the term? Cf. *Lindenthal, Ist das V. Buch d. Äneis nach dem VI. geschrieben?* (1904), 12; *Gercke, Die Entstehung der Aeneis* (1913), 38-39; 62; 64; 153; *Henselmanns, Die Widersprüche in Vergils Aeneis* (1914), 14; 35-36. *Kvřála (Vergil-Studien* (1878), 82) thinks this an oversight on *Virgil's* part or else that he meant to have it realized that *Aeneas* had told *Dido* more than merely the words related by the poet (and we may suppose that for this the *hiemem . . . quam longa* of 4, 193 would have furnished ample opportunity!). Yet in 1, 205-206 *Aeneas* says to his comrades: *tendimus in Latium, sedes ubi fata quietas / ostendunt, illic fas regna resurgere Troiae*, and in 1, 553-554 *Ilioneus* transmits this information to *Dido*: *si datur Italiam sociis et rege recepto / tendere, ut Italiam laeti Latiumque petamus*. What more definite chain of information for *Dido* is desired I do not know; cf. 4, 345, n. (*Italiam*), and works there cited. 5, 731 and 6, 67 also recognize *Latium*, and for *Italy* in general as his goal see 2, 781-782 (*Hesperia* and the *Tiber*); 3, 94-98 compared with 3, 170-171; 3, 253-257; 3, 378-462 (prophecy of *Helenus*); cf. *Masera*, ed. of *Book IV*, 7.

432. relinquit: *Schol. Dan.: neglect.*

433. tempus inane: *Serv.: sine officio coeundi* (a crass explanation, impossible for one of *Virgil's* delicacy); *nam 'sine beneficio' non procedit, cum spatium petat et requiem*; and the *Schol. Dan.* add: *aut quasi non*

434. dum mea me victam doceat fortuna dolere.  
extremam hanc oro veniam — miserere sororis —,

furtuna γ<sup>1</sup>. dolore M (dolere M<sup>2</sup>) γ<sup>1</sup>c<sup>1</sup>; cf. 4, 474.

434. dum . . . doceat: *Gl. Ansil.* 190, 130.

435. extremam . . . veniam: *Anth. Lat. no. 17, 80* (1, p. 64 Riese) — oram A —.

435. miserere sororis: *Arus. Ex. Eloc. (G. L. K. 7, 491); Gl. Ansil.* 379, 248.

*magnam rem; vel quo vacuus et otiosus est, cum illi tempus inane est.* Henry (*Aeneidea*, 3 (1889), 175) thinks the adjective here means 'mere,' as in 1, 464: *pictura pascit inani*; 4, 210: *inania murmura*; 4, 218: *famam . . . inanem*; 4, 449: *lacrimae volvantur inanes*; etc. Val. Fl. 3, 656-657 says: *si finibus ullis / has tolerare moras et inania tempora possem.* So *vacuus* is sometimes used in expressions of unoccupied time; e.g., Cic. *Ad Att.* 2, 23, 1: *cum vacui temporis nihil haberem*; Colum. 12, 4, 1: *vacua tempora iam contingunt ad ea exsequenda quae deinceps docebimus*; Luc. 3, 26: *et nullum vestro vacuum sit tempus amori*; and I think that *tempus inane* here means "time without action (on your part)" — a moratorium, as it were, so far as regards both Dido's love for Aeneas and his preparations for departure. Important in this connection is Ov. *H.* 7, 173-180: *tempus ut observem manda mihi; serius ibis, / nec te, si cupies, ipsa manere sinam. / et socii requiem poscunt, laniataque classis / postulat exiguas semirefecta moras; / pro meritis et si qua tibi debebimus ultro, / pro spe coniugii tempora parva peto, / dum freta milescent et amor, dum tempore et usu / fortiter edisco tristitia posse pati*; cf. Liv. 8, 32, 14: *orabant ut rem in posterum diem differret et irae suae spatium et consilio tempus daret*; Ov. *Rem. Am.* 277-278: *ne properes, oro; spatium pro munere posco; / quid minus optari per mea vota potest*; Sen. *Agam.* 129-130: *proin quicquid est, da tempus ac spatium tibi; / quod ratio non quid saepe sanavit mora*; Dial. 12, 1, 2: *expectabam itaque dum ipse vires suas frangeret et ad sustinenda remedia mora mitigatus langi se ac tractari pateretur*; Stat. *Theb.* 10, 704: *da spatium tenuemque moram*; Tac. *Ann.* 2, 82 (and the note of Furneaux); Metastasio, *Achill.* 3, 3 (where Deidamia begs Achilles to postpone departure): *Abbia la mia / vacil-*

*lante virtù tempo a raccorre / le forze sue. Chiedo un sol giorno; e poi / vattene in pace; and so Hermione (Racine, *Andromaque*, Act 4, Sc. 5) begs Pyrrhus to defer his nuptials, if only for one day.*

Terzaghi (*Virgilio ed Enea* (1928), 31) queries whether Dido as yet intends suicide; if she does there is no need of time to accustom her mind to the idea of Aeneas's departure, while, on the other hand, if she can really reconcile herself to that departure there seems no need of planning suicide. This consideration perhaps has some bearing on line 436 below. The asyndeton in this clause furnishes a rather effective abruptness.

433. *requiem*, etc.: Schol. Dan.: *ut possim habere spatium quo amori finem imponam.* The phrase is somewhat strained; it might perhaps mean "a space (of time) for my madness to run its course and then rest (from it)", but this would necessitate *hysteron proteron*, as well as a slight zeugma in the use of *furori*. If, with Bell (*The Latin Dual* (1923), 207), we supply with *furori* a verb like *leniendo* it may mean "rest (i.e., from worry about your departure) and a space of time to calm down my madness." Conington thinks the phrase equivalent to *spatium ad requiescendum*, but this interpretation does little to explain *furori*.

433. *furori*: cf. 4, 8, n. (*male sana*); 4, 91; 4, 101; etc.

434. *mea me*, etc.: cf. 4, 314: *tuam te*; Serv.: *mea fortuna, id est, adversa, ut* (6, 62) '*hac Troiana tenus fuerit Fortuna secula.*' ex eo statu in quo est fortunam dixit; Tac. *Ann.* 13, 44: *noctem unam ad solacium poscit, qua delentis modum in posterum adhiberet.*

434. *doceat*: in Curt. 4, 10, 26 Darius says *didici esse infelix*.

435. *extremam hanc*: cf. 4, 429: *extremum hoc miserae dei munus amanti*, and n.

436. *quam mihi cum dederit, cumulatam morte remittam.*'

dederis γ<sup>2</sup>αβρπ, *Serv.* (dederit *Servii cod. F*), condederis c. cumulata *M*, comulatam (*corr. in cumulatam*) b. remitto b<sup>1</sup>, remitta p, relinquam *dett.*

436. cum dederit: *Gl. Ansil.* 156, 125. 436. cumulatam: *Gl. Ansil.* 157, 159 — cumulatam —. 436. morte remittam: *Gl. Ansil.* 377, 463.

435. oro: the repetition from 4, 431 is doubtless intentional. For the phrase cf. 1, 519: *orantes veniam*; 11, 358: *veniam* . . . *oremus*; elsewhere Virgil uses *poscere*, *precari*, or *rogare veniam*. The word *venia* itself in Virgil means 'favor' rather than 'pardon'; cf. Henry, *Aeneidea*, 2 (1878), 392–393; Belling, *Stud. ü. d. Compositions-kunst Vergils in der Aeneide* (1899), 215, who thinks it was substituted for *gratiam* on account of the metre. So Ter. *Hec.* 605: *da veniam hanc mihi*.

435. miserere: with the parenthesis cf. 4, 116, n. (*advertite*); also 4, 478: *gratulare sorori*, similarly parenthetical. The reasons for pitying Dido are (a) that the rich queen of a prosperous city should have to become a suppliant to an impoverished exile without a country; (b) because she is in such suffering from her passion; and, possibly, (c) the shadow of her impending doom — though this last Anna does not realize.

435. sororis: cf. 4, 31, n. (*sorori*).

436. *quam*, etc.: this line is characterized by Conington (*ad loc.*) as the most difficult in Virgil, and by Sabbadini (*Riv. di Filol. class.* 28 (1900), 82) as the most difficult in the *Aeneid*, while Peerlkamp (*ad loc.*), doubting the authenticity of lines 435–436, remarks of the latter *haec nemo unquam intellexit, neque intelliget*. Discussion may well begin with the words of Servius (the readings of the Scholia Danielis I have indicated within square brackets): *sensus est: quod beneficium cum mihi cumulatam dederis sola morte derelinquam. et hic intellectus est melior, [quia sorori loquitur], 'quam mihi cum dederis cumulatam'; quam lectionem Tucca et Varius probant. nam male quidam legunt 'quam mihi cum dederit', id est, Aeneas, 'cumulata morte relinquam', et volunt intelligi, acceptum ab illo beneficium [mea] morte cumulo et sic relinquam, ut amantes dicere consueverunt, ut*

(*Ecl.* 8, 59–60) '[*praeceps*] aërii specula de montis in undas / deferar; extremum hoc munus morientis habeto'; [*id est, faciam quod illi scio placiturum, occidam me;*] *nam si eam odio habet Aeneas, restat ut eius morte laetetur. [hoc sorori quoque potest dicere, quae credit eam ex amore concitatam id loqui, nec tamen facere;] sed [elocutio] non procedit; nemo enim dicit 'veniam cumulatam' sed 'cumulatam.'* [*alii ita intellegunt: reddam illi gratiam, occidam illum; nam alibi (4, 600) ait 'non potui abreptum divellere corpus' sed hoc totum sorori dicit. an perplexe locuta est, ut solent loqui mali aliquid molientes? 'cumulatam' autem 'veniam' numquid solidam et plenam, et cui nihil desit, debemus accipere?*]

Among discussions of this passage, in addition to the annotated editions, may be mentioned: Hoegg, *De difficilioribus quibusdam Vergilii Locis* (1833), 10–12; Voss, *Anmerk. u. Randglossen zu Gr. u. Römern* (1838), 210; Doerry, *De difficilioribus quibusdam Vergilii . . . Locis* (1863), 8–9; Thilo, *Quaest. Vergilianae* (1870), 12–14; Kern, *Zum Gebrauch des Abl. bei Vergil* (1881), 28–29; Geist in *Blätter f. d. bayr. Gymn.* 17 (1881), 199–200; Gross, *Krit. u. exeget. z. Vergils Aeneis* (1883), 24–33 (with summary of various other views); Palmer in *Hermathena*, 6 (1888), 304–305; Sandford in *Cl. Rev.* 3 (1889), 419–420; Ehwald in *Philologus*, 54 (1895), 379–380; Hunziker, *Die Figur der Hyperbel in den Gedichten Vergils* (1896), 126, and n. 219; Belling, *Stud. ü. d. Compositions-kunst Vergils in der Aeneide* (1899), 214–217; Sabbadini, *Il primitivo Disegno dell' Eneide* (1900), 44, n. 2; *id.*, in *Riv. di Filol. class.* 28 (1900), 82–84; Roiron, *Κριτικά καὶ ἐξηγητικά περὶ τριῶν Ὀβεργίλιου στίχων* (1908), 9–48 (rev. by Jahn in *Woch. f. kl. Philol.* 26 (1909), 1314); Penquitt, *De Didonis Vergilianae Exitu* (1910), 24–26; Heinze, *Vergils epische*

*Technik*, 3 ed. (1915), 136, n. o; Cartault, *L'Art de Virgile dans l'Énéide*, 1 (1926), 355; Terzaghi, *Virgilio ed Enea* (1928), 23, and n. 28; Duckworth, *Foreshadowing and Suspense in the Epics of Homer, Apollonius, and Virgil* (1933), 65, n. 148.

The difficulties gather about six points: (a) *dederit* versus *dederis*; (b) *cumulatam* versus *cumulata*; (c) whether *cumulatam* should be phrased with what precedes or with what follows; (d) whose death is meant by *morte*; (e) what kind of ablative is *morte*; and (f) the meaning of *remittam*; and these six points may be considered in order. Mac-kail (edition of *Aeneid* (1930), lvii) thinks that Virgil's MS here presented alternative readings between which he had not yet decided, as, perhaps, in 7, 307; 7, 543.

(a) For *dederit* the evidence of *M* and *P* is very powerful, even though Servius specifically notes it as a mistaken reading. Further, there is a certain parallelism between the request to be conveyed (*extremum hoc . . . det* in 429) and the statement of what will occur when it is granted: *extremam hanc oro veniam . . . quam mihi cum dederit*; cf. Ribbeck, *Prolegom. crit.* (1866), 94; Cartault, *op. cit.*, 1, 355. In the warmth to which she has worked herself up Dido is more interested in the message than in the reward to be paid for delivering it. The complex theory of Sabbadini (*Il primitivo Disegno dell' Eneide* (1900), 44, n. 2; *id.*, in *Riv. di Filol.* 28 (1900), 83-84; 3 ed. of Books IV-VI (1921), ix-x), according to which Virgil's first version (*dederit*) was later changed to *dederis*, rests upon the assumption that a primitive plan of the book contemplated in Dido's words at this point the idea of suicide, which a recasting changed, somewhat incompletely, to thoughts of resignation, this troublesome line escaping revision and thus remaining in contradiction with its context. The word *dederis* seems to be a correction made by someone who thought the last favor was that to be rendered by Anna in carrying Dido's message, rather than that of Aeneas in complying with it. It is by no means the case, as Page holds (*ad loc.*), that if we read *dederit* the words *miserere sororis* become "a weak or meaningless stop-gap" (cf. 4, 435, n. (*miserere*), above), nor is it likely, as Plessis and

Lejay suggest (ed., cx), that Virgil is here hinting at rivalry between the two sisters for the love of Aeneas (cf. 4, 421-422), and that Dido by her death will leave a free field to Anna, or that the words *miserere . . . remittam* belong to a sketch for such an account, which Varius and Tucca inserted at this point, without regard to the difficulties involved.

(b) The verb *cumulare* well applies to a favor returned (e.g., 11, 50: *cumalutque altaria donis*; Cic. *Brut.* 15: *illud Hesiodium laudatur a doctis, quod eadem mensura reddere iubet qua acceperis, aut etiam cumalutiore, si possis* (cf. *De Off.* 1, 48); *Phil.* 14, 30: *ea quae promissimus studiose cumaluta reddemus*; 14, 35; *Ad Fam.* 2, 6, 2: *nullam esse gratiam quam non . . . animus meus . . . in remunerando cumalutare . . . posset*; 5, 11, 1: *nec enim tu mihi habuisti modo gratiam, verum etiam cumalutissime . . . retulisti*; 13, 4, 1: *cumalutissime mihi gratiam retulerunt*; Liv. 24, 48, 3: *admisuros ut in tempore et bene cumalutam gratiam referant*; Ambros. *Ep.* 89, 1: *non tam remittenda amicitiae munia quam cumaluta arbitror*; Symm. *Ep.* 3, 6: *cumalutissimas gratias ago*; etc.); as applied to *morte* (ablative absolute?) it would have no very good meaning. The loss of the final *m* of *cumulatam* may be readily explained by haplography before the initial *m* of *morte*; cf. Sabbadini in *Riv. di Filol.* 28 (1900), 82. One may, on the other hand, heap a thing up by death; cf. *Octavia*, 903-904: *sin caede mea cumalutare parat / luctus nostros*; Dracont. *Orest.* 901: *crimen adulterii cumalut quae morte mariti*; further cf. Belling, *op. cit.*, 216, nn. 1-3, on the uses of *cumulus* and *cumulare* of an addition to that which is merely just or equal. A favor returned *cumulatam* is, so to speak, 'with interest' (cf. Sandford, *op. cit.*, 419-420; Liv. 2, 23, 5: *aes alienum . . . cumalutum usuris*), and Terzaghi, *op. cit.*, 23, n. 28, remarking upon the 'commercial' manner of speech, renders, "I shall restore to him the capital (my affection will offset that which he will show for me by remaining) with interest (my death)." The Delphin edition emends to *cumulatum*: "I will send him away with my death to crown and reward him," as Conington (*ad loc.*) explains it.

(c) If *cumulatam* be construed with the

## 437. Talibus orabat, talisque miserrima fletus

horabat c. tales b.

first half of the line (as Servius does), Dido very inappropriately for her position would be insisting upon the complete fulfilment of her request, by Aeneas or by Anna, according as we read *dederit* or *dederis*. But she is clearly in no condition to dictate terms to either of them, hence it is far more fitting to apply this adjective to her own promises to reward one or the other of them.

(d) I cannot believe that the death of any other than Dido is meant, for there is no point in any reference to that of Anna, nor do Dido's own actions or her attitude toward Aeneas, which seems still somewhat solicitous, indicate that she is yet plotting such revenge upon him as finds expression in 4, 590-629, or that we have here a parallel to *Octavia*, 95-96: *licet / tantum munus morte rependat*. Nor till 4, 450 (after this embassy has failed) does Dido actually crave death, upon which she resolves at 4, 474-475, nor does it appear that at this time Anna took her predictions seriously (Schol. Dan.: *quae credit eam ex amore concitatum id loqui, nec tamen facere*), for Dido had made very sweeping statements in 4, 24-26; 4, 308; 4, 323; 4, 385-387. Even later than this (4, 500-502) Anna does not believe that Dido's preparations mean suicide (cf. 4, 675-676), nor did Aeneas suppose that she was so deeply affected (cf. 6, 463-464). Doubtless Anna was familiar with the exaggerated protestations of lovers (e.g., *Ecl.* 8, 59-60; *Aen.* 4, 308; 4, 323) and with the small proportion of predicted deaths from love which actually occur, but whether Dido is merely using hyperbolic language or really herself means more than Anna understands it is difficult to say. Holdsworth, *Remarks and Dissertations on Virgil* (1768), 253, suggests that this line is an 'aside,' not heard by Anna and hence causing her no concern. Possible instances of such asides are to be found in tragedy (Professor C. G. Brouzas suggests to me as such Eur. *Electr.* 1142-1146; *I. A.* 1140; *Hel.* 133; *Ion*, 1422; *Hippol.* 1060-1063), and in comedy are more frequent; cf.

Schaffner, *De aversum Loquendi Ratione in Com. Graeca*, 1911. For the extension of this custom from the drama to epic, however, I find no evidence, for what might on the stage be indicated by action as an 'aside' would, in a written work, require some indication analogous to the phrases used in beginning and ending speeches. Conington (*ad loc.*) compares the Ajax of Sophocles, "who talks wildly of death on his first recovery from his frenzy, but afterwards, when he is quite resolved to die, contrives an elaborate blind for Tecmessa and the Chorus," just as Dido at first talks freely of death, but later tries to conceal from Anna her actual intention to die (cf. 4, 546; 4, 477; 4, 500).

(e) If Anna is granted to have heard the allusion to Dido's death but not to have taken it seriously we may explain *morte* as an instrumental ablative, i.e., by her death she would benefit Aeneas by relieving him of the encumbrance which her attentions apparently were to him (cf. Kroll in *Jahrb. f. cl. Philol.* Supplbd. 27 (1900), 141). Heinze, *op. cit.*, 136, n. o, remarks that the sense of these obscure words would have been clear had Virgil written *cumulatam vel morte remittam*, i.e., "I will repay even by my death (were that necessary)", in this creating a hypothetical rather than a real case, to which Heinze compares Ter. *Phorm.* 165-166: *ut me liceat tam diu quod amo frui, / iam depecisci morte cupio*. Perhaps cf. also *Anth. Lat.* no. 4, 27 (1, p. 21 Riese): *cum poenas scelerum tracta vix morte rependat*.

A temporal use ('at my death') would most plausibly refer to her death from natural causes, whenever such might occur. Though this is grammatically possible (cf. 4, 244; 4, 502) and is accepted by some editors (e.g., Mackail), yet, since Dido was not advanced in years — her death is in 4, 697 described as *ante diem* —, she had no obvious reason (save a possible death from love) for supposing that she might not outlive Aeneas (or, if we read *dederis*, Anna). Further, Aeneas might at the present moment

be relieved to have her out of the way, but what advantage her death would bring to him years later is not clear. If we read *dederis* it has been suggested that Dido would make Anna the heir to her wealth, but there is no indication that Anna so understood the statement, as there is none that she thought that Dido would benefit her by committing suicide and leaving the royal power in her hands (as Wagner (*ad loc.*) suggests), and the idea cheapens and ruins the notion of the sympathy between the sisters which Virgil has labored to convey to the reader (cf. 4, 8; 4, 678-679), as well as contradicting the form of the legend by which Anna later migrates to Italy (cf. Conington *ad loc.*). Kern (*op. cit.*, 28-29) would take *morte* as an ablative of separation: 'even from death,' emphasizing the prefix of *remittere*, but this seems unlikely. Hunziker (*op. cit.*, 126, n. 219) translates "meine Dankbarkeit wird erst durch den Tod ein Ende nehmen", doubtless interpreting *remittam* as meaning 'relax' or 'give up'; so apparently also Belling (*op. cit.*, 217). The explanation of Henry *Aeneidea*, 2 (1878), 745-748, reading *dederis*: "for which favour I will, when dead, repay and more than repay you"; i.e., "my *manes* will be *pii* towards you, will be *boni et propitii* towards you," or, as he says later, "will be your guardian angel" (comparing *Ecl.* 5, 65; *Aen.* 5, 59; 12, 646-647), is to me unconvincing. Masera (*ad loc.*) interprets the passage to mean that by the requested delay Dido hopes gradually to accustom herself to the grief which his eventual departure will cause, and to die, if die she must, with a sentiment of gratitude to him that he has given her time to prepare for this calamity. Dido's secret purpose, he thinks, was to win time to regain his affection, and did not include the thought of any death save one from grief, and only when Anna returns unsuccessful from her mission did Dido contemplate suicide. This explanation seems one of the best suggested.

Ribbeck's emendation (*Prolegom. crit.* (1866), 94-95; 365) of *monte* for *morle* (which Janell tacitly rejects) is one of the worst ever made by a classical scholar, and over it Henry (*Aeneidea*, 1 (1873), pref. xxi-xxiv) very properly makes merry (cf.

also Thilo, *op. cit.*, 13); that of Palmer (in *Hermathena*, 6 (1888), 304-305), who reads *quam mihi cum dederis ululatum (in) morte remittam* — "I will excuse your raising the dirge at my death", — is almost its equal. That of Schrader (followed by Doerry, *op. cit.*, 9), *cumulata sorte*, seems over-ingenuous and needless (cf. Thilo, *op. cit.*, 13); that of Thilo (*op. cit.*, 14) to *cunctatum sponte* is too complicated, while Klouček's (*Zeitschr. f. d. österr. Gymn.* 32 (1881), 590-591) to *cumulatum munere mittam* strays too far from the MSS, like Vivona's (*Riv. di Filol.* 26 (1898), 431, n. 1) *tum ablata morte* (comparing Ov. *H.* 7, 181). Various other emendations may be profitably ignored.

(f) The verb *remittam* seems equivalent to *reddam* or *referam* (cf. 9, 818; 11, 359; Caes. *B. C.* 2, 32, 14: *vestrum vobis beneficium remitto*; Hor. *A. P.* 349; Ov. *M.* 13, 702: *neq. leviora datis Troiani dona remittunt*; Ambros. *Ep.* 89, 1 (quoted above); etc.), though some editors (see above) have understood it to mean 'relax'; cf. Sil. 14, 536: *vix morte incepta remittit*; Geist (*l. c.*) thinks it means "I shall forget it only at my death", and compares Ov. *Ex P.* 3, 27-28: *tunc igitur meriti morietur gratia vestri, / cum cinis absumpto corpore factus ero*. The variant *relinquam* is well rejected by Servius.

For the whole passage, then, the meaning appears to be: "I beg this last favor — pity your (poor) sister —, and when he shall have granted it I will return it, with interest, by my death," or, keeping the possible ambiguity between the ideas of time and instrument found in the ablative *morte*, "my death will return it with interest." Ehwald (*op. cit.*, 379-380) thinks Virgil intended the passage to be obscure and equivocal, and compares Soph. *Electr.* 1451; 1455; Buscaroli (*ad loc.*) thinks that in this language of passion logic should not be expected. A passage which recalls, though it does not illuminate, the present is Mar. Victor, *Aleth.* 3, 385: *multa cumulatam fruge remittit*.

437. *talibus orabat* = 6, 124; 10, 96; Vida, *Christias*, 3, 73; 5, 938; Maphaeus Vegius, *Aen.* 13, 103; cf. 4, 30, n. (*sic effata*); 4, 219: *talibus orantem*; Maphaeus Vegius, *Aen.* 13, 447: *talibus orabant*.

437. *talibus*, etc.: Anna, as at 4, 500, and

438. fertque refertque soror. sed nullis ille movetur  
fletibus aut voces ullas tractabilis audit;

fretque (*corr. in* fertque) *M*, fert (*t in ras. m. post.*) *π*. refer *P* (refert *P*<sup>1</sup>), refret *M* (refert *M*<sup>6</sup>). set *M* (sed *M*<sup>2</sup>).

haut *p*, haud *Goth. pr.* illas *b*<sup>1</sup>.

438-439. sed . . . audit: [*Acro*] in *Hor. C.* 3, 7, 21; *Anth. Lat. no. 15*, 76-77 (1, *p.* 53 *Riese*) — nullis *s A*; mobetur *A* —. 438-439. sed . . . fletibus: *Anth. Lat. no. 17*, 14-15 (1, *p.* 62 *Riese*) — moutur *A* —. 438. fertque . . . soror: *Anth. Lat. no. 13*, 16 (1, *p.* 48 *Riese*) — sor *A* —. 438. fertque refertque: *Gl. Ansil. 241*, 412.

[438] 439. tractabilis: *Gl. Ansil. 567*, 24-25; *q.v.*

like Barce at 4, 641, makes no verbal reply to Dido's command (cf. Heinze, *Virgils epische Technik*, 3 ed. (1915), 407), this being in the interest of brevity (*id.*, *p.* 359). For the polyptoton cf. Breazeale in *Stud. in Philol.* 14 (1917), 313, n. 15.

437. *miserrima*: Gross, *Krit. u. exeget. z. Vergils Aeneis* (1883), 33, thinks the use of this word an indication that Anna suspects the coming catastrophe. That is not, however, in harmony with 4, 675-676, and it is more likely one of those subjective intrusions by the poet, of which we have already seen instances.

437. *fletus*: 'words of lamentation,' or 'tearful tale'; cf. 4, 439; 9, 498; Schol. Dan.: *pro verbis, id est, verba fletilia*; so *lacrimis* in 2, 145.

438. *fertque refertque*: = 12, 866 (where it is also followed by a word beginning with *so*-); *Luc.* 2, 13; *Val. Fl.* 7, 112; *Sil.* 3, 60; also *Vida, Christias*, 5, 328; and, in a different metrical position, *Ov. F.* 6, 334; *Anth. Lat. no. 807*, 8 (2, *p.* 282 *Riese*). Cf. *Ov. Am.* 2, 19, 41: *ferat et referat*; *Tr.* 5, 13, 29: *ferat ac referat*; *Tr.* 1, 7, 6: *fersque refersque*; Theodulfus, *Carm.* 25, 60 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 1, 485): *grates fertque refertque*; and similar phrases: *Aen.* 6, 122: *ilque reditque* (cf. *Hor. Ep.* 1, 7, 55; *Ov. M.* 2, 409; *Ep.* 15, 118; *Tr.* 5, 7, 14; *F.* 1, 126; *Tibull.* 2, 6, 46; *Val. Fl.* 1, 725); *Aen.* 5, 709: *trahunt retrahuntque*; 12, 753: *fugit refugitque*; *Ov. M.* 8, 163: *refluitque fluitque*; 8, 537: *refoveritque fovenique*. As in 12, 866 so here the expression probably means that Anna made more than one trip, not that she carried tearful messages both ways; cf. Serv.: *non ab*

*Aeneas, qui nihil dicit, sed a Didone fert et refert, id est, iterum portat*; Placek, *Re in den Compositis in Vergils Aeneis* (1882), 31; yet cf. 4, 449, n. (*lacrimae volvuntur inanes*).

438. *nullis, etc.*: *so*, in 6, 470-471, *Dido nec magis incepto voltum sermone movetur, / quam si dura silex aut stet Marpesia cautes*. *Ov. H.* 7, 27 describes Aeneas as *ad mea munera surdus*; cf. Pope, *Rape of the Lock*, 5, 5-6: "Not half so fix'd the Trojan could remain, / While Anna begg'd and Dido rag'd in vain." The situation recalls that in which Odysseus (*Od.* 19, 209-212) resists the temptation to reveal his identity to Penelope: αὐτὰρ Ὀδυσσεὺς / θυμῷ μὲν γοῶσσαν ἔην ἐλέαιρε γυναικα / ὀφθαλμοὶ δ' ὥσπερ κέρα ἔστασαν, ἥε σίησος, / ἀτρέμας ἐν βλεφάροισι· δόλω δ' ὄγε δάκρυα κεύθεν; cf. Anacr. fr. 7 Edmonds: σὺ γὰρ ἥς ἔμοιγ' / ἀστεμφής; *Hor. C.* 3, 7, 21-22: *frustra; nam scopulis surdior Icarus / voces audit adhuc integer*; *Ov. Rem. Am.* 285-286: *illa loquebatur; navem solvebat Ulixes; / inrita cum velis verba tulere noti*. As Aeneas does not have any further interview with Dido so Augustus declined to see Cleopatra, even when she was his prisoner; cf. Conway, *New Studies of a great Inheritance* (1921), 154-155.

438. *movetur*: cf. *G.* 4, 505: *quo fletu manis, quae numina voce moveret*; Pichon, *De Sermone amatorio* (1902), 208.

439. *fletibus*: a deliberate and effective repetition of *fletus* in line 437.

439. *aut*: rather than *nec*, the negation in *nullis* applying to both clauses; cf. the partial parallels in *Thes. Ling. Lat.* 2 (1906), 1567, 43-1568, 11.

439. *voces, etc.*: Serv.: *cur militis non*

440. fata obstant, placidasque viri deus obstruit auris.  
ac velut annoso validam cum robore quercum

fa. ta b. aures *Pγab*, auras *c*.

uelud *c*, ueluti *π*. annosam ualido *π*. quaercum *M*.

440. fata . . . auris: *Serv. Aen. 4, 439* — aures —.

441-446. ac . . . tendit: *Macrobian. Sat. 5, 6, 13* — alte; illa haeret; aethereas —. 441-442. ac . . . boreae: *Schol. Lucan. 1, 389*.

*audit? quasi mirum est excusat dicendo 'fata obstant', etc. For vox as a 'prayer' Buscaroli (ad loc.) compares Ov. F. 4, 827.*

439. tractabilis: cf. 4, 53, n. (*non tractabile*), above; *Cic. Ad Att. 10, 11, 3: nihil est enim eo tractabilius*; *Plin. Ep. 5, 1, 10, 9, 24: te tam tractabilem video*; *Suet. Aug. 65: Agrippam nihilo tractabiliorem*.

439. audit: note the slight assonance with *auris* ending the next line.

440. fata obstant: *Schol. Dan.: excusat Aeneam, cum eum, ne ingratus videatur, non duritia mentis facit immobilem, sed voluntate divina*. We find here, as elsewhere, the combination of *fata* and *deus*; cf. 4, 651; 5, 707; 8, 398; 8, 512; 8, 574-575; *Dietsch, Theologum. Vergilian. Particula* (1853), 26-27; *Haeckermann, Comm. in Aen. Lib. alterum* (1863), 19. With the beginning of the verse cf. 6, 438: *fas obstat* (where *M*<sup>2</sup> reads *fata obstant*).

440. placidas: proleptic; cf. *Terzaghi, Virgilio ed Enea* (1928), 72; *Mackail (ad loc.)* translates 'undisturbed.'

440. deus: *Serv.: Iuppiter scilicet; unde et supra* (4, 372) *Dido ait 'Saturnius'*; *Schol. Dan.: vel certe Mercurius*. It is unwise to identify this deity too precisely; cf. 4, 651, n. (*fata deusque*). Further, *deus* is perhaps Virgil's way of dramatically describing to the reader Aeneas's own conscience and the sense of his divine mission; cf. 9, 185.

440. obstruit auris: = *Val. Fl. 7, 296*; cf. *Sen. De Benef. 3, 17, 2: cuius aures morbus obstruxit*; *Tac. H. 4, 69: obstruxitque civilitatis suae aures*; *Sil. 17, 84: surdas coniux obstruxerat aures*; *Aug. Enarr. in Ps. 74, 12: ut obstruam aures vestras*; *Amm. Marc. 27, 11, 6: aures eius non cera set plumbo videbantur obstructae*; *Milo, De Sobrietate, 2, 126 (Poet. Aevi Carol. 3, 649): rex impius ob-*

*struit aures*. On the firmness of Aeneas (emphasized by the two verbs compounded with *ob-*) cf. *Heinze, Virgils epische Technik*, 3 ed. (1915), 124, n. o. The reader would naturally recall *Od. 12, 47-49; 12, 173-177*.

441. ac velut, etc.: for similes containing (*ac*) *velut* . . . *haud secus* cf. 2, 379-382; 11, 809-815; *Aetna*, 319-327; *Houben, De Comparationibus Vergilianis* (1876), 4; *Fraser in Cl. Journ. 19* (1923), 48-49; and for this particular simile *Hornbostel, Die Gleichnisse bei Vergil* (1870), 10 (who lists Virgil's comparisons drawn from trees, including *Ecl. 1, 25; 5, 16-17; 5, 32; 10, 74; Aen. 2, 626-631; 5, 448-449; 9, 679-682; 17; Houben, op. cit., 9; Kopetsch, De Comparationibus Vergilianis* (1879), 9; *Caspers, De Comparationibus Vergilianis* (1883), 16; *Schuhardt, Die Gleichnisse in Vergils Aeneis* (1904), 13. The simile is perhaps suggested by two in Homer: *Il. 12, 131-136: τῷ μὲν ἄρα προπάρουθε πυλάων ὑψηλῶν / ἔστασαν ὥς ὅτε τε δρύες οὐρεσιν ὑψικάρηναι, / αἱ τ' ἀνεμον μίμουσι καὶ ὑέτον ῥήματα πάντα, / ῥίξῃσιν μεγάλῃσι διηνεκέσσ' ἀραρυῖαι / ὥς ἄρα τῷ χεῖρεσσι πεποῦθες ἡδὲ βίηφι / μίμνον ἐπερχόμενον μέγαν Ἀσιον οὐδὲ φέβοντο; 16, 765-771 (cited by *Macrobian. l. c.*; cf. *Keith in Cl. Journ. 28* (1933), 608): ὥς δ' Εὐρώς τε Νότος τ' ἐριδαίνετον ἀλλήλους / οὐρος ἐν βήσσησι βαθὺν πελεμιζέμεν ὕλην, / φηγόν τε μελίην τε ταυῦφλοῦν τε κράνειαν, / αἱ τε πρὸς ἀλλήλας ἐβαλον τανυήκεας ὄξους / ἥχηθ' ἑσπεσίη, πάταγος δέ τε ἀγρυμνῶν, / ὥς Τρώες καὶ Ἀχαιοὶ ἐπ' ἀλλήλοισι θορόντες / δήιον; cf. *Anth. Pal. 9, 291, 5-6: οὕτως χαὶ ἱερὰι Ζητὸς δρύες ἔμπεδα ῥίξαις / ἑστᾶσιν, φύλλων δ' αὖα χέουσ' ἀνεμοι*. So in *Apoll. Rh. 3, 967-972* *Medea* and *Jason* are compared to two trees; cf. *Catull. 64, 105-111*; also, for similar types of firmness, *Aen. 7, 586-590; 10,**



442. Alpini boreae nunc hinc nunc flatibus illinc  
eruere inter se certant; it stridor, et altae

nunc hunc <sup>b<sup>1</sup></sup>. flatibus <sup>b<sup>1</sup></sup>.

443-521: FMP. iruere in ras. F<sup>1</sup>. altem p, alte b.

[441] 442. Alpini boreae: Asper, p. 538, 26 Hagen; cf. Gl. Ansil. 45, 283 — Alpini uenti—.

[441\*]

693-696; Sen. Dial. 1, 4, 16: *non est arbor solida nec fortis nisi in quam frequens ventus incurSAT; ipsa enim vexatione constringitur et radices certius figit; fragiles sunt quae in aprica valle creverunt. pro ipsis ergo bonis viris est, ut esse inerriti possint, multum inter formidolosa versari et aequo animo ferre quae non sunt mala nisi male sustinenti*. The oak is prominent in this connection; e.g., Hor. C. 3, 10, 17: *nec rigida mollior aesculo*; cf. the common figurative use of *robur*; also Paul. ex Fest. p. 259 M. (p. 309 L.): *id genus arboris grave sit ac durum*; also the examples given in the next note; Ekkehardus, *Waltharius*, 1000-1002 (ed. Grimm): *velut aescilus astilit heros, / quae non plus petit astra comis quam tartara fibris, / contempnens omnes ventorum immota fragores*; Shakesp. Coriol. Act 5, Sc. 2, fin.: "He's the rock, the oak not to be wind-shaken"; Dryden, *Annus mirabilis*, 61, 3-4: "All bare, like some old oak which tempests beat, / He stands and sees below his scattered leaves"; Zabughin, *Vergilio nel Rinascimento ital.* 1 (1921), 345. In 7, 586-590 the obduracy of Latinus is compared to that of a wave-beaten sea-cliff.

441. annoso: cf. G. 3, 332: *magna Iovis antiquo robore quercus*; Ov. M. 8, 743: *stabat in his ingens annoso robore quercus*; 13, 799: *durior annosa quercu*; Sen. Agam. 95: *annosa videt robora frangi*; Oed. 727: *annosa supra robora*; Luc. 9, 452: *annosaeque robora torquens*; Sil. 3, 688: *annoso robore lucus*; Stat. Theb. 1, 564-565: *annosa terentem / robora*; Plin. N. H. 16, 130: *falsum arbutor et quod aliqui prodidere radices arborum vetustate minui; visa enim est annosa quercus eversa tempestatis vi iugerum soli amplexa*; Artemid. Onirocr. 2, 25: *δρὺς ἄνδρα σημαίνει πλούσιον . . . ἢ πρεσβύτερον διὰ τὸ πολυχρόνιον ἢ χρόνον διὰ ταῦτό*. Virgil also applies *annosus* to the ash (10, 766) and the limbs of the elm

(6, 282; cf. Sen. Oed. 534-535); cf. *veterrima laurus* (2, 513), *antiquam . . . ornum* (2, 626), and *antiqua cupressus* (2, 714). On Virgil's love for trees cf. Valentine in *Cl. Weekly*, 23 (1930), 76-77.

442. Alpini: this, like other Virgilian references to the Alps, may be a suggestion of the observations of the poet's youth in the Po valley; cf. Zwicker, *De Vocab. et Reb. Gallicis sive Transpad. apud Verg.* (1905), 63-64; 79; Cartault, *L'Art de Virgile dans l'Énéide*, 2 (1926), 895-896, who remarks that these illustrations from nature date chiefly from the period of the *Georgics*, when Virgil's contact with nature was direct and prolonged, and that from the *Georgics* he not infrequently borrowed in his later work. Servius says: *flantes de Alpibus, quae Gallorum lingua alti montes vocantur*; Schol. Dan.: *. . . potentiores montani sunt venti*. On the erotic symbolism of tempests cf. Knight in *Cl. Weekly*, 26 (1933), 203, n. 26.

442. boreae: elsewhere in Virgil in the singular; La Cerda (*ad loc.*) detects here a peculiar appropriateness in the plural: *unam quercum, id est, unum Aeneam, boreae tundunt, id est, duae sorores*. We find, however, the pluralizing of other winds, such as *aquilones* (e.g., 4, 310), *austri*, *cauri*, *noti*, and *zephyri* (e.g., 4, 223; 4, 562), with no such underlying reason. Conington (*ad loc.*) is troubled by *hinc . . . illinc* as applied to the North wind, and suggests that the plural *boreae* may include winds from NE to NW, or that Virgil may be somewhat careless in his use of the term; cf. 1, 85: *una Eurusque Notusque ruunt*. In a general way any violent or cold wind blowing from the Alps toward the Po valley may be called *boreae*, and slight differences of direction or various distinct gusts might justify the use of the plural. It is hardly necessary to assume, as some editors

444. consternunt terram concusso stipite frondes;  
ipsa haeret scopulis et quantum vertice ad auras

concusso *P* (concusso *P*<sup>1</sup>). . . stipite (*s in ras.*) *b*.  
haeret *M*, heret *M*<sup>2</sup>γ, erat *b*<sup>c</sup>δ. scopulis *ab*.

[441\*] 444. consternunt: *Gl. Aa*, 205, 872; *q.v.*

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do, that this oak is itself actually in the Alps.

442. *hinc . . . illinc*: Serv.: *sicut Aeneas ab Anna et Didone*; but there is no indication that Dido again appeared to him in person. Tissot (cited by Bellessort (*ad loc.*)) complains that two weeping women are not appropriately compared to North winds.

443. *eruerē*, etc.: cf. 2, 627-628: *instant / eruerē agricolae certatim*; Enn. *Ann.* 445 (of winds): *fluctus extollere certant* — a Greek use of the infinitive; cf. *Ecl.* 5, 9; *G.* 2, 99-100; *Aen.* 2, 64; 5, 194; 6, 178; etc.; and other cases in Kühner-Stegmann, *Ausf. Gram. d. lat. Spr.* 2, 1, 2 ed. (1912), 673; Kroll, *Stud. z. Verständnis d. röm. Lit.* (1924), 250-251.

443. *it stridor*: cf. 4, 130, n. (ii); 4, 665; 8, 595: *it clamor*. Servius says: *ad dolorem Aeneae pertinet de quo ait (4, 448) 'magno persentit pectore curas.'* *Stridor* applies to the creaking or cracking sound of a tree swayed by the wind; cf. 2, 418: *stridunt silvae*.

443. *altae . . . frondes*: probably from the upper part of the tree, where the force of the wind would be more felt; cf. *G.* 2, 55: *altae frondes*; 2, 305: *frondes . . . in altis*. If we should read *alte*, which is less well attested, it might modify *consternunt* and refer to a deep covering of leaves upon the ground, or might modify *concusso*. The Scholia Danielis say: *aut iugiter, diu; aut ex alto cadentes*. Bell (*The Latin Dual* (1923), 302), accepting *alte*, thinks there is here an amphibole to be resolved as *altae consternunt terram concusso stipite alte concussae frondes*, "thick strew the ground (cf. the *altum cinerem* of 11, 211) the leaves shaken from on high from the shaken trunk." The leaves fall from the top of the tree as the tears from the eyes of Aeneas in 4, 449 (Serv.: *frondes: sicut lacrimae / Aeneae*).

444. *consternunt terram*: cf. 8, 719: *terram caesi stravere iuveni*; 12, 543: *terram consternere*; Cic. *Arat.* 433: *constravit corpore terram*; Lucr. 5, 1333: *gravi terram consternere casu*; Hor. *C.* 3, 17, 9-12: *cras foliis nemus / multis . . . / demissa tempestas ab Euro / sternet*.

444. *concusso stipite*: cf. *G.* 1, 159; 4, 81; and the simile of the ash tree in *Aen.* 2, 629: *concusso vertice*.

445. *haeret scopulis*: Serv.: *sicut ille in consilio perseverat*.

445. *quantum*, etc.: the words *quantum . . . tendit* are repeated from *G.* 2, 291-292. Cf. 6, 577-578: *tum Tartarus ipse / bis patet in praeceps tantum tenditque sub umbras*; *Il.* 8, 16: *τόσσον ἔνερθ' Ἀΐδα*, *δσον οὐρανός ἐστ' ἀπὸ γαίης*; Hes. *Theog.* 720: *τόσσον ἔνερθ' ὑπὸ γῆς δσον οὐρανός ἐστ' ἀπὸ γαίης*; Val. *Fl.* 1, 580-581: *stat rupes horrenda fretis; quot in aethera surgit / molibus infernas totiens demissa sub undas*; Plin. *N. H.* 16, 127: *robora suas (sc. radices) in profundum agunt. si Vergilio quidem credimus, aesculus quantum corpore eminet tantum radice descendit*; Ariosto, *Orl. fur.* 21, 16, 3-6: *nè sta sì duro in contra borea il pino / . . . / che quanto appar fuor de lo scoglio alpino, / tanto sotterra ha le radici*; etc.; Milton, *Parad. regained*, 4, 416-417: "Whose tallest pines, / Though rooted deep as high." The deep roots of the oak are also noted by Theophr. *H. P.* 1, 6, 4: *ἔστι δὲ καὶ τὰ μὲν βαθυρρίζα, καθάπερ δρύς*; 3, 6, 4: *βαθυρρίζοτατον δ' οὖν δοκεῖ τῶν ἀγρίων εἶναι ἡ πρίνος*; Apoll. *Rh.* 1, 1121-1122: *ἰδρυσαν φηγοῖσιν ἐπηρεφές ἀκροτάτησιν / αἱ ῥά τε πασῶν πανυπέρταται ἐρριζωται*; while Philpot, *The sacred Tree* (1897), 93-94, suggests that the prophetic qualities of the oak (as at Dodona) may be due to its roots which go more deeply toward Tartarus than those of other trees. Serv. on the next line remarks: *secundum*

446. aetherias, tantum radice in Tartara tendit:  
haud secus adsiduis hinc atque hinc vocibus heros

radicem *MP* (ut in *G.* 2, 292) *pya<sup>2</sup>r*, radice *FP<sup>2</sup>a<sup>1</sup>bc*. tarthara *γα*. mittit *cod. Oblongus Pierii*.

haut *M.* assiduis *b<sup>2</sup>c*. atque hinc *add. F<sup>1</sup>*. adque *c*. herus *F* (heros *F<sup>1</sup>*).

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*physicos, qui dicunt parem esse altitudinem radicem et arborum.*

446. *aetherias*: for its position in the line cf. 4, 23, n. (*impulsi*). Lachmann thought that the *aether* permitted of no *aurae*, hence he at this passage and others elsewhere have emended either *aetherias* to *aerias* or *auras* to *oras*. Yet poets often use *aether(ius)* of the upper atmosphere rather than of regions beyond it (cf. Conington on *Aen.* 1, 546), and the phrase *aetheria(s) . . . aura(s)* is a frequent one; e.g., *Lucr.* 3, 405; *G.* 2, 291-292; *Aen.* 1, 546-547; 6, 761-762; 7, 557; *Ov. Am.* 2, 14, 41; *Ars am.* 2, 59 (cf. *M.* 4, 700; 5, 511-512; *Manil.* 1, 149; *Sedul. Pasch. Carm.* 5, 425); *Germ. Arat.* 524-525; *Sen. Phoen.* 421; *Mart.* 1, 3, 11; 1, 6, 1; *Sil.* 10, 577; 12, 92; 17, 376; *Il. Lat.* 85-86; 464; 653; *Stat. Theb.* 6, 857; [*Damas.*] 68, 18; *C. I. L.* VIII, 211 (*Carm. Lat. epigr.* 1552 A, 16 Bücheler).

446. *radice*: of the readings *radice* and *radicem*, both with good MS support, the former has in its favor the parallelism to the previous line (*quantum vertice . . . tantum radice*; there is no variant *verticem*), the testimony of *Macrob. Sat.* 5, 6, 13, and probably that of *Plin. H.* 16, 127 (quoted at 4, 445, n. (*quantum, etc.*), above). Either is grammatically possible, according as *tendit* is construed as intransitive or transitive. The alliteration of *r* and *t* in this line should be observed.

446. *Tartara*: cf. 4, 243, n. (*Tartara*).

447. *adsiduis*: cf. *Aug. De Serm. Dom. in Monte*, 2, 52: *illum assiduus precibus tundunt*.

447. *hinc atque hinc*: by Anna alone, but she resorts to different types of appeal, perhaps according to his different moods (cf. 4, 423: *tempora noras*). *Buscaroli (ad loc.)* cites *Lejay* on *Hor. S.* 1, 1, 112 for *hinc atque hinc* as a conversational idiom for *hinc atque illinc*.

Cf. also *Ov. M.* 10, 375-376; [*Cyprian.*] *Carm.* 3, 38: *tunditur hinc illinc*; *Ambros. De Abraham*, 1, 73: *fluctibus . . . hinc atque inde tunditur*.

447. *vocibus . . . tunditur*: cf. *Plaut. Poen.* 434: *pergin auris tundere*; *Prop.* 4, 5, 35-36: *tundat Amycle / natalem Maiis Idibus esse tuum*; and the *Schol. Dan.* cite *Ter. Hec.* 123: *tundendo atque odio denique effecit senex*. In comedy and in prose *obtundere* is frequently so used.

447. *heros*: cf. 4, 12, n. (*genus . . . deorum*). The word (in Book IV only here) is used in the *Aeneid* eleven times of Aeneas, twice each of Entellus and Turnus, and once each of Evander, Helenus, Misenus, and Musaeus (*Moseley, Characters and Epithets* (1926), xxxviii). In Greek *ἥρως* is applied first to beings intermediate between gods and men, often with one divine and one human parent (*ἡμιθεοί*, as Aeneas, Evander, and Turnus in the list just given); cf. *Eitrem* in *P.-W.* 8 (1913), IIII-III2. It may also be used of the distinguished dead (*id.*, 1138), such as eponymous personages and founders, and as a term of honor for the living (*id.*, 1139-1141). Latin usage is less varied, yet *Cicero* several times uses it of important historical persons, even of contemporaries. In the present case there seems little, if any, emphasis upon the divine element in Aeneas's character, save in so far as that may be considered as coöperating with the divine power which in 4, 440 is described as closing his ears.

448. *persentit, etc.*: cf. *Helioid. Aethiop.* 10, 16: *ὁ δ' Ὀδυσσεύς ἡλέει μὲν τὴν γυναῖκα ὀδυρομένην ὄρων, καὶ πρὸς συμπάθειαν ἐκάμπετο τὴν διάνοιαν, τὸ δῆμα δ' οἰοεὶ κέρας ἢ σίδηρον εἰς τὰ δρώμενα τείνας, εἰσθήκει πρὸς τὰς ὠδῖνας τῶν δακρῶν ἀπομαχόμενος καὶ τῆς ψυχῆς αὐτῷ πατρικῷ τε πάθει καὶ ἀνδρείῳ λήματι κυματουμέ-*

448. tunditur, et magno persentit pectore curas;  
mens immota manet, lacrimae volvuntur inanes.

persentit *μη*.

lacrimae *F* (lacrimae *F*<sup>1</sup>). uoluuntur *P*, uoluuntur *FMP*<sup>2</sup> *pyabc*.

448. magno . . . curas: *Serv. Aen.* 4, 443 — *om. L, in marg. suppl. l* — 448. magno pectore: *Gl. Ansil.* 353, 293.

449. mens . . . inanes: *Aug. C. D.* 9, 4 — *inmota*; uoluuntur —; *Schol. Iuv.* 13, 133 — uoluuntur —. 449. mens . . . manet: *Anth. Lat. no.* 17, 173 (*1, p. 68 Riese*) — *inmota* —.

449. lacrimae . . . inanes: *Anth. Lat. no.* 15, 82 (*1, p. 53 Riese*) — uoluuntur *A* (uoluuntur *A*<sup>1</sup>) —; *no.* 17, 18 (*1, p. 62 Riese*) — uoluuntur *A* —. 449. inanes: *Gl. Ansil.* 292, 31; *q.v.*

*νης, καὶ τῆς γνώμης ὑπ' ἀμφοτέρων στασια-  
ζομένης, κτλ.*

448. pectore curas: as a verse-tag in *Catull.* 64, 72; *Aen.* 1, 227; 5, 701; *Aetna*, 24; cf. *Lucr.* 5, 1207; 6, 645; *Aen.* 6, 85; *Cir.* 232; *Sil.* 15, 19.

448. curas: cf. 4, 1, n. (*cura*). *Schol. Dan.*: *potest Didonis, potest et suas*; probably Virgil means both.

449. mens immota manet: the contrast (cf. Voss, *Bemerkungen zu einigen Stellen des Virgil* (1838), 5-6; Festa in *Nuova Antologia*, 273 (1930), 27) between pectore, as the seat of emotion, and mens, as that of intelligence and will, is emphasized by the two asyndeta in the line (Terzaghi, *Virgilio ed Enea* (1928), 72), that at its beginning and that which divides it into two groups, each of a noun, a verb, and a predicate adjective (Bell, *The Latin Dual* (1923), 367), as well as by the thought of the second clause, expressing the outward symbol of the inner spiritual struggle. For the phraseology cf. *G.* 2, 294 (of the oak): *immota manet*; *Aen.* 1, 257-258: *manent immota tuorum / fata tibi*; 7, 314: *immota manet fatis Lavinia coniunx*; *Stat. Theb.* 1, 227: *mens cunctis inposta manet*; *Prud. Peristeph.* 5, 233: *haec inter inmotus manet*; *Aug. De Ord.* 2, 18: *ul eius corpore huc atque illuc vagante mens immobilis maneat*; *Paul. Petric. De Vita Mart.* 2, 20: *mens humilis crebris precibus inmotus manebat*.

Arnold (*Roman Stoicism* (1911), 391) quotes this line as one in which "in a happy phrase Virgil sums up the whole ethics of Stoicism", that "ruffling of the soul, in which the intelligence and will take no part", and this Stoic attitude may well be illustrated by

two passages in Seneca: *Dial.* 1, 2, 2: *nec hoc dico: non sentit (sc. vir bonus) illa (sc. omnia externa), sed vincit et alioqui quietus placidusque contra incurrentia attollitur*; *Ep.* 9, 3: *hoc inter nos et illos interest: noster sapiens vincit quidem incommodum omne, sed sentit; illorum ne sentit quidem*; cf. *Aug. C. D.* 9, 4: *ita mens, ubi fixa est ista sententia, nullas perturbationes, etiamsi accidunt inferioribus animi partibus, in se contra rationem praevalere permittit; quin immo eis ipsa dominatur eisque non consentiendo et potius resistendo regnum virtutis exercet. talem describit etiam Vergilius Aeneas, ubi ait 'mens inmotus . . . inanes.'* It may be said that if any one line is the key to the tragedy of the Fourth Book it is this.

449. lacrimae volvuntur inanes: cf. 4, 30, n. (*sinum*); 4, 438, n. (*fertque refertque*); *Schol. Dan.*: *utrum inanes quae Didoni nihil prosint? quidam tamen 'lacrimas inanes' vel Aeneae, vel Didonis, vel Annae, vel omnium accipiunt*. Modern scholars likewise disagree. No doubt Dido wept, as in 4, 314; 4, 369, but no longer in the presence of Aeneas. That Anna's message was tearful appears from 4, 437, and the emotional possibilities in her rather materialistic nature are seen at 4, 673; 4, 687. For the view that these tears are Anna's (or those of Anna and Dido) cf. Forbiger, *ad loc.*; Conington, *ad loc.*; Rébelliau, *De Verg. in inform. muliebr. quae sunt in Aen. Personis Inventore* (1892), 69, n. 5 (and authors there mentioned); Keith in *Cl. Weekly*, 21 (1928), 113-114 (opposed by Valentine in *Cl. Weekly*, 22 (1928), 24, who thinks the tears those of Dido, Anna, and Aeneas).

## 450. Tum vero infelix fatis exterrita Dido

450. fatis exterrita: *Gl. Arma*, 20, 110.

Other writers, however, have held these to be the tears of Aeneas, who though charged by Dido (4, 369-370) with heartlessness, does at times show deep feeling (e.g., 4, 332; 4, 395), and when Dido withdraws from him in the underworld (6, 476; cf. 6, 455; 6, 468) *prosequitur lacrimis longe et miseratur euntem*. So Augustine, *C. D.* 9, 4 (quoted above); Serv. *Aen.* 4, 444; Voss (*l. c.*); Henry, *Aeneidea*, 2 (1878), 749-750; Kvíčala, *Neue Beitr. z. Erkl. d. Aeneis* (1881), 125-128; Gross, *Krit. u. exeg. z. Vergils Aeneis* (1883), 34-38—an excellent treatment; Glover, *Virgil*, 2 ed. (1912), 197, n. 5; Heinze, *Virgils epische Technik*, 3 ed. (1915), 487, and n. 2 (who well characterizes his tears as “Kennzeichen edler Menschlichkeit”, and compares 1, 462: *sunt lacrimae rerum et mentem mortalia tangunt*); and Rand, *The magical Art of Virgil* (1931), 361-362, who remarks: “the falling tears match the falling leaves, symbol of the storm that does not touch the substance.”

Further, the figure of Aeneas, as one in whom love and duty clash (cf. 4, 331-332, where the *immota lumina*, as here the *mens immota*, contrast with the *curam sub corde*, as here with the *magno . . . pectore curas*), is a far greater psychological and dramatic creation and one more in accord with the rest of his character than a portraiture which depicts him as an insensate brute.

A further point to be noted is the tendency of Mediterranean peoples to greater freedom of emotional expression than is common among Northern stocks. So, for example, Agamemnon, Patroclus, and Antilochus (*Il.* 1, 362; 9, 14; 16, 3; 18, 17; 18, 73), Odysseus, his men, Telemachus, and the shade of Agamemnon are all described as weeping (cf. *Od.* 8, 83-88; 8, 521-522; 10, 201; 11, 5; 11, 391; 11, 466; 16, 190-191; 16, 214; 17, 304; 24, 234); in *Aen.* 10, 464-465, in a passage much resembling the present one, Hercules himself *magnum . . . sub imo / corde premit gemitum lacrimasque effundit inanis*; while the tears of Aeneas are often men-

tioned (1, 459; 1, 465; 1, 470; 2, 279; 2, 790; 3, 10; 3, 492; 5, 771; 5, 869-6, 1; 6, 455; 6, 476; 6, 699; 11, 29; 11, 41; 11, 59-62; Dryden, *Dedication of the Aeneis* (14, 169 of 1889 ed.), says some critics “make Aeneas little better than a kind of St. Swithin hero, always raining”), as are those of Anchises (6, 686; 6, 867), Iulus (9, 293; 9, 501), Evander (8, 559; 11, 150), Helenus (3, 348), Aletes (9, 251), Euryalus (5, 343), Lausus (10, 790), Trojans in general (2, 651; 9, 292-293; 10, 505), and the shade of Hector (2, 271; cf. Heinze, *op. cit.*, 487, n. 2; Kroll, *Stud. z. Verständnis d. röm. Lit.* (1924), 342, n. 25; Willi, *Virgil* (1930), 94; Lohmeyer, *Vergil im deutschen Geistesleben* (1930), 154.

449. *inanes*: cf. 4, 433, n. (*tempus inane*); 10, 465 (quoted above); G. 4, 375: *fletus cognovit inanis*; *Cir.* 401: *questuolvebat inani*; Tennyson, *Princess*, Part 4: “Tears, idle tears.”

450. *tum vero*: cf. 4, 397; 7, 376: *tum vero infelix, ingentibus excita monstribus*; Sil. 6, 514: *tum vero infelix*.

450. *infelix . . . Dido*: cf. 4, 68, n. (*infelix*).

450. *fatis*: Schol. Dan.: ‘*fatis*’ ergo aut *malis suis*; aut a verbo ‘for, faris’ *fatis*, id est, *responsis Aeneae*. When Aeneas spoke (4, 340-346; 4, 361) of the future to which he was being led by divine command and fate (4, 340), Dido ridiculed his claims (4, 376-380), but now that her appeals have had no effect she begins to recognize that what is ordained for him conflicts with her own desires, and the future becomes more clear, leading her first to desire death and then to plan the means to bring it about. With this line, then, or, more precisely, with line 452, definitely appears the element of suicide; cf. Vivona in *Riv. di Filol.* 26 (1898), 432; Belling, *Stud. ü. d. Compositions-kunst Vergils in d. Aeneide* (1899), 213 (who observes that we nowhere hear of the *fatum Didonis* but only of the *fata* which guide Aeneas; I may note that as one of Epicurean type Dido is appropriately controlled by *fortuna* (e.g., 4,

451. mortem orat; taedet caeli convexa tueri.  
quo magis inceptum peragat lucemque relinquat,

illam coeli *m.*

relinquat *F* (relinquat *F*<sup>1</sup>).

451. mortem orat: *Gl. Ansil.* 377, 462. 451. taedet . . . tueri: *Schol. Dan. Aen.* 4, 452; *Anth. Lat. no. 17, 150* (1, p. 67 Riese) — tedit *A* —; *Cento Probae*, 219 — te det *A*<sup>1</sup>, te de *T* —.

452. quo . . . relinquat: *Schol. Dan. Aen.* 4, 453. 452. lucem relinquat: *Gl. Ansil.* 346, 41.

434; 4, 653; even her death is (4, 696) *nec falo*); rather than by *falo*); Knorr, *Beitr. z. Erkl. einiger Stellen aus Horaz u. Vergil* (1900), 18–19; Penquitt, *De Didonis Vergilianae Exilu* (1910), 26–27.

450. *exterrita*: this form (and the metrically identical fem. voc. sing. and neut. nom. pl.) occurs 14 times in the Virgilian corpus, always in this position in the verse; in several of these cases, as in Val. Fl. 8, 450, it is used of the mad infatuation caused by despair.

451. *mortem orat*: the line in structure resembles 5, 617: *urbem orant; taedet pelagi perferre laborem*. With the thought cf. 4, 308, n. (*nec, etc.*). Dietsch (*Theologum. Vergilian. Particula* (1853), 27, n. 203) thinks *mortem* a *numen* whom Dido begs to take her life or receive her in death, and compares 11, 197: *multa boum circa maclantur corpora Morti*; while Penquitt (*Op. cit.*, 26) cites Ov. *M.* 14, 405: *longis Hecaten ululatibus orat*; cf. Soph. *Aias*, 854: ὦ θάνατε, θάνατε, νῦν μ' ἐπισκεψαι μολών. But though *orare* may take as an object the person importuned it may also have one denoting the boon requested, and Servius is here wiser in saying: *pro 'desiderat,' ut* (2, 655) *'mortemque miserrimus opto.'*

451. *taedet, etc.*: because the heavens are witnesses of her suffering (cf. 4, 607); cf. also 5, 678: *piget . . . lucis*; Thompson, *Taedium Vitae in Roman sepulchral Inscriptions* (1911), 1; Tennyson, *Mariana*, 15: "She could not look on the sweet heaven."

451. *caeli convexa*: on this type of genitive, chiefly poetic, cf. the Virgilian examples collected by Haecckermann, *Explicationum Virgilian. Specimen* (1853), 21, who also (21–22) cites for *convexa Aen.* 6, 241; 6, 750; 10, 251; Ov. *M.* 1, 26 (*convexi . . . caeli*); Luc. 5, 632; 9, 4; Plin. *N. H.* 13, 201 (*caeli*

*convexitas*); Stat. *Theb.* 1, 208; 12, 76; Gell. 14, 1, 8 (*convexionibus mundi*); Claud. *Paneg. Prob. et Olyb.* 242; In *Rufin.* 2, 454 (cf. 1, 367); to which should be added Cic. *Arat.* 314 (*convexum caeli*); *Ecl.* 4, 50; *Aen.* 1, 608: *convexa polus dum sidera pascet*; 7, 543: *caeli convexa*; Sen. *Thy.* 993; Claud. *De Bell. Gild.* 1, 2: *convexa poli*; and other examples in *Thes. Ling. Lat.* 4 (1909), 871, 53–872, 2. Paul. ex Fest. p. 58 M. (p. 51 Lindsay) remarks: *convexum est ex omni parte declinatum, qualis est natura caeli, quod ex omni parte ad terram versus declinatum est*; cf. Plin. *N. H.* 2, 160, on the *convexitas* of the sky.

452. *quo magis inceptum*: cf. Lucr. 6, 42: *quo magis inceptum pergam pertextere dictis*; *Aen.* 6, 384: *ergo iter inceptum peragunt*; Hor. *S.* 2, 2, 112: *quo magis his credas*; Ov. *F.* 1, 188: *et peragat coeptum . . . iter*; Dictys, 5, 11: *peragere incepta*; 6, 13: *ut incepta perageret*.

452. *peragat*: *Schol. Dan.*: *id est, mortem sibi inferat*; Bell (*The Latin Dual* (1923), 198) would supply *coacta*; Wagner (*ad loc.*) explains as *eo impellitur quod vidit*. Probably through the influence of the presents, *orat* and *taedet*, the ordinary sequence of tenses is here disregarded.

452. *lucemque relinquat*: cf. 4, 31, n. (*o luce, etc.*); 10, 855: *lucemque relinquo*; 12, 62–63: *haec invisā relinquam / lumina*; Naev. 28: *linquant lumina*; Enn. *Ann.* 149: *postquam lumina sis oculis bonus Ancus reliquit* (imitated by Lucr. 3, 1025); Lucr. 3, 542: *lumina qui lincunt moribundi*; 5, 989: *dulcia linquebant labentis lumina vitae*; Cic. *De Cons.* (ap. *De Div.* 1, 18): *vititalia lumina liquit*; *De Div.* 2, 63 (translation of Homer): *liquerunt lumina fatis*; *De Glor.* (Müller's ed.,

453. vidit, turicremis cum dona imponeret aris  
— horrendum dictu —, latices nigrescere sacros

turicrimis *M* (turicremis *M*<sup>1</sup>), turecremis γ<sup>1</sup>. imponeret *MPp*.  
dictum *F* (dictu *F*), dicto (*corr. in dictu*) γ. laticis *F ut vid.*

453. vidit . . . aris: *Macrob. Sat. 6, 5, 7; Non. p. 328 M. (p. 516 L.)* — imponeret —.  
453. vidit turicremis: *Mar. Vict. Art. gram. 1 (G. L. K. 6, 36)*. 453. cum . . . aris: *Anth. Lat. no. 17, 415 (1, p. 77 Riese)* — deponeret *A* —.

454. horrendum . . . sacros: *Schol. Dan. Aen. 8, 565* — orrendum *F* —. 454. latices . . . sacros: *Lact. Plac. in Stat. Theb. 5, 175*.

4, 3, 351, no. 3): *hic situs est vitae iam pridem lumina linquens*; also such expressions as 2, 85: *cassum lumine*; 3, 311: *si lux alma recessit*; 4, 631: *invisam quaerens quam primum abrumperet lucem*; 12, 935: *corpus spoliatum lumine*; and, in Greek, *Il. 18, 11: λείπειν φάος ἡελίου*; *Hes. Op. 155: λαμπρόν δ' ἔλιπον φάος ἡελίου*; *Theogn. 569: λείψω δ' ἐρατὸν φάος ἡελίου*; *Epigrammata Gr. no. 319, 6 Kaibel: ἔθανεν τοῦτο λιποῦσα φάος*; cf. nos. 333 a 1; 682, 2; 702, 2; Tolman, *A Study of the sepulchral Inscriptions in Buecheler's Carmina epigraphica Latina* (1910), 40–42.

453. vidit: *Schol. Dan. Aen. 5, 7: in quarto libro relatum est duplici modo diras fieri; aut in signis, aut quocumque modo aut quacumque parte* (cf. *Schol. Dan. on our line*). The list of portents which follows suggests those so dear to the Roman annalists and frequent in Livy (and Julius Obsequens); cf. Heinze, *Virgils epische Technik*, 3 ed. (1915), 316; Duckworth, *Foreshadowing and Suspense in the Epics of Homer, Apollonius, and Vergil* (1933), 18, n. 52. Penquitt (*De Didonis Vergilianae Exitu* (1910), 27) notes that such appear especially before the deaths of distinguished persons (cf. Guillemin, *L'Originalité de Virgile* (1931), 27), and thinks that Virgil here imitates the manner of Ennius, who, in his turn, draws from the priestly annals. The Scholia Danielis point out that these omens are not only unfavorable to Dido's requests but portend death. On omens observed at the time of a sacrifice cf. 7, 71–80. For the shift of tense to the perfect Knight (in *Cl. Weekly*, 26 (1933), 203, n. 28) offers as an explanation the emotional quality of the *i* sounds and of a break after a spondee in the first foot.

453. turicremis . . . aris: cf. *Lucr. 2, 353: turicremas . . . aras*; *Ov. H. 2, 18: turicremis sum venerata sacris*; *Luc. 9, 989: votaue turicremos non invila fudit in ignes*; *Avien. 3, 604: inter turicremas hic Phoebum vidimus aras*; *Mart. Cap. 2, 124: nam Sabaeorum rapidis quid vapor edat aris / fumida quid turicremis aura paret favillis*; *Sidon. Carm. 2, 88: fudit turicremis carchesia cernuus aris*; 9, 210: *aram ad turicremam*; *Gualterus, Alexandreis, 1, 336: turicremis . . . templis*; the Scholia Danielis call the adjective *nomen mire compositum*, but it is better regarded as a slightly archaistic touch. Incense and wine were given in offerings to the Lares; cf. *Plin. Ad Traian. 96, 5: ture ac vino supplicarent*; *Wissowa, Religion u. Kultus d. Römer, 2 ed. (1912), 412, nn. 2–3*, who points out that it was comparatively late, however, that incense was imported to Italy (cf. *Ov. F. 1, 341; Arnob. 7, 26*), and that some substitute must have been earlier employed; *Eitrem, Opferritus u. Voropfer d. Gr. u. Römer* (1915), 198–260, especially 204. Further, Virgil has transferred to Carthage this particular Roman custom, like others; cf. Penquitt, *op. cit.*, 28.

453. imponeret: cf. 1, 49: *aris imponet honorem*; 3, 231: *arisque reponimus ignem*; *Plaut. Aul. 386: haec imponentur in foco nostro Lari*.

454. horrendum dictu: = 8, 565; cf. 4, 116, n. (*advertit*); 4, 182, n. (*mirabile dictu*); *Stat. Theb. 6, 939: horrendum visu* (parenthetic); *Cypr. Hept. Gen. 1257: horrendum dictu*; *Anon. De Iudicio Domini, 9, 23 (Patr. Lat. 2, 1153): horrendum* (parenthetic); *Schol. Dan.: horrendum dictu: quanto magis visu? quod Didoni contigit*; *Flodoardus Re-*

## 455. fusaque in obscenum se vertere vina cruorem.

cruore *F* (cruorem *F*<sup>3</sup>).

mensis, *De Triumphis Christi* (Palaest.), 2, 1, 198: *horrendum dictu* (parenthetic).

454. *latices*: for the plural cf. 1, 736: *in mensam laticum libavit honorem*; 4, 512; 6, 218; 6, 715; 7, 464. Page (*ad loc.*) explains *latices* . . . *fusaque* . . . *vina* as hendiadys: "the holy libation of outpoured wine." But it is not certain that *latices* here means 'wine', for though so used in *G.* 2, 192; 3, 509; *Aen.* 1, 686; 1, 736; yet in 4, 512; 6, 218; 6, 715; 7, 464; *Cul.* 18; etc., it clearly means 'water', and while most editors are at this point decorously silent some state this to have been water, which seems likely, as being commonly mingled with wine in libations; cf. the works cited by Penquitt, *op. cit.*, 28, n. 3. The water, then, grew dark (like wine?), and the wine changed to blood—a double portent. On water turning to blood cf. *Exod.* 4, 9; 7, 17–20; *Ps.* 78, 44; and many instances collected in my note on *Cic. De Div.* 1, 98; to which add *Plin. N. H.* 31, 55–56.

454. *nigrescere*: cf. 11, 824; *Ov. M.* 2, 581; 3, 671; *Claud. De Rapt. Pros.* 3, 72; etc. That this may be an approach to the color of blood is suggested by such passages as 3, 622: *sanguine* . . . *atro*; 3, 626: *atro* . . . *tabo*; *Ov. Ars am.* 3, 503: *ora tument ira, nigrescunt sanguine venae*; but it is also used of the color of ripening grapes (e.g., *Plin. N. H.* 15, 6; *Colum.* 12, 48), and so may here be used of any livid hue. A dark, and especially a black, color was, of course, commonly associated with death (4, 384, n. (*atris ignibus*); *Hippocr. De Morbo sacro*, 2: *θανατώδες γὰρ τὸ μέλαν*; *Rohde, Psyche*, 4 ed., 2 (1907), 76, n. 1). Cf. also the phrase *μέλαν αἷμα*; e.g., *Anon. ap. [Apollod.]* 3, 4, 4 (*Collectanea Alexand.* 71 Powell); *Kober in Cl. Weekly*, 27 (1934), 190 (for many instances from *Homer* to *Apollonius*).

454. *sacros*: used in the ritual and hence taboo (good or bad); later (as in 4, 703, and perhaps 4, 638) inclining to a good sense; cf. *Fowler, Roman Essays and Interpretations* (1920), 15–24.

455. *obscenum*: used both of the repul-

sive (e.g., 7, 417) and the ill-omened (e.g., *G.* 1, 470 (*canes*); *Aen.* 12, 876 (*volucres*)); here, as in 3, 241; 3, 262; 3, 367, the two notions are probably both present.

455. *se vertere*: *Schol. Dan.*: *et quidam 'nigrescere' et 'vertere' ideo incertum tempus positum volunt, ut ostendant non vere vertisse se, quod contra naturam est, sed verti a Didone visa*; cf. 6, 257.

455. *vina*: *Virgil* uses *vina* (nom. and acc.) 18 times, yet never *vinum*, and *vino* (dat. and abl.) 7 times yet never *vinis*, and this practice, as noted by *Löfstedt (Syntactica*, 1 (1928), 44), is perhaps due to an instinctive feeling that the neuter plural in -a is really an original feminine collective of the first declension.

455. *cruorem*: wine was considered the blood of the grape (*Heidel in Am. Journ. of Philol.* 45 (1924), 235, who cites *Gen.* 49, 11; *Deut.* 32, 14; *Ecclus.* 39, 26; 50, 15; to which add 1 *Macc.* 6, 34; *Rev.* 14, 20: ἐξῆλθεν αἷμα ἐκ τῆς ληνοῦ; *Achill. Tat.* 2, 2, 5: τοῦτ' ἔστιν αἷμα βότρυος; while in *Plin. N. H.* 14, 58 *Androcydes* tells *Alexander the Great* that it is the *sanguinem terrae*). Changes in its sweetness, sometimes of an unaccountable character, are mentioned by *Plin. N. H.* 14, 118; *Vopisc. Tac.* 17, 2; etc., but especially in point are cases in which it appears to be transmuted to blood, of which the most striking is that in *Val. Max.* 1, 6, ext. 1: *priusquam Athenas deleret* (sc. *Xerxes*) *Lacedaemonis invadendae consilium agitant admirabile inter cenam prodigium incidit: infusum namque paterae eius vinum in sanguinem, nec semel sed iterum et tertio conversum est* (*Jul. Paris, Epit.* 1, 6, ext. 1, says . . . *in sanguinem versum imaginatus est*). *qua de re consulti magi monuerunt ut se ab incepto proposito abstinere*, etc.; cf. also *Sen. Oed.* 324: *libata Bacchi dona permutat cruor*; *Thy.* 700–701: *libata in ignes vina mulato fluunt / cruenta Baccho*. The Christian doctrine of transubstantiation may have conduced to such miraculous cases, for example, among the Gnostics (cf. *Thorndike, Hist. of Magic*



456. hoc visum nulli, non ipsi effata sorori.  
praeterea fuit in tectis de marmore templum

nulli (u m. 2 in ras.) γ. sorori est F, 'plerique' Pieriani.  
post de ras. F<sup>1</sup>. marmore M (marmore M<sup>2</sup>).

456. hoc visum: *Gl. Ansil.* 282, 12. 456. non ipsi: *Gl. Ansil.* 394, 156.  
457-458. praeterea . . . antiqui: *Non. p.* 464 M. (p. 743 L.).

and experim. *Science*, 1, 2 ed. (1929), 369); and Wuttke, *Deutscher Volksaberglaube*, 3 ed. (1900), 141, states that some superstitious Germans, when seriously ill, postpone receiving the Eucharist from fear that the change of wine to blood will portend their own death. Cf. also, for the relations of blood and wine, Rüsche, *Blut, Leben u. Seele* (1930), 45 (in *Stud. z. Gesch. u. Kultur d. Altertums*, 5 Ergänzb.).

Red, like black, is associated with death (Artemid. *Onirom.* 1, 77: ἔχει γὰρ τινα τὸ πορφυροῦν χρώμα συμπάθειαν πρὸς τὸν θάνατον); cf. von Duhn, "Rot und Tot", in *Archiv f. Religionswiss.* 9 (1906), 1-24; Kircher, *Die sakrale Bedeutung des Weines im Altertum* (1910), 82-87; Haupt in *Am. Journ. of Philol.* 45 (1924), 48-50; Wunderlich, *Die Bedeutung der roten Farbe im Kultus d. Gr. u. Römer* (1925), 46-59. The transmutation of wine to blood is here emphasized by the juxtaposition of the two words.

456. nulli: Virgil may think of this visum as an hallucination on the part of Dido. At the earlier sacrifice (4, 56-57) apparently Anna had also been present, as had doubtless attendants to slaughter the victim (4, 63-64), but since the present rites are of a simpler sort, such as libations, they do not necessitate the presence of any assistant, so that we are left in doubt whether Dido conducted them alone — if so, with what motive is not apparent — or with the participation of Anna. The intensity of Dido's desperation is shown, as Heyne has noted (*ad loc.*), by her silence, and with this Conington (*ad loc.*) compares two passages in Sophocles: *O. T.* 1074-1075: δέδοιχ' ὅπως / μὴ 'κ τῆς σωπῆς τῆσδ' ἀναρρῆξει κακά; *Anlig.* 1251-1252: ἐμοὶ δ' οὖν ἦ τ' ἄγαν σιγῇ βαρὺ / δοκεῖ προσεῖναι χή μάτην πολλή βοή.

456. non ipsi: Schol. Dan.: et forte ideo

sororem celavit, ne et ipsa se perimeret, post queritur (4, 679) 'idem ambas ferro dolor atque eadem hora tulisset.'

456. effata: similar Virgilian omissions of est are gathered by Wagner, 4 ed. of Virgil, 4 (1832), 439-440, a close parallel being 4, 632: Barcen nutricem adfata Sychaei, where M<sup>2</sup> reads Sychaei est, as it similarly adds est in 6, 126. In G. 4, 530: ultro adfata timentem, cod. F, as here, has added est. Virgil frequently employs effatus (effata) without est, however, as in G. 4, 450; *Aen.* 5, 653; 6, 547; 8, 443; 10, 256; 10, 299; 10, 877, and there seems no adequate reason here to desert the reading of MP in favor of that of F (as does Janell).

457. praeterea, etc.: cf. *Ov. H.* 7, 99-102: est mihi marmorea sacratum in aede Sychaeus / (oppositae frondes velleraeque alba tegunt); / hinc ego me sensi noto quater oculari; / ipse sono tenui dixit 'Elissa, veni' This templum was doubtless a small ἡρώων or aedicula to the manes of Sychaeus; cf. *Serv. Aen.* 6, 152: apud maiores, ut supra (5, 64) diximus, omnes in suis domibus sepeliebantur, unde ortum est ut lares colerentur in domibus . . . inde est quod etiam Dido cenotaphium domi fecit marito; also *Cael. ap. Cic. Ad Fam.* 8, 12, 3: coepi sacellum in domo quod est ab eo petere; *Cic. 2 Verr.* 4, 4: erat apud Heium sacrarium magna cum dignitate in aedibus, a maioribus traditum, perantiquum; in quo signa pulcherrima quattuor, etc.; *Hor. C.* 1, 30, 3-4: te (sc. Venerem) . . . Glycerae decoram / transfer in aedem; *Bahr.* 63, 1-4: ἦν τις κατ' οἶκους ἀνδρὸς εὐσεβοῦς ἥρωος / ἔχων ἐν αὐλῇ τέμενος' ἔνθα δὲ θύων / στέφων τε βωμοὺς καὶ καταβρέχων οἶνον / προσεύχεται ἀεὶ "χαῖρε, φίλταθ' ἡρώων", κτλ.; *Sil.* 1, 81-92 — a description of a temple to Dido at Carthage, which owes, however, some suggestions to the present passage; *Isid. Etym.* 8, 11, 5:

458. coniugis antiqui, miro quod honore colebat,  
velleribus niveis et festa fronde revinctum;

misero *F* (miro *F*<sup>1</sup>).  
inueis *P* (niveis *P*<sup>1</sup>).

[457] 458. miro . . . colebat: *Cento Probae*, 570 — colebant (n exp. m. 2 in π) —.

459. velleribus niveis: *Serv. Aen.* 4, 458; *Prob. Inst. Art.* (G. L. K. 4, 129); *Gram. Val. in Auct. class.* 5, 249 *Mai*; *Gl. Ansil.* 580, 82; *Gl. Abol.* 179, 60.

*simulacrorum usus exortus est, cum ex desiderio mortuorum constituerentur imagines vel effigies, tamquam in caelum receptis*; Overbeck-Mau, *Pompeji*, 4 ed. (1884), 268; 299. Virgil here transfers to Carthage a custom familiar at Rome; cf. Wagner, 4 ed., 4 (1832), 588–589.

457. de marmore templum: cf. *Ecl.* 7, 31–32: *levi de marmore tota / . . . stabis* (cf. *Cul.* 397); *G.* 3, 13: *templum de marmore ponam*; *Aen.* 6, 69: *solido de marmore templum*; *Ov. Ars am.* 1, 81 (= *Ex Pont.* 3, 6, 25): *facto de marmore templo*; *M.* 14, 313: *factum de marmore signum*; Auson. *Ordo nob. Urb.* 19, 14: *Pario quondam de marmore templum*.

458. antiqui: cf. 4, 431, n. (*antiquom*); in 6, 473 Sychaeus is called her *coniunx* . . . *pristinus*; and Servius here glosses *antiqui* by *aut prioris aut cari* (cf. Schol. Dan. *Aen.* 4, 431); cf. *Il. Lat.* 321: *coniugis antiqui*; Albertus Stadensis, *Troilus*, 3, 36: *coniugis antiqui*. Note the use of *patria antiqua* (4, 633): “in the old country.”

458. miro . . . honore: cf. *Lucr.* 5, 1280: *miro est mortalis inter honore*; *Aen.* 1, 632: *divom templis indicit honorem*. Page (in *Cl. Rev.* 7 (1893), 417–418), followed by Mackail (*ad loc.*), thinks the *mirus honor* consisted in the shrine being decorated, not with *caeruleae vittae* (3, 64) or *frons funerea* (4, 506–507), characteristic of burial places, but with white fleeces and gay foliage, “to symbolize that to her the dead was not dead.” I think, however, that, as in the Lucretian passage quoted, the phrase may refer to degree rather than to peculiarity in kind, and this in spite of what Servius says (quoted below).

458. colebat: *Serv.*: *exhibendo ea quae circa vivos solent fieri. moris enim fuerat ut*

*nubentes puellae, simul venissent ad limen mariti, postes antequam ingrederentur ornarent laneis vittis*; unde ait ‘velleribus niveis’; et oleo ungerent, unde uxores dictae sunt, quasi unxores; and the Schol. Dan. add: *bene ergo Dido cum templum marito exstrueret, veluti devota viro, quippe post quem nuptura non esset, ad consulendum amorem officia ritus maritalis adfixerat, ut morem instauraret uxorum*; etc. On line 459 Servius says: *tamquam numen coleret. sane hoc loco latenter quam supra diximus tangit historiam; nam si amabat Aeneam ulique non coleret extinctum maritum*. Yet we may explain the apparent inconsistency: (a) *colebat* may refer to a time before her interest in Aeneas; or (b) despite her infatuation for Aeneas and her infidelity to the memory of Sychaeus (contrast 4, 22–29 with 4, 552) her affection for Sychaeus may have continued, both through habit and through real affection; cf. Rébelliau, *De Verg. in inform. muliebr. quae sunt in Aen. Personis Inventore* (1892), 90, n. 1. It must further be remembered that in 6, 473–474 she and Sychaeus are reunited. With the whole phrase cf. *Nep. Themist.* 8: *sacrarium quod summa colebatur caerimonia*.

459. velleribus niveis: cf. *Ov. H.* 7, 100 (quoted at 4, 457, n. (*praeterea*, etc.), above); Hock, *Gr. Weihgebräuche* (1905), 10–12; Pley, *De Lanae in Antiquorum Ritibus Usu* (1911), 53–55 (for wool placed on statues). On *vellera* for woolen fillets cf. *Stat. Silv.* 5, 3, 7–8; and for the draping of shrines with fillets *Prop.* 4, 9, 27; *Tac. H.* 4, 53: *spatium omne quod templo dicabatur evinctum vittis coronisque*; Penquitt, *op. cit.*, 29; also *Luc.* 2, 354–355. The whiteness of wool is noted in *G.* 3, 391: *munere . . . niveo lanae*; 3, 487: *lanea dum nivea circumdatur infula vitta*; cf. *Ps.* 147, 16; *Is.* 1, 18.

## 460. hinc exaudiri voces et verba vocantis

460-461. hinc . . . viri: *Serv. Aen.* 12, 638 — exaudiri gemitus (gemitur *F*); et . . . uiri om. *F* — 460. hinc . . . voces: [*Serg.*] *Expl. in Donat.* 2 (*G. L. K.* 4, 558); *Anth. Lat.* no. 16, 9 (1, p. 56 *Riese*). 460. hinc exaudiri: [*Prob.*] *De ult. Syll.* 8 (*G. L. K.* 4, 244). 460. exaudiri . . . vocantis: *Schol. Dan. Aen.* 4, 453 — exaudiri ex exaudire *F* —

459. *fasta fronde*: cf. 2, 248-249: *nos delubra deum . . . / . . . festa velamus fronde per urbem*; Val. Fl. 2, 188-189: *delubraque festa / fronde legunt*; Ekkehard, *Waltharius*, 209: *festa cum fronde revinxit*; this should be contrasted with the *fronde . . . funerea* of 4, 506-507, and with the decking of the altar of the *manes* described in 3, 63-64. As Page (*ad loc.*) says, Dido's honor of Sychaeus is "not with the signs of gloom and death, but with signs of joy and life as being, though dead, her heart's still living lord." Yet, as various scholars have asserted (cf. Köchling, *De Coronarum apud Antiquos Vi atque Usu* (1914), 37), the wool and garlands may here be apotropaic.

460. *hinc exaudiri*: = 6, 557.

460. *exaudiri*: whether lines 460-461 represent a dream (cf. *Lucr.* 5, 62-63 for dreams of those who are dead; *Tib.* 2, 6, 37: *neglecti mittunt mala somnia manes*), like 465-473, or a waking vision is uncertain; but that they deal with a subjective fancy is shown by *visa* in the next line; cf. *Serv.*: *non enim erant vera, ut supra*. Perhaps we may picture part of a restless night, following the unhappy libation: dreams of the call of Sychaeus from his cenotaph; a wakeful period in which repeated (*saepe*) hoots of an owl are heard, which further suggest to Dido's mind previous evil predictions of soothsayers; and then another set of confused dreams (465-473), producing an uncanny effect which she can no longer disregard. This explanation of events would considerably help the chronology of the story, which Virgil has, either intentionally or from lack of the *ultima manus*, left rather obscure; cf. 4, 417, n. (*undique convenere*).

460. *voces*: cries of uncertain origin are a frequent form of omen; cf. Pease on *Cic. De Div.* 1, 101, where they are classified as tree-voices (cf. *G.* 1, 476-477), produced by

creaking or rubbing limbs, sounds from the sky, from some unspecified source, or (as here) from a tomb or shrine; cf. 3, 39-46; *Liv.* 6, 33, 5; *Tac. H.* 5, 13; *Suet. Nero*, 46: *de Mausoleo . . . exaudita vox est nomine eum cientis*; 1 *Sam.* 3, 4-14; Lecky, *Rationalism in Europe*, 1 (1868 ed.), 164; Lembergt, *Der Wunderglaube bei Römern u. Griechen* (1905), 14; Wülker, *Die geschichtl. Entwicklung des Prodigienwesens* (1903), 19.

Note the alliteration of the letter *v* (*voces . . . verba vocantis / visa viri*), a sound expressing intense woe (*Norden* on *Aen.* 6, 110; 6, 426-429; 6, 833), horror (*Rose* in *Journ. of Rom. Stud.* 22 (1932), 261, n. 2), or solemnity (*Conington* and Page, *ad loc.*); and compare the repetitions of sound in 4, 464 (*praeterea praedicta priorum*), 4, 465-466 (*furentem / . . . ferus*), and 4, 466-467 (*somnis . . . semper . . . / sola sibi semper*).

460. *verba*: opposed to the inarticulate *voces*; cf. *Hor. S.* 1, 3, 103, and Lejay's note. On the alliterative word-pair *voces et verba* cf. Wölfflin in *Sitzb. d. k. bayr. Akad.* 2 (1881), 93 (= *Ausg. Schriften* (1933), 280).

460. *vocantis*: in *Ov. H.* 7, 102 (cf. 4, 457, n. (*praeterea*, etc.), above) Sychaeus calls: *Elissa, veni*; cf. *Sil.* 8, 121-123 (Dido to Aeneas): *namque asper somno diris me impleverat horror: / terque suam Dido, ter cum clamore vocarat / et laeta exultans ostenderat ora Sychaeus*; the call prepares for the reunion in 6, 473-474. Cf. also *Tac. Ann.* 1, 65, 2: *ducemque (sc. Caecinam) terruit dira quies; nam Quintilium Varum sanguine oblitum et paludibus emersum cernere et audire visus est velut vocantem, non tamen obsecutus et manum intendentis repulisse*; Greenough and Kittredge (*ad loc.*) cite Pope, *Eloisa to Abelard*, 307-309: "Here, as I watch'd the dying lamps around, / From yonder shrine I heard a hollow sound. / 'Come, sister, come', it said, or seemed to

461. *visa viri, nox cum terras obscura teneret,  
solaque culminibus ferali carmine bubo*

uari  $\gamma^1$ . *mox* *M* (*nox M^2*). *con c.* *teras* (a *corr. ex &, ut vid.*)  $\gamma$ , *corr. in terras*.  
uola *M* (*sola M^1*). *culminus F* (*culminibus F^1*). *carminae* (*ar in ras.*)  $\gamma$ . *b. bo* (*corr. in  
bubo*)  $\gamma$ .

[460\*]

462-463. *solaque . . . queri*: *Schol. Dan. Aen. 4, 453* — *salaque F* —. 462. *solaque . . .  
bubo*: *Non. p. 194 M.* (*p. 285 L.*) — *seraque* (*cf. G. 1, 403; Aen. 12, 864*) —; *Anon. De dub.  
Nomin.* (*G. L. K. 5, 572*) — *uolaque L*; *fera de ML*; *curmine L* —; *Schol. Lucan. 6, 689* —  
*om. G^1* —; *Lact. Plac. in Stat. Theb. 3, 511* — *solaque om. L*; *cul. Pb, om. LMPa* —.  
462. *ferali . . . bubo*: *Anth. Lat. no. 17, 124* (*1, p. 66 Riese*). 462. *ferali carmine*: *Gl.  
Arma, 20, 111* — *ferale* —. 462. *ferali*: *Gl. Ansil. 239, 240-242; q.v.* 462. *bubo*: *Gl.  
Ansil. 83, 3; q.v.*

say"; Tennyson, *Lancelot and Elaine*, 992-994: "Death, like a friend's voice, from a distant field / Approaching through the darkness, call'd; the owls / Wailing had power upon her."

461. *viri*: in 1, 353-360 Dido's flight from Tyre had been inspired by dreams of Sychaeus.

461. *nox cum*, etc.: *Schol. Dan.: ut augetur terrorem tempus adiecit*. The time of day is mentioned by Virgil when in any way appropriate to the action (*DeWitt, The Dido Episode in the Aeneid of Virgil* (1907), 44), and he has a particular fondness for descriptions of night and darkness; *id.*, 63; cf. Stearns, *Studies of the Dream as a technical Device in Latin Epic and Drama* (1927), 21, n. 65, for set phrases in which he and other poets introduce night scenes and dream episodes. A reminiscence of this line is *Anth. Lat. no. 719 a, 89* (2, p. 192 Riese): *et nox obscura tenebat*; cf. *Aen. 2, 420: obscura nocte per umbram*; 4, 351-352: *quoliens . . . / nox operit terras* (where Aeneas's dreams of his warning father closely correspond to the admonitions of Sychaeus in the present line); *Dracont. De Laud. Dei, 3, 487: nocte sub obscura*; *Walahfridus Strabo, Ad Ruadb. 25* (*Poet. Aevi Carol. 2, 389*): *nox obscura*. Some have thought the transposition of *nox* and *cum* due to a desire to avoid *cacemphaton*; cf. La Cerda, *ad loc.*

462. *sola . . . bubo*: cf. *G. 1, 389: et sola in sicca secum spatiat harena*. For the position of noun and adjective (here probably in the predicate) cf. 4, 124, n. (*speluncam*). Servius notes that Virgil is peculiar in making *bubo* feminine (*Luc. 5, 396* and *Ov. M. 5, 550; 10, 453*; etc., treat it as masculine); yet the word, though perhaps first occurring here in the feminine, seems to be of common gender; cf. the cases cited in *Thes. Ling. Lat. 2* (1906), 2221, 65-74. Does the female bird here furnish an omen for the female character in the story?

In an elaborate article on owls, in *P.-W. 6* (1909), 1064-1071, Wellmann identifies this bird with *Bubo maximus* (i.e., *Bubo bubo* (*L.*)), a night bird with a cry like a groan (*Plin. N. H. 10, 34: nec cantu aliquo vocalis sed gemitu*; *Apul. Flor. 13: carmine gemulo*; *Serv.: cantus autem eius aut fletum imitatur aut gemitum* (*Isid. Etym. 12, 7, 38*); cf. the use of *queri* in 4, 463). Its avoidance of daylight, its dark color, and its uncanny sound caused it to be associated with the underworld and the dead; *Plin. l. c.* calls it *funebri*; *Ov. M. 15, 791 Stygius*; cf. Gruppe, *Gr. Mythol. u. Relig.* (1902), 802. Though Servius says *tacens ostendit felicitatem*, and though the nearly related  $\gamma\lambda\alpha\upsilon\epsilon$ , or *Surnia noctua* (= *Athene noctua noctua* (*Scopoli*)), was frequently a favorable sign (*Wellmann, op. cit.*, 1069-1070), evidence that the *bubo* was ever

a good sign to the Romans is scarce or lacking, and usually its song by night or its flight, or even its presence, by day portended death to an individual or calamity to the state (Plin. *N. H.* 10, 34: *in urbibus aut omnino in luce visus dirum ostentum est* (cf. 29, 82: *cum ipsam avem vidisse prodigium sit*). *privatorum domibus insidentem plurimum scio non fuisse feralem*), and was the occasion for ceremonies of lustration (Plin. *N. H.* 10, 35-36; etc.; *vide infra*). For lovers it was an especially bad omen (Wellmann, *op. cit.*, 1065 cites Prop. 2, 28, 38: *nigraque funestum concinit omen avis*; Ov. *Am.* 1, 12, 19; 3, 12, 1-2), and to fullers its unhappy significance was also remarked; cf. Turnebus, *Adversaria*, 29 (1604), 27; Otto, *Sprichwörter . . . d. Römer* (1890), 354; Nock in *Cl. Rev.* 41 (1927), 192, n. 1.

Among instances of owls as omens of death may be cited: 12, 861-865, where the *Dira* takes the form of a bird *quae quondam in bustis aut culminibus desertis / nocte sedens serum canit importuna per umbras*; Menand. fr. 534, 11 Kock; Prop. 2, 20, 5-6: *non tam nocturna volucris funesta querela / Allica Cecropiis obstrepit in foliis*; 2, 28, 38 (quoted above); 4, 3, 59: *sive in finitimo gemit stans noctua tigno*; Hyg. *Fab.* 136; Ov. *M.* 5, 549-550: *foedaque fit volucris, venturi nuntia luctus / ignavus bubo, dirum mortalibus omen*; 6, 431-432 (at the wedding of Tereus and Procne): *tectoque profanus / incubuit bubo thalamique in culmine sedit*; 10, 452-453: *ter omen / funereus bubo letali carmine fecit*; 15, 791 (before the death of Caesar): *tristia mille locis Stygius dedit omina bubo*; Ibis, 223-224: *sedit in adverso nocturnus culmine bubo, / funereoque graves edidit ore sonos*; Colum. 10, 349-350: *nocturnas crucibus volucres suspendit et altis / culminibus vetuit feralia carmina flere*; Calp. 6, 8: *vocalem superet si dirus aedona bubo*; Sen. *H. F.* 687: *illic luctifer bubo gemit* (cf. *Med.* 732-734; *Ep.* 122, 3); Luc. 5, 396: *et laetae iurantur aves bubone sinistro*; Stat. *Theb.* 3, 511-512: *nocturnaeque gement striges et feralia bubo / damna canens*; Sil. 8, 634; 13, 598; Tac. *Ann.* 12, 43: *insestus diris avibus Capitolium*; Apul. *M.* 3, 23: *istas nocturnas aves (sc. bubones) cum penetraverint larem quempiam, sollicite prehensas foribus videmus*

*adfigi, ut, quod infaustis volatibus familiae minantur exitium, suis luant cruciatibus*; Dio Cass. 40, 17, 1 (before the battle of Carrhae): *ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ Ῥώμῃ τέρατα τότε ἐγένετο· καὶ γὰρ βῦαι καὶ λύκοι ὤφθησαν* (cf. 40, 47, 2; 41, 14, 2; 42, 26, 3; 50, 8, 2; 54, 29, 7); 56, 29, 3 (before the death of Augustus): *βῦας ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ* (the senate-house) *καθήμενος ἔβουξε* (cf. 56, 45, 2); 73, 24, 1 (before the death of Commodus): *βῦας ἀπ' αὐτοῦ* (the Capitol) *ἔβουξε*; Lamprid. *Comm.* 16, 5 (before the death of Commodus): *bubo etiam supra cubiculum eius deprehensa est tam Romae quam Lanuvii*; Obsequens, 30: *bubo in Capitolio visus* (cf. 32; 40; 43); 46: *bubone in urbe viso urbs lustrata*; Serv. *Aen.* 8, 233; 12, 863 (differentiating the *bubo* and the *noctua*); Schol. Dan. on our line: *sane bubo si cuius aedes insederit et vocem miserit mortem significare dicitur; si autem de busto sudem ad lectum detulerit incendium aedibus portendere*; Brev. Exp. in G. 1, 470: *infortunaeque volucres, quae ad domos accedunt et malum significant, in alienum tempus ruentes, ut striges aut bubones nocte gaudentes per diem possent videri*; Amm. Marc. 30, 5, 16 (before the death of Valentinian): *bubo culminibus regii lavacri insidens occitansque funebria*; 31, 1, 2 (before the death of Valens): *querulum quoddam nocturnae volucres tinniebant et flebile*; Prud. *Cont. Symm.* 2, 573; Hier. *Ep.* 40, 2, 2; *Comm. in Is.* 6, p. 246 Vall.: *sit planctus ulularum et lamentabilis vox sirenarum, quae auditores suos ducit ad mortem*; Claud. *In Eutrop.* 2, 407: *infausto . . . bubone*; Dracont. *Carm.* 10, 307-309: *qualis et horrendus funesto carmine bubo / conqueritur deflenda gemens, dum tristia maestus / funerea sub nocte canit*; Anth. Lat. no. 390, 28 (1, p. 304 Riese); no. 762, 37-38 (2, p. 248 Riese): *bubilat horrendum ferali murmure bubo / humano generi tristia fata ferens*; Isid. *Etym.* 12, 7, 39: *bubo . . . avis feralis . . . in sepulcris die noctue versatur* (cf. Soph. ap. Athen. 13, 61: *ὥσπερ αἱ γλαῦκες ἐπὶ τάφῳ*) . . . *apud augures malum portendere fertur*, etc.; Suid. s. v. βῦας . . . σημαίνει δὲ συμφοράς; Ioan. Saresb. *Poligr.* 1, 13, p. 411 d: *bubonem Dido, dum misceretur Eneae, sensit infaustum*; Marbodius Redonensis, *Carm.* 39, 1-2 (*Patr. Lat.* 171, 1672): *bubo ferum nomen, dirum mortalibus omen, / ut*

*Maro testatur, dum cantat fata minatur*; Vida, *Poet.* 3, 408-411 (based on *Aen.* 12, 863-864): *contra autem sese tristes inamabile carmen / induit in vultus, si forte invisa volucris / nocte sedens serum canit importuna per umbras, / ut quondam in bustis aut culminibus desertis*. Similar omens from γλαυκῆς, e.g., before the death of Pyrrhus, as told by Ael. N. A. 10, 37, need not be here cited; cf. Heim, *Incantamenta magica* (1892), 501.

For later allusions cf. Baldricus Dolensis, *Carm. hist., Invect. in Rolligerum*, 5 (*Patr. Lat.* 166, 1185): *necnon bubo canens dirum mortalibus omen*; Chaucer, *Assembly of Foules*, 343: "The owle eke, that of dethe the bode bryngeth"; Spenser, *Faërie Queene*, 2, 12, 39: "The ill-fac'd Owle, death's dreadful messengere"; Shakesp. *Rich. II*, 3, 3; *I Hen. VI*, 4, 2: "Thou ominous and fearful owl of death"; *II Hen. VI*, 1, 4; 3, 2; *III Hen. VI*, 2, 6: "Bring forth that fatal screech-owl to our house, / That nothing sung but death to us and ours"; 5, 6; *Rich. III*, 4, 4: "Out on you, owls! Nothing but songs of death?"; *Jul. Caes.* 1, 3 (before the death of Caesar); *Macb.* 2, 2 (before the death of Duncan): "It was the owl that shriek'd, the fatal bellman, / Which gives the stern'st goodnight"; 2, 3: "the obscure bird / Clamour'd the livelong night"; *Troil. and Cress.* 5, 10; *Tit. Andr.* 2, 3; *Rape of Lucr.* 24: "No noise but owls' and wolves' death-bringing cries"; Webster, *Dutchesse of Malfy*, 4, 2, 181-183: "The Schritch-Owle and the whistler shrill / Call upon our Dame aloud, / And bid her quickly don her shrowd"; Butler, *Hudib.*, Part 2, Cant. 3; Parini, *La Notte*, 14-16: *e upupe e gufi e mostri aversi al sole / svolazzavan per essa* (sc. ombra), *e con ferali / stridi portavan miserandi auguri*; Keats, *Endymion*, 1, 182: "owlets' cry" (a sign of death); Shelley, *Fragment: Omens*: "Hark! the owlet flaps his wings / . . . / Hark! 'tis the night-raven sings / Tidings of approaching death"; Dickens, *Tale of two Cities*, 2, ch. 9; Browning, *Ring and the Book*, 8, 141; Tennyson, *Lancelot and Elaine*, 992-994; many other instances from the literature and folk-beliefs of all parts of the world are cited by Brand, *Popular Antiquities*, 3 (1849 ed.), 206-210; Friedreich, *Symbolik u. Myth. der*

*Natur* (1859), 548-551; Tylor, *Prim. Culture*, 4 ed., 1 (1903), 120; Andree, *Ethnogr. Parallelen u. Vergleiche* (1878), 12-13; Felkin in *Proc. of Royal Soc. of Edinb.* 13 (1886), 230; Swainson, *Folk-Lore and provincial Names of British Birds* (1886), 126-127; Villot, *Moeurs, coutumes et instit. des indigènes de l'Algérie* (1888), 225; Clouston, *Notes on the Folk-Lore of the Raven and the Owl* (1893), 26-32; Gibson, *Superstitions about Animals* (1894), 27-31; Thompson, *Glossary of Greek Birds* (1895), 45; Elworthy, *Evil Eye* (1895), 91-92; Riess in *Am. Journ. of Philol.* 18 (1897), 202; Bergen, *Animal and Plant Lore* (1899), 33; Wuttke, *Deutsche Volksaberglaube der Gegenwart* (1900), 124; 202; Abbott, *Macedonian Folk-Lore* (1903), 107; Wilson, *Peasant Life in the Holy Land* (1906), 51; Knowlson, *Origins of popular Superstitions* (1910), 171-172; Lawson, *Mod. Greek Folklore and anc. Greek Religion* (1910), 311-312; Halliday, *Greek Divination* (1913), 166, n. 2 (with bibliography); Martin, *Birds of the Latin Poets* (1914), 43-46; Ingersoll, *Birds in Legend, Fable, and Folklore* (1923), 180-190; Westermarck, *Ritual and Belief in Morocco*, 2 (1926), 335; Paradise in *Phillips Bulletin*, 23 (1929), 18 (omen before the death of the sculptor, Horatio Greenough); Taylor in Hoffmann-Krayer, *Handwörterbuch d. deutsch. Aberglaubens*, 2 (1930), 1073-1079 (with bibliography); McCartney in *Papers of Mich. Acad. of Sci., Arts, and Letters*, 16 (1931), 159-161; also many cases cited by different authors in *Folk-Lore*, 12 (1901), 265; 13 (1902), 172; 15 (1904), 89; 206; 210; 451; 453; 16 (1905), 73; 20 (1909), 337; 21 (1910), 190; 24 (1913), 88; 38 (1927), 360.

Further see Schol. Dan.: 'sola' quaerendum quod dixerit, utrum ἐμφατικῶς, an pro 'solis', id est, 'desertis'? ubi enim sederit et cecinerit solitudinem significat (cf. Artemid. *Onirocr.* 3, 66: εἰσοικιζόμενα δὲ εἰς οἶκλαν ταῦτα (sc. γλαυῆ, ἐλεός, βῆας, κτλ.) ἐρημον ἔσεσθαι τὴν οἶκλαν μαρτυρεῖται; Isid. *Etym.* 12, 7, 39). secundum auguralem disciplinam volunt greges avium minus significare . . . ergo hic 'sola' utrum quia alia avis non sedebat in culmine, an 'sola' quia nihil deferebat ut mortis signum esset?

462. *culminibus*: for the plural, as in 4, 671 and other Virgilian instances, cf. Spitta,

463. saepe queri et longas in fletum ducere voces.  
multaque praeterea vatū praedicta priorum

(s)aepe *P.* queri *F* (queri *F*<sup>1</sup>).

multa (m *eras. vel in ras.*) *F.* priorum *M* (*Serv.: legitur et 'piorum'*), priorum *FPabcπ*.

[462] 463. saepe . . . voces: *Anth. Lat. no. 11, 32* (1, p. 42 Riese). 463. saepe queri: *Gl. Ansil. 518, 413* — sepe querit —. 463. longas: *Gl. Ansil. 345, 99*; q.v. 463. in . . . voces: *Anth. Lat. no. 17, 125* (1, p. 66 Riese). 463. in . . . ducere: *Gl. Ansil. 301, 769*.

464–465. vatū . . . horrificant: *Lact. Inst. 2, 17, 2* — uatū *om. P*; priorum *RPV*, priorum *BGH* (*codd. vetustiores*) —. 464. multaque . . . priorum: *Serv. Aen. 4, 65*; *Prisc. Inst. 7, 77* (*G. L. K. 2, 353*) — multa quae *R*; que *om. G*; praedica *R* —. 464. multaque praeterea: *Anth. Lat. no. 15, 73* (1, p. 53 Riese). 464. vatū . . . priorum: *Anth. Lat. no. 16, 27* (1, p. 57 Riese) — uatūque dicta *A* —; *no. 17, 88* (1, p. 65 Riese); *no. 17, 110* (1, p. 65 Riese); *no. 719, 44* (2, p. 186 Riese); *no. 719a, 7* (2, p. 189 Riese); *Cento Probae, 334* — predita (*corr. m. 2*) *S*; priorum *P* —.

*Quaest. Vergilianae* (1867), 8–9. The place is a frequently mentioned one for the owl to appear; cf. *G. 1, 402: de culmine summo*; beside the cases cited cf. *Alcm. 1, 86–87: ἀπὸ θράνω λέλακα / γλαυῆς*; *Tib. 1, 5, 52: e tectis strix violenta canat*; and the appearance of *Fama* (4, 186) *summi culmine tecti*.

462. ferali carmine: cf. *C. I. L. VI, 10493* (= *Carm. Lat. epigr. 1122, 1*): *quam vis inscriptum ferali carmine saxs(um)*; *Sil. 5, 223: ferali . . . cantu*.

463. saepe: cf. 4, 460, n. (*exaudiri*); probably of cries repeated at short intervals, rather than on different nights.

463. queri: this verb and ducere may depend, like *exaudiri*, upon *visa*, or they may be historical infinitives; cf. 4, 422, n. (*colere*). Geist, *Erklärung einiger Stellen aus d. Än. Vergils* (1878), 11, argues for the latter view, because, unlike the cries from the cenotaph, those of the owl seem a perfectly objective phenomenon. On the meaning of *queri* cf. 4, 462, n. (*sola . . . bubo*). We may here have a trace of the 'pathetic fallacy' (cf. Pease in *Cl. Journ. 22* (1927), 645–657, especially 648, n. 2), by which Dido projects into the hoot of the owl a sadness belonging rather to her own heart. Yet *queror* and its derivatives often describe the warbling or shrieking sound of birds or insects (e.g., *G. 3, 328*; 4, 512; 4, 515; *Cul. 151*; *Cir. 401*; *Cic. De Div. 1, 14*; *Hor. Epod. 2, 26* (and *Porphyrio ad loc.*); *Ov. Am. 3, 1, 4*; etc.), of cattle (8, 215), or of frogs (*G. 1, 378*; *Porphyrio, l. c.*); cf. *Luc.*

6, 689: *quod trepidus bubo, quod strix nocturna queruntur*; *Apul. M. 3, 21: fit bubo Pamphile. sic edito stridore querulo*; Wellmann in *P.-W. 6* (1909), 1065. Greek cases of moping birds are *Eur. I. T. 1089–1091*; *Mosch. 3, 38–44*; etc. Cf. also Gray, *Elegy, 10*: "The moping owl does to the moon complain"; Thomson, *Winter, 143–144*: "Assiduous, in his bower, the wailing owl / Plies his sad song"; Wordsworth, *Evening Walk* (1793 version, *sub fin.*): "The tremulous sob of the complaining owl"; Tennyson, *Lancelot and Elaine, 993–994*: "the owls / Wailing had power upon her."

463. longas . . . voces: 'long drawn out cries'; cf. *Aetna, 294*; *et longas emugit bucina voces*; *Prop. 1, 10, 6: longa ducere verba mora*; *Val. Fl. 3, 602–603: longas litore voces / spargere*; also *Ov. M. 3, 706: longis ululatus* (cf. 14, 405).

463. in fletum ducere: cf. *Ecl. 9, 56: in longum ducis amores*; *Ov. M. 10, 402: suspiria duxit*; *Mart. 11, 39, 9: suspiria ducis*; *Tac. Ann. 11, 37: lacrimaeque et questus inriti ducebantur*.

464. multaque praeterea: = 6, 285; 7, 183; 11, 78; a favorite verse-tag in *Lucretius*, e.g., 1, 400; 2, 109; 3, 358; 5, 943; 6, 588; 6, 797; 6, 903.

464. vatū . . . priorum: *Serv.: legitur et 'piorum'*; *sed illud spectat* (4, 65) '*heu, vatū ignarae mentes! quid vota furentem.*' The weight of evidence of the Virgilian MSS, the best MSS of *Lactantius*, and the testimony of

465. *terribili monitu horrificant. agit ipse furem**agit sup. add. P<sup>1</sup>.*[464] 465. horrificant: *Gl. Ansil.* 283, 115; *q.v.* (cf. 416, 222).

five quotations in centos in the *Anthologia Latina* support *priorum*. Mackail (*ad loc.*), citing the use of *pii vates* in 6, 662 (which *Sil.* 6, 288 follows: *nec tacuere pii vates*; cf. *Vida, Poet.* 3, 556), prefers, as some other editors have done, *piorum*, and *Auson. Ep.* 6, 39-40 (p. 230 *Peiper*) says *tota supellex / vatium priorum chartea est* (but *vatium* there = 'poets' rather than 'soothsayers', just as in *Ov. F.* 3, 326: *pio . . . vatis ab ore*). On the other hand *Stat. Silv.* 2, 2, 69 reads *ora ducum, ac vatium sapientumque ora priorum*. Henry (*Aeneidea*, 2 (1878), 752) well summarizes the arguments to be drawn from the meaning of the passage: the inappropriateness here of the adjective *pius*; the fact that present predictions would be too late; and the casual way in which *vates* are thus injected among dreams of the night, with no explanation of Dido's consulting them; while that Dido should now, in her terrified condition, have remembered (all too late) the former predictions of soothsayers (perhaps alluded to at 4, 65; or possibly she thinks of those reported by Aeneas, in 4, 345-346, as having been made to him; cf. *Dietsch, Theologum. Vergilian. Particula* (1853), 26, n. 203), which she at the time had disregarded or misinterpreted, would be highly appropriate. So in *Ecl.* 1, 16-17 *Meliboeus* remarks: *saepe malum hoc nobis, si mens non laeva fuisset, / de caelo tactas memini praedicere quercus*; cf. *Od.* 9, 507 (*Polyphemus* to *Odysseus*): ὦ πόποι, ἦ μάλα δὴ με παλαιάφατα θεσφαθ' ἱκάνει (cf. 9, 508-516); *Soph. Trachin.* 1165: μαντεῖα καὶνὰ τοῖς παλαιοῖς ξυνήγορα; *Stat. Theb.* 5, 645-646: *necdum etiam responsa deum monitusque vetusti / exciderant*; *Curt.* 3, 3, 6: *vetera quoque omina, ut fere (fit), sollicitudo revocaverat*, etc.; *Claud. De Bell. Goth.* 238-240: *tunc anni signa prioris / et si quid fortasse quies neglexerat omen / addit cura novis*. The objection, raised by *Wagner (Lectionum Vergilian. Libellus* (1859), 36) and others, to *priorum* on account of the triple allitera-

tion of *pr* is a feeble one, and Henry well notes that the first three words of 4, 465 continue this intentionally harsh and terrifying sound. With *vatium . . . priorum* cf. *Politian, Nutricia*, 401: *vatium figmenta priorum*. Opposition to Dido's 'marriage,' then, had come, not only from her subjects (4, 235; 4, 321), but also from the representatives of religion (*Kappes-Wörner, ad loc.*).

465. *terribili monitu*: cf. *Val. Fl.* 1, 29: *terrifici monitus iterant*. For the rhythm of the passage cf. *Maxa in Wiener Stud.* 19 (1897), 99.

465. *horrificant*: cf. *Claud. De Bell. Goth.* 249-250: *gravius mentes caesorum ostenta luporum / horrificant*; also 4, 210, n. (*terrificant*), above.

465. *agit, etc.*: with this dream of Dido contrast that of Aeneas in 4, 556-570, this one describing and conducing to wandering and uncertainty of mind, his resulting in definite action, and hence each a fair reflection of the waking thought of the dreamer; cf. *Acc. ap. Cic. De Div.* 1, 45: *rex, quae in vita usurpant homines, cogitant, curant, vident, / quaeque agunt vigilantes agitantque, ea si cui in somno accidunt / minus mirandum est*; *Publil. Syr.* 16: *amans quod suspicatur vigilans somniat*. This is the only symbolic dream in Virgil, according to *Leo, Gesch. d. röm. Lit.* 1 (1913), 179-180, n. 2: *Stearns, Studies of the Dream as a technical Device in Latin Epic and Drama* (1927), 42, who notes one in *Homer (Od.* 19, 509-553), one in *Lucan* (7, 6-44), two in *Valerius Flaccus*, and several in *Statius*. That Aeneas should be constantly in Dido's thought was but natural; cf. *Ov. H.* 7, 25-26: *Aeneas oculis semper vigilantis inhaeret, / Aenean animo noxque diesque refert*. *DeWitt* (in *Cl. Weekly*, 18 (1925), 107) emphasizes the pursuit by the *ferus Aeneas* of Dido, who later (4, 550-551) wishes that she had been allowed the "immunity of maiden asceticism, of a woman of



466. in somnis ferus Aeneas, semperque relinqui  
sola sibi, semper longam incommitata videtur

(i)n P. reliqui Mc (relinqui M<sup>1</sup>).

(so)la P, solam M (sola M<sup>2</sup>). longa add. sup. M<sup>3</sup> (longam M<sup>4</sup>).

467-468. longam . . . viam: *Prisc. Inst.* 18, 167 (G. L. K. 3, 283) — incommitata n, incommutata N —; 18, 196 (G. L. K. 3, 302) — logam M —.

the wilds", a *fera* (but cf. my n. in that line on *more ferae* for a different interpretation). Henry (in *Cl. Rev.* 44 (1930), 104) remarks: "Dido's dream comes from that mysterious realm where sorrow and experience are transmuted into those dread shapes which are horror personified", and contrasts it with Medea's dream in Apollonius. Conington compares the pursuit of Io by Argos (Aesch. *Prom.* V. 655-682), but the literary source of this dream is Enn. *Ann.* 35-43 (ap. Cic. *De Div.* 1, 40, where see the notes in my edition; Skutsch (in *P.-W.* 5 (1905), 2605) would suspect for Ennius a Hellenistic source): *et cila cum tremulis anus attulit artubus lumen, / talia tum memorat lacrimans exterrita somno: / 'Eurydica prognata, pater quam noster amavit, / vires vltaque corpus meum nunc deserit omne. / nam me visus homo pulcher per amoena salicta / et ripas raptare locosque novos; ita sola / postilla, germana soror, errare videbar / tardaue vestigare et quaerere te neque posse / corde capessere; semita nulla pedem stabilibat. . . '* Patroni (in *Rendic. d. r. Acc. d. Lincei*, 5 Ser., 29 (1915), 3-15; cf. *id.* in *Atti d. r. Acc. d. Arch. Lett. e Belle Arti* (Napoli), N. S., 3 (1915), 53-70) identifies with this scene a much discussed Pompeian wall-painting (Reinach, *Répertoire de Peintures Gr. et Rom.* (1922), 112, 5, and works there cited. Val. Fl. 7, 141-152 perhaps shows the influence of these lines; e.g., 142-143: *saevior ipse / turbat agilque sopor*; 147-148 (allusions to Orestes). After all it should be remembered that Dido is at 6, 473-474 not alone but accompanied by the shade of Sychaeus.

465. *furentem*: probably not proleptic — 'into frenzy' — but '(already) in a state of frenzy.'

466. in somnis: cf. 4, 81, n. (*somnos*); 4, 353, n. (*in somnis*).

466. *ferus*: Schol. Dan.: *non est epitheton 'ferus' sed fantasia; talem enim illum imaginabatur qualem timebat*; cf. Pichon, *De Sermone amatorio* (1902), 147; Fécherolle in *Les Études classiques*, 1 (1932), 134 (who thinks it a metrical substitute for *saevus*).

466. *semper*: the repetition of this word in the next line indicates the monotonous hopelessness of her quest. Servius, who thinks of dreams on various nights, says: *per omnes noctes navigare videbatur Aeneas, quasi eam semper desereret*, but I believe the dreams are all on one night, and everyone is familiar with the great extent of time which an objectively brief dream may seem to the dreamer to cover. For a translation cf. *Spectator*, no. 241.

466. *relinqui*: cf. Pichon, *op. cit.*, 190; various words emphasize Dido's loneliness: *relinqui, sola, incommitata, deserta quaerere terra*. Servius says of *incommitata*: *quod feralis, id est, mortiferum omen est, et praecipue regibus*. It is also in the lover, however, even more than in the queen that Dido's loneliness finds its tragic quality, and the deepest pathos of this book lies in the fact that two persons, each so emotionally solitary as Dido and Aeneas, should be, by higher powers and national considerations, frustrated in that affection which seemed ready to unite them. On Dido's craving for affection, the lack of which meant for her only death, cf. Rébelliau, *De Verg. in inform. muliebr. quae sunt in Aen. Personis Inventore* (1892), 81-82.

467. *sola*: note the alliteration: *semper . . . / sola sibi semper*. Dido pictures herself as having lost her people as well as Aeneas; in fact, the interests of her citizens no longer parallel hers, a circumstance which enhances her loneliness (cf. 4, 295, n. (*laeti*); 4, 545-546), for otherwise she might have found

468. ire viam et Tyrios deserta quaerere terra,  
Eumenidum veluti demens videt agmina Pentheus

(i)re P. desertas quaerere terras *c<sup>2</sup> dell.*  
heumenidum FPγa. demens *add. sup. F<sup>1</sup>.* uidit π.

[467] 468. et . . . terra: *Schol. Dan. Aen. 10, 782.*

469. demens . . . Pentheus: *Anth. Lat. no. 17, 143 (1, p. 66 Riese) — pentheus A —.*

some solace for her own grief in service to the Punic state.

467. *longam . . . viam*: *Schol. Dan.: non nulli inferorum accipiunt*; cf. *Artemid. Oni- rocr. 2, 28*: οἷας δ' ἂν ὁδοὺς ὀδεύειν τις ὑπο- λάβη, τοιοῦτω χρήσεται τῷ βίῳ. The confusion of Dido's dream suggests that while, for the reader (and probably for her), the 'long journey' is that to the next life, it may also have its origin in the dream as a reflection of those waking thoughts which she herself expresses at 4, 537-546 (in line 543 the term *sola* recurs). For *viam ire* cf. *G. 3, 77*; *Aen. 6, 122*; etc.; Rantz, *Der Accusativus bei Vergil*, 1 (1871), 7; the *Schol. Dan.* speak of this idiom as used *veteri more*.

467. *incomitata*: cf. 2, 456.

468. *Tyrios*: it is unnecessary, with Schrader, to emend this word — for which there is no good MS variant — to *Teucros*. Dido has lost both the affection of her lover and the veneration of her people, and in her dream can recover neither; cf. 4, 320-321: *te propter . . . / infensi Tyrii*.

468. *deserta*: wandering in a lonely place recurs at 6, 451, where Dido *errabat silva in magna*. So a lover in *Apul. M. 4, 27* says *visa sum mihi de domo, de thalamo, de toro denique ipso violenter extracta per solitudines avias infortunissimi mariti nomen invocare*. Hippocr. *Vict. 4, 93* discusses the medical significance of dreams of *πλάνοι καὶ ἀναβάσεις χαλεπαί*. *Schol. Dan.: bonus adfectus; solent enim qui deficiunt suos desiderare, ut Alcestis moriens*.

468. *quaerere*: cf. 3, 4; *desertas quaerere terras*; 4, 450, n. (*quaerere regna*).

469. *Eumenidum*: these do not generally appear in the Pentheus legend, where bands of Bacchanals make their presence superfluous. Servius says: *Pentheus autem secundum tragoediam Pacuvii furuit etiam ipse*, but

we have no other evidence of a play on this subject by Pacuvius (cf. Ribbeck, *Trag. Rom. Frag. 3* ed. (1897), 127-128), while the *Bacchae* of Accius is several times quoted (*id.*, 192-196), and other writings on this theme (mostly Greek) are noted by Rappin Roscher, *Ausf. Lex. 3* (1909), 1926. A connection, however, between the Eumenides and the Pentheus story is perhaps to be seen (as Deuticke, *ad loc.*, has noted) in a painting in the House of the Vettii at Pompeii (Reinach, *Répertoire de Peintures Gr. et Rom.* (1922), 204, 1, and works there cited, to which add Pfuhl, *Malerei u. Zeichnung d. Gr. 3* (1923), pl. 641), in which Agave and two Maenads in the foreground are tearing Pentheus in pieces, while in the background are seen two figures which may be Furies, each with a torch in one hand and a scourge in the other. The popularity of the legend of Pentheus in Greek literature was considerable, and among Latin writers its influence, derived directly or indirectly from the *Bacchae* of Euripides, has been noted by Patin, *Étude sur les Tragiques grecs. Euripide*, 2 (1894), 239, and includes one other Virgilian allusion (7, 385-405, in the last line of which the Fury Allecto is specifically named).

469. *veluti*: on the similes cf. Hornbostel, *Die Gleichnisse bei Vergil* (1870), 8 (for the use of subjects from the stage); 19 (for two comparisons introduced together); Houben, *De Comparationibus Vergilianis* (1876), 10. As remarked by Cartault (*L'Art de Virgile dans l'Énéide*, 1 (1926), 326), Virgil's allusions to the heroes of tragedy are made, not to parade his own erudition, but to recall to the reader the dramatic character of the sufferings of Dido. This is the only direct allusion in the *Aeneid* to stage representations (Mackail, *ad loc.*); cf. also Ehwald in *Philologus*, 53 (1894), 734.

## 470. et solem geminum et duplicis se ostendere Thebas,

gemnum γ<sup>1</sup>, gemi . um (corr. in geminum) γ<sup>2</sup>. duplici b. e F (se F<sup>1</sup>). herbas F (thebas F<sup>1</sup>).

470. et . . . Thebas: *Terent. Maur. De Syll.* 1204 (G. L. K. 6, 361) — duplices (duplicem M) —.

469. videt: Schol. Dan.: *et bene 'videt agmina' expressit furentem, cum ait 'videt', non 'existimat', sed 'putat se videre.'*

469. agmina: cf. 6, 572: (*Tisiphone*) *vocat agmina saeva sororum*; Sen. H. F. 101–102: *agmen horrendum anguidus / Megaera ducat*; Med. 960–961: *cui cruentas agmen infernum faces / intentat*; Thyest. 78: *dira Furiarum agmina*; Val. Fl. 2, 227–228: *velut agmina cernant / Eumenidum*; 7, 147: *saevae ferit agmina matris Orestes*; Stat. Theb. 5, 60: *lentoque inrepunt agmine Poenae*. Whether *agmina* is plural to suggest the pluralizing impression of Pentheus's vision, as in the next line (cf. Schol. Dan.: *vel quia furiosis pro tribus plures videntur*), or the confusing effect of the onrush of these three wild beings, or is merely one of numerous instances of the poetic plural it is difficult to say; with the first of these three explanations cf. Aesch. *Choeph.* 1057: αἰδε (sc. αἱ Εὐμενίδες) πληθύνουσι δῆ; but it does not explain the plural in some other instances just cited. Two explanations offered by Servius, that *agmina* = *impetus*, and that it refers to *agmina serpentium*, seem unlikely.

470. solem geminum: cf. Eur. *Bacch.* 918–919: καὶ μὴν ὁρᾶν μοι δύο μὲν ἡλίουσ δοκῶ, / δισσὰς δὲ Θήβας καὶ πόλισμ' ἐπτάστομον (and Plut. *De comm. Notit.* 44; Clem. *Paedag.* 2, 2; Sext. *Emp.* 7, 192). On this phenomenon in the case of drunken or mentally deranged persons cf. Arist. *Probl.* 3, 10: διὰ τί τοῖς μεθύουσιν ἐνίστε πολλά φαίνεται τὸ ἐν ὁρῶσιν, κτλ.; Nicand. *Alexiph.* 28: τὰ δὲ διπλῶα δέρκεται δόσοις; Lucr. 4, 447–452; Philostr. *Vit. Apoll.* 2, 36: ὁρῶμεν γὰρ τοὺς μέθη κατεσχημένους διττὰς μὲν σελήνας δοκοῦντας βλέπειν, διττοὺς δὲ ἡλίους, τοὺς δὲ ἥττον πεποκώτας, κἂν πάνυ νήφωσιν, οὐδὲν μὲν τούτων ἡγουμένους, κτλ.; Lact. *De Opif. Dei*, 9, 1: *quod furiosis et ebriis omnia duplicia videantur*; Quint. *Smyrn.* 12, 411: *μαινομένω*

δ' ἦκτο, καὶ ἔδρακε διπλῶα πάντα; Claud. *In Eutrop.* 1, 7: *geminos soles mirari desinat orbis*; Nonn. *Dionys.* 15, 20–21: δμμασι δερκομένοισιν ἐδιπλώθησαν ἐρίπναι, / καὶ βλεφάροις δοκέεσκον ἰδεῖν διδυμόζυγον ὕδωρ; 16, 257–259: καὶ διδύμην ἐδόκησεν ἰδεῖν πολυχᾶνδρα λίμνην / δμματα δινεόνουσα· βαρυνομένου δὲ καρῆνον / δέρκετο θηροβότου διπλοῦμενα νῶτα κολώνης; 46, 128: καὶ διδύμους Φαέθοντας ἔδερκετο, καὶ δύο Θήβας; Pease on Cic. *De Div.* 1, 97: O'Brien-Moore, *Madness in anc. Lit.* (1924), 228.

The variation of expression (*geminum et duplicis*) is probably for variety; cf. Bell, *The Latin Dual* (1923), 60; also Sen. *Agam.* 728–729: *sed ecce gemino sole praefulget dies / geminumque duplices Argos attollit domus*.

471. Agamemnonius: cf. Od. 1, 30: τὸν δ' Ἀγαμεμνονίδης τηλεκλυτὸς ἔκταν' Ὀρέστης; Eur. *Androm.* 1034: Ἀγαμεμνόνιος κέλωρ; Orest. 838: Ἀγαμεμνόνιος παῖς; Ov. *Ibis*, 527: *Agamemnonio . . . Orestis*; also Aen. 7, 723–724: *Agamemnonius . . . / . . . Halaesus*. Other cases in Virgil of a possessive used for a patronymic are 10, 123; 10, 749; 12, 515.

471. scaenis: ablative of the place on or over which; cf. Kern, *Zum Gebr. des Abl. bei Vergil* (1881), 471, who compares 5, 456: *agil aequore toto*; cf. also Auson. *Epig.* 79, 4 (p. 341 Peiper): *quam longa facundi scaenis agitant Afrani*. It is unnecessary with Markland (ad Stat. *Silv.* 3, 3, 15; followed by Wakefield in his edition) to emend *scaenis* to *Poenis* (despite Cic. 2 *Verr.* 1, 6: *quorum scelerum poenis agitur*), or with Hildebrandt (in *Neue Jahrb. f. Philol. u. Paed.* 26 (1839), 175) to *sacenis*, lest Virgil here make an allusion to a character on the stage rather than to the original of that character. Page (ad loc.) thinks this suggestive of unreality, and so weakening the idea of terror intended. The obvious answer, as made by Conington (ad loc.), is that Virgil is a man of literary

## 471. aut Agamemnonius scaenis agitatus Orestes,

agamemnoneius *F* (agamemnonius *F*<sup>1</sup>). scenis γbc, cenis *m*. agitur *p*.

471-472. agitatus . . . matrem: *Anth. Lat. no. 17, 294-295* (1, pp. 72-73 Riese).  
471. Agamemnonius . . . Orestes: *Lact. Plac. in Stat. Theb. 1, 476* — agamemnonis *Pb*;  
scenis (senis *Pb*) — 471. aut . . . scaenis: *Mar. Vict. Art. gram. 1* (G. L. K. 6, 37) — aga-  
memnoniis *a* — 471. Agamemnonius: *Gl. Ansil. 40, 5; q.v.*

tastes, who may well have been more im-  
pressed by a scenic representation of Orestes  
which he had seen than by the mythical  
original which he had not seen, and, further,  
he is here illustrating his point by a compari-  
son which would have been easily appreciated  
by cultivated Roman readers (cf. the illus-  
trations in 7, 604-606 and in 12, 296 the  
phrase *hoc habet* borrowed from the arena).  
That Dido herself could have known nothing  
of these Roman dramatic performances  
modelled on Greek legend has no bearing  
upon the case, for the poet is here speaking  
to contemporary readers, in his own person  
and as of his own time, not of hers.

The Orestes story, like that of Pentheus,  
was a favorite among the Romans (cf. Cic.  
*Fin.* 5, 63; *De Amic.* 24; Serv.: '*agitatus*'  
*quia et furuit et multae sunt de eo tragoediae*;  
*quasi frequenter actus*), tragedies having been  
written on some phase of it by Livius An-  
dronicus, Ennius, Pacuvius, Accius, and  
Quintus Cicero, not to speak of Atilius's  
translation of the *Electra* of Sophocles (Suet.  
*Caes.* 84), while Nero (Suet. *Nero*, 21) acted  
the role of Orestes on the stage (cf. Juv. 8,  
220); cf. Patin, *Études sur les Trag. gr.*  
*Sophode* (1896), 361-362. Whether Virgil  
followed one of these plays (perhaps most  
likely the *Dulorestes* of Pacuvius) or drew  
directly from Aeschylus's *Eumenides* or some  
other Greek original (possible passages are  
collected by Anderson in *Trans. Am. philol.*  
*Assoc.* 58 (1927), 58-60) cannot be deter-  
mined because of the fragmentary character  
of the Latin plays, but that he had the  
*Orestes* of Euripides in mind during parts,  
at least, of the *Aeneid* is maintained by  
Shipley (in *Trans. Am. philol. Assoc.* 56  
(1925), 183, and n. 22). Apposite passages  
are Aesch. *Choeph.* 1048-1050: αἶδε Γοργό-  
νων δίκην / φαιοχίτωνες καὶ πεπλεκταρημένοι /

πυκνοῖς δράκονσιν· οὐκ ἐτ' ἂν μείναιμ' ἐγώ;  
1053-1054: οὐκ εἰσι δόξαι τῶνδε πημάτων  
ἔμοι' / σαφὲς γὰρ αἶδε μητρός ἑγκοτοὶ κύ-  
ves; *Eum.* 245-275; *Eur. El.* 1252-1253;  
1342-1346; *Orest.* 211-276; *I. T.* 281-335.  
*Aen.* 3, 331 also alludes to the story: *scelerum*  
*furiis agitatus Orestes* (Klouček in *Zeitschr. f.*  
*d. österr. Gymn.* 32 (1881), 591-592 thinks  
our line should read *agitatur* but has been  
corrupted by the influence of 3, 331); for  
the phrase cf. [10, 872 =] 12, 668: *furiis*  
*agitatus*; *Liv.* 1, 48, 7: *agitantibus furiis*  
*sororis*; *Stat. Silv.* 3, 3, 70: *furiis agitatus*;  
[Quintil.] *Decl.* 314, p. 235 Ritter: *furiis*  
*agilari*; *Just.* 24, 4, 8: *parricidiorum furiis*  
*agitatus*; Flodoardus Remensis, *De Triumphis*  
*Christi* (Antioch.) 1, 15, 20: *furiis agitatus*  
*Averni*.

Gell. 13, 4, 1 says Varro wrote a work on  
madness entitled *Orestes, vel de Insania*  
(part of his *Logistoricon*; cf. Schanz-Hosius,  
*Gesch. d. röm. Litt.* 1, 2, 4 ed. (1927), 561),  
and this title illustrates how Orestes came  
to be a type of madmen in general; to the  
references given by Otto, *Sprichwörter . . .*  
*der Römer* (1890), 258-259, add: *Cels.* 3, 18;  
*Diogen. ap. Euseb. Pr. Ev.* 6, 8, p. 264 b;  
*Sext. Emp.* 7, 245 (cf. 8, 57); 8, 63; *Paroe-*  
*miog. Gr.* 2, 568, no. 99; *Sidon. Carm.* 5,  
288-290; 24, 30; and for other references to  
the story Aeschin. *Cont. Timarch.* 190; Cic.  
*Pro Sex. Rosc. Am.* 66: *ut eos* (i.e., matri-  
cides) *agilent furiae*; 67: *noīte enim pulare,*  
*quem ad modum in fabulis saepe numero*  
*videtis, eos qui aliquid impie scelerateque com-*  
*miserint agitari et perterrerī Furiarum laedis*  
*ardentibus*; *Hor. S.* 2, 3, 134-136; *Ov. Tr.*  
1, 5, 22; 2, 395; 4, 4, 69-70: *Orestes /*  
*exactus furiis venerat ipsa suis*; *Hygin. Fab.*  
118 (cf. 120): *Orestes . . . quem postea furiae*  
*matris exagitarunt*; *Luc.* 7, 777-778; *Val.*  
*Fl.* 7, 147-152; *Juv.* 14, 284-285; *Stat.*

472. *armatam facibus matrem et serpentibus atris*  
*cum fugit ultricesque sedent in limine Dirae.*

faciem *F* (facibus *F*<sup>1</sup>).

ultricis *F* (ultrices *F*<sup>1</sup>), ultrices (1 *corr. fort. ex i*) γ. diuae *F*<sup>1</sup>γ<sup>1</sup>.

[471] 472-473. *armatam* . . . *Dirae*: *Lact. Plac. in Stat. Theb.* 12, 511 — *confugit LMP*; *lumine M* —.

[472\*] 473. *ultrices* . . . *Dirae*: *Non. p.* 30 *M.* (p. 44 *L.*) — *cultricesque L*; *lumine L* —.  
 473. *ultrices Dirae*: *Gl. Ansil.* 593, 66.

*Theb.* 1, 476-477; *Epict.* 2, 20, 17; *Mythog. Vat.* I, 147; *Claud. Carm. min.* 22, 14; the *Orestes Agamemnonius* of *Diomedes (G. L. K.* 1, 324) probably recalls our passage.

Henry (*Aeneidea*, 2 (1878), 756) thinks *agitatus* does not mean 'agitated' or 'pursued' but 'played' or 'performed.' This use is found in *Diomedes (G. L. K.* 1, 487): *tales fabulas . . . agitabant*, as well as in *Ausonius (l. c.)*, and it may well be one meaning, as *Servius* suggests. That the other meaning ('pursued') appears as well, however, is suggested by the passages quoted from *Cic. Pro Sex. Rosc. Amerino*, and it is not impossible that there is in the line a double *entendre* which includes both meanings.

472. *armatam*, etc.: this description does not agree with earlier ones of *Clytaemnestra*, for it is not she but the *Furies* who conduct the pursuit. *Dracont. Orest.* 821-822, however, is like *Virgil (astitit ante oculos genetrix sua non ut inermis, / sed faculis armata rogi, subcincta cerastis)*, so that both may have drawn from a common source in some earlier (Latin?) dramatist. If *Virgil* himself is the innovator then he has transferred to *Clytaemnestra* the attributes of the *Furies*, who are represented, both pictorially and in literature, as armed with snakes (cf. 7, 346; and many examples cited by *Rapp* in *Roscher, Ausf. Lex.* 1 (1886), 1563) and with torches (7, 456; *Rapp, l. c.*; in 4, 384 *Dido* pictures her pursuit of *Aeneas* as with *atris ignibus*).

472. *atris*: perhaps literally of their dark color; perhaps as associated with death (4, 384, n. (*atris ignibus*), above) or with snake venom (*G.* 1, 129: *ille malum virus serpentibus addidit atris*; 2, 130: *atra venena*; *Aen.* 2, 221: *atroque veneno*; *Hor. C.* 1, 37, 27-28:

*ut atrum / corpore combiberet venenum*; 3, 4, 17: *atris . . . viperis*; *Ov. H.* 9, 115: *femina tela tulit Lernaëis atra venenis*; *Sil.* 3, 312: *atro . . . veneno*; *Juv.* 5, 91: *serpentibus atris*; *Seren. Samm.* 839: *membris agit atra venena (id., 820 uses virus . . . atrum of monkey bite)*. *Buscaroli (ad loc.)* would detect in *Octavia*, 118 a reference to our line: *facibus atris armat infirmas manus*, but there the adjective *atris* is differently applied.

473. *ultrices*, etc.: cf. 4, 610 (= *Anth. Lat.* 17, 2 (1, p. 61 *Riese*)): *et Dirae ultrices*; 6, 274: *ultrices posuere cubilia Curae*; *Sen. Med.* 967: *ultrices deas* (cf. *Oct.* 966); *Val. Fl.* 2, 235-238; 5, 445: *ultrices spectant a culmine Dirae*; *Stat. Theb.* 11, 106: *ultrices . . . Diras*; *Claud. Carm. min.* 22, 14: *ultrices Furias*.

473. *sedent*: cf. *Aesch. Eum.* 46-47: *πρόσθεν δὲ τῶνδ' ὁ τοῦδε θαυμαστός λόχος / εἶδει γυναικῶν ἐν θρόνοισιν ἥμενος*; *Serv.*: *a Pacuvio Orestes inducitur Pyladis admonitū propter vilandas Furias ingressus Apollinis templum; unde cum vellet exire invadebatur a Furiis. hinc ergo est 'sedent in limine.'*

473. in *limine*: as guards; cf. 6, 279-280: *adverso in limine Bellum / ferreique Eumenidum thalami*; 6, 555-556: *Tisiphone sedens . . . / vestibulum exsomnia servet noctesque diesque*; 7, 343: (*Allecto*) *tacitumque obsedit limen Amatae*; *Ov. M.* 4, 451-453: *illa sorores / nocte vocat genitricas, grave et implacabile numen; / carceris ante fores clausas adamante sedebant*; 4, 485-486: *trepidoque Insania vultu / limine constiterat*; *Sen. H. O.* 609: *tenet auratum limen Erinys*; *Stat. Theb.* 5, 67-69: *utque implicitis arcana domorum / anguibus et saeva formidine nupta replevit / limina*. Henry (*Aeneidea*, 2 (1878), 758-759), who has collected most of these

474. Ergo ubi concepit furias evicta dolore  
decrevitque mori, tempus secum ipsa modumque

tempu *P* (tempus *P*<sup>1</sup>). ipsa (a *m.* 2 in *ras.*) *F.*

474. evicta dolore: *Gl. Ansil.* 214, 131.

475-476. decrevitque . . . exigit: *Non.* p. 291 *M.* (p. 450 *L.*). 475. decrevitque mori: *Non.* p. 285 *M.* (p. 440 *L.*); [*Acro*] in *Hor. C.* 1, 37, 29; *Anth. Lat.* no. 15, 105 (1, p. 54 *Riese*) — decrevitque breui mori *A* —.

instances, thinks of the Furies as sitting, not literally upon the threshold, but near or about the door or in the vestibule of the temple of Apollo. Whether this be so or not, it is likely that for the ancient reader there may have been in the phrase some association with those numerous folk-beliefs which, in many lands, have made the threshold of the house the especial abode of the spirits of the dead; cf. Eitrem, *Hermes u. die Toten* (1909), 13-19; Samter, *Geburt, Hochzeit, u. Tod* (1911), 140-146; Ogle in *Am. Journ. of Philol.* 32 (1911), 251-271, especially 260.

473. *Dirae*: cf. 4, 610; 7, 324: *Allecto dirarum ab sede dearum* (cf. 7, 454); 8, 701: *tristesque ex aethere Dirae*; 12, 845: *geminæ pestes cognomine Dirae*; 12, 869; Sen. *Thyest.* 78: *dira Furiarum agmina*; 250: *dira Furiarum cohors*; Serv. *Aen.* 4, 609: '*dirae*' in *caelo* . . . '*furiae*' in *terris*, '*Eumenides*' *apud inferos*; unde et tres esse dicuntur. sed haec nomina confundunt poetae (but on 12, 846-847 he localizes the Furies *apud inferos*; cf. also Waser in *P.-W.* 7 (1912), 313).

474. *ergo*, etc.: with the phraseology cf. *Ov. M.* 2, 640: *ergo ubi vaticinos concepit mente furores*; *Luc.* 2, 16: *ergo ubi concipiunt*, etc.; and with the thought 4, 501-502: *tantos mente furores / concipit*; *Catull.* 64, 92: *cuncto concepit corpore flammam*; *Ciris*, 163-164: *quae simul ac venis hausit silientibus ignem / et validum penitus concepit in ossa furorem*; Sen. *Phaedr.* 343: *dant concepti signa furoris*; *Sil.* 5, 182: *concipe . . . dignum factis . . . furorem*; *Sannazaro, De Partu Virg.* 1, 242: *concepit mente furores*.

474. evicta dolore: cf. 2, 497; 2, 630; 4, 548: *tu lacrimis evicta meis*; *Tac. Ann.* 12, 68, 2: *dolore evicta* (so *Heinsius*; *dolore victa* *codd.*).

475. decrevitque mori: cf. 4, 308, n.

(*nec*, etc.); *Eur. Hipp.* 276: *θανεῖν πειρωμένην*; *Sil.* 8, 53 (of Dido): *certa necis*; *Gesta Apollonii*, 132 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 2, 488): *decrevitque mori*. For the apparent inconsistency of this with 4, 534-552 cf. Heinze, *Virgils epische Technik*, 3 ed. (1915), 132, n. 2, who explains those lines by 4, 531, and further observes (139-140) that suicide, appearing at times in Euripides and the Hellenistic poets (cf. Hirzel in *Archiv f. Religionswiss.* 11 (1907), 95-104), rarely results from unrequited love but rather from shame or terror at the consequences of one's actions which have made life no longer endurable (cf. Prescott, *Development of Virgil's Art* (1927), 293). Guillemin (*L'Originalité de Virgile* (1931), 72-73) thinks Dido's suicide, if resulting from love alone, would be contrary to ancient tradition, in which the victims of Eros die by pining away, not by violence, and suicides like those of *Phaedra* and *Amata* (the latter the only suicide in the *Aeneid* save Dido) are due to remorse. He consequently interprets Dido's death as an offering to the shades of *Sychaeus*. In considering it as a truly 'Stoic suicide' I think he is incorrect; *Ranzoli (La Relig. e la Filos. di Virgilio* (1910), 122-124) rightly says that her death would not have received Stoic sanction, for to Stoics suicide should be the result of sober reasoning rather than of passionate emotion; *Fowler (Death of Turnus* (1927), 111-114) overemphasizes, I think, the deliberative element in Dido's action, by contrast with the suicides of *Amata*, *Iocasta*, and *Phaedra*, and this seems essentially the view of Heinze (*op. cit.*, 141, and n. 2), who quotes *Tim. Frag.* 23: *σκηψαμένη τελετήν πρὸς ἀνάλυσιν ὄρκων* (cf. 4, 24-29, above) *ἐπιτελέσειν*; *Justin.* 18, 6, 6: *pyra in ultima parte urbis exstructa, velut placatura viri manes*

476. exigit et maestam dictis adgressa sororem  
consilium voltu tegit ac spem fronte serenat:

ac *M.* maestam (*fort. corr. ex maestum*) γ. lictis *M* (dictis *M*<sup>1</sup>), fictis *b*<sup>2</sup> *cod. Menag. prior*, factis (*fa m. 2 in ras.*) γ.  
uoluite *F* (uolto *F*<sup>1</sup>), uultu *M* *pab*, uultu (*corr. in uultu*) γ. legit *F* (tegit *F*<sup>1</sup>). ac (*c in ras.*) *b*.  
serena *c*<sup>1</sup>.

[475] 476. adgressa: *Gl. Aa*, 163, 251; *q.v.*

477. consilium . . . tegit: *Gl. Ansil.* 140, 1493 — tetigit —. 477. ac . . . serenat: *Gl. Ansil.* 23, 301. 477. spem . . . serenat: *Schol. Dan. Aen.* 1, 209. 477. fronte serenat: *Gl. Arma*, 20, 113 — frontem serenam —.

*inferiasque ante nuptias missura*, etc. From a different standpoint Tertullian (*Apol.* 50; *Ad Nat.* 1, 18; *Ad Martyr.* 4) shows that Dido preferred suicide accompanied by loyalty to the memory of Sychaeus to a forced marriage with another, and Strab. 17, 3, 14, and Oros. 4, 23, 4, refer to her example as followed by the wife of Hasdrubal; this, of course, having nothing to do with the Hindu *suttee*, though that was known to the Greeks and Romans (Strab. 15, 1, 30; 15, 1, 62; Diod. 19, 33, 3; Val. Max. 2, 6, 14). Prescott (*l.c.*) adds to this important motive yet others: mortification (4, 590-591), loss of good-name (4, 321-323), and fear of being abandoned (4, 320-321; etc.), and thinks that "the poet lets a single situation accomplished by a single act develop naturally in all directions until, by an accumulation of motives, the tragic issue is made inevitable."

The attitude of the ancients towards suicide has been treated in various works; e.g., Geiger, *Der Selbstmord im klass. Altertum* (1888); Hirzel, *Der Selbstmord*, in *Archiv f. Religionswiss.* 11 (1907-1908), 75-104; 243-284; 417-476. Virgil's own view is probably expressed in 6, 436: *proiecere animas*, which, as Glover (*Virgil* (1912), 264) remarks, is the view of the Pythagoreans, later developed by the Neoplatonists (on Virgil and suicide cf. also Matthaei in *Cl. Quart.* 11 (1917), 23-26). A list of feminine suicides, mythical and historic, is given by Hygin. *Fab.* 243 (cf. Auson. *Epigr.* 23, 11-13, which links Phaedra and Elissa with others), and it appears that the favorite means employed were the dagger (Panthea, Deianira,

Antigone, Laodamia, Lucretia, *et al.*), the pyre (Evadne, Semiramis, and others), and hanging (e.g., Erigone, Phaedra, Phyllis, Leda, Iocasta); contrast the three types of forced death noted by Schol. Pind. *Ol.* 1, 97 (60): *βρόχον, κινελοῦ, βαράθρον*; cf. also Eur. *Orest.* 1035-1036; *Androm.* 841; Lucil. 601; *Aen.* 12, 603 (hanging of Amata); Auson. *Cupido cruc.* 37-39: *parte truces alia strictis mucronibus omnes / et Thisbe et Canace et Sidonis horret Elissa / coniugis haec, haec patris et haec gerit hospitis ensem*; Sidon. *Carm.* 11, 70-71: *Dido in ferrum, simul in suspendia Phyllis, / Evadne in flammis et Sestias isset in undas*; Eggerding in *Dissert. philol. Halenses*, 18 (1911), 133-252, esp. 171, n.; 175, n. 2.

475. *secum ipsa*: cf. 12, 843; Ter. *Andr.* 442; Sall. *Cal.* 32, 1; Iug. 113, 1; Cic. *De Invent.* 2, 125.

475. *modumque*: cf. Eur. *Hipp.* 723: *θανεῖν· ὅπως δέ, τοῦτ' ἐγὼ βουλευσομαι*; Sen. *Phaedr.* 258: *decreta mors est (= Phoen. 244); quaeritur fati genus*.

476. *exigit*: Schol. Dan.: *ad certum redigil, ut solent pondera tiures et ad exactum redigi; ergo definit*; cf. Ov. *M.* 10, 586-587: *dum talia secum / exigit*; Sen. *Ep.* 27, 1: *te adhibito mecum exigo*.

476. *et*: preferable to *ac*, which occurs in the next line.

476. *dictis adgressa*: cf. 3, 358: *adgre-dior dictis*; 4, 30, n. (*sic effata*); 4, 92: *adgreditur . . . dictis*; Wilms, *Qua Ratione Vergilius in Aeneide aut locuturum aliquem aut locutum esse indicaverit* (1865), 5; 11.

476. *sororem*: cf. 4, 8, n. (*unanimam*).

## 478. 'inveni, germana, viam (gratare sorori)

inuenit *a*l.

478. inveni . . . viam: Charis. *Inst. gram.* 1 (G. L. K. 1, 13); [Prob.] *De ult. Syll.* 2 (G. L. K. 4, 220); Mar. *Vict. Art. gram.* 1 (G. L. K. 6, 30); Serv. G. 2, 22; 2, 477; *Brev. Expos. in G.* 2, 477 — germanam —. 478. inveni viam: *Gl. Ansil.* 315, 1948; *Gl. Abstr.* 50, 278. 478. gratare: *Gl. Ansil.* 271, 83; q.v.

477. consilium, etc.: cf. 1, 209: *spem vultu simulat*; Aesch. *Choeph.* 738–739: θεοσκυθρωπῶν ἐντὸς ὀμμάτων γέλωρ / κεύθουσ' ἐπ' ἔργοις διαπεπραγμένους καλῶς, κτλ.; Cic. *De Amic.* 65: *fronte occultare sententiam*; Hor. *S.* 2, 5, 103–104; *est / gaudia prodentem vultum celare*; Apul. *M.* 8, 6: *vultu tamen gaudium legil et frontem adseverat et dolorem simulat*.

477. fronte serenat: cf. Sil. 11, 367: *tristia fronte serenant*; Nemes. 4, 17: *quid vultu mentem premis ac spem fronte serenas*; Lact. *De Ira Dei*, 7, 9: *frontem serenant*; Politian, *Ambra*, 38–39: *frontem tranquilla serenat / maiestas*; Racine, *Phèdre*, 1249: *et sous un front serein déguisant mes alarmes*; Voltaire, *Henriade*, 8, 120: *déguisait ses chagrins sous sa fausse allégresse*; also the following expressions: Cic. *Tusc.* 3, 31: *frons . . . tranquilla et serena*; Hor. *C.* 1, 37, 26: *vultu sereno* (cf. Ov. *Tr.* 1, 5, 27); Val. Max. 4, 7, 7: *laetum et serenum vultum*; Plin. *N. H.* 2, 13: *humani nubila animi serenat* (sc. sol); Sil. 2, 414–415: *fronte hunc avide regina serena / infelix ac iam vultu spectabat amico*; Apul. *M.* 3, 11: *frontem tuam serena venustate laetabit*; 8, 7: *vultu . . . seniore*; Pacatus, *Panegy. Theodos.* 25: *serenos ergo nubilis mentibus vultus induebamus*; Hier. *Adv. Rufin.* 1, 11: *cordis nubilum frontis serenitate disculere*; Prud. *Peristeph.* 5, 126–127: *omni vacantem nubilo / frontem serenam luminat*; 10, 712: *solis sereno frons renidet gaudio*; Sedul. *Pasch. Carm.* 2, 80–81: *tunc fronte serena / nubila mentis alens*; Venant. Fort. *Misc.* 4, 26, 18 (*Patr. Lat.* 88, 173): *nubila fronte fugans corde serena fuit*; 6, 4, 100–102 (*Patr. Lat.* 88, 213); Baldricus Dolensis, *Carm. hist., super Abb. Silv. maioris*, 3 (*Patr. Lat.* 166, 1200): *fronte serenus*; id., *Amalo Archiep.* 7 (*Patr. Lat.* 166, 1207): *nubibus ablatis me respice fronte serena*;

Sannazaro, *De Partu Virg.* 3, 95: *vultum . . . serenat*. Our case is an example of hypallage; cf. Rantz, *Der Accusativus bei Vergil*, 1 (1871), 12, who explains it as *frontem serenando spem prae se ferre* (so During, *De Vergilii Sermone epico* (1905), 79), or *serenare frontem spe* (against this cf. Mackail, *ad loc.*, who translates "brightens hope on her brow," comparing 1, 255: *vultu, quo caelum tempestatesque serenat*); Geist, *Erklärung einiger Stellen aus d. Aeneide Vergils* (1878), 43, who also makes the phrase mean *frontem spe serenat*; Bell, *The Latin Dual* (1923), 320, who compares 7, 72–73: *Lavinia virgo / visa . . . longis comprehendere crinibus ignem*. Landor, *Dialogues of famous Women*, 19, remarks that hypallage, of which Virgil is fond, far exceeds all other faults in language, "for it reverses the thing it should represent." For the brow as an index of the emotions cf. 6, 862; Pacat. *Panegy. Theod.* 37, 2: *ut in speculo frontium imago exstet animorum*; Nazar. *Panegy. Const.* 1, 2: *in serenis frontibus animorum indicia perleguntur*. For the opposite of the present figure Buscaroli (*ad loc.*) compares Cic. *In Pis.* 20: *frontis tuae nubeculam*; Mart. 2, 11, 1: *fronte Selium nubila*.

478. inveni: cf. Stat. *Theb.* 5, 109: *inveni, promitto, viam*; Eur. *Hippol.* 715–716: ἐν δὲ † προτρέπονσ' ἐγὼ / εὔρημα δῆτα τῆσδε συμφορᾶς ἔχω.

478. viam: cf. G. 2, 22: *sunt aliae quas ipse vias sibi repperit usus*; Aen. 3, 395: *fata viam invenient*.

478. gratare: cf. 4, 116, n. (*advertite*); Ov. *H.* 6, 119: *gratare ambobus, Iason*; 11, 65: *quid tibi grataris*; *M.* 6, 434; 9, 244; etc.; Schol. Dan.: *et bene a gratulatione incipit quae vult suum dissimulare consilium*.

478. sorori: cf. 4, 31, n. (*sorori*); 4, 435: *miserere sororis*.



## 479. quae mihi reddat eum vel eo me solvat amantem.

uel *add. sup. M<sup>2</sup>. e F (eo F<sup>1</sup>). soluit c<sup>1</sup>. reddet . . . soluet cod. Oblongus Pierii, reddat . . . soluet cod. Longob. Pierii.*

479. quae . . . amantem: *Donat. in Ter. Andr. 267* — amantem *corr. ex amorem c* —; *in Ter. Hec. 297* — quae mihi *r. e. u. e. m. s. a. (a. a. V, a. d. C)* —; *Lact. Plac. in Stat. Theb. 5, 65* — qui *MPb* —.

479. quae, etc.: the purpose of Dido's recourse to magic has not always been clearly understood; it is not undertaken with serious belief in magical arts, which, though popular in Virgil's day among the demimonde, were not practised or countenanced by men like Horace (an especial enemy of such), Virgil (cf. Tavenner, *Studies in Magic from Latin Lit.* (1916), 28; Cartault, *L' Art de Virgile dans l' Énéide*, I (1926), 327), and Ovid (*Rem. Am.* 249–276), and would perhaps hardly have been ascribed by Virgil to a queen (cf., however, the influence of Medea, *infra*), line 493 well revealing Dido's reluctance to dabbling in such practices. The real purpose is to blind Anna to Dido's intentions (cf. 4, 500–501; Zabughin, *Vergilio nel Rinascimento ital.* I (1921), 50), thereby giving Dido time and privacy to plan for death (cf. Forbiger on 4, 478 ff.), as Anna herself recognizes all too late (4, 675–676). We may perhaps compare the famous passage in Soph. *Aias*, 646–692, with its deliberate deception of Tecmessa and the chorus. As pointed out by Heinze (*Virgils epische Technik*, 3 ed. (1915), 142–143) and Dedo (*De Antiquorum Superstitione amatoria* (1904), 49), the poet tries to give to these magical rites an epic color above the commonplace ones appearing in the eighth *Eclogue*. Cartault (*op. cit.*, I, 40) notes that Virgil shows no acquaintance with the unintelligible words (*Ephesia grammata*) and mysterious formulae which played so large a part in ancient magic, and that he has not penetrated deeply into the occult, doubtless because he did not believe in it. Silius (8, 98–103) does not make Dido resort to magic till after Aeneas has sailed.

Recognizing this purpose of Dido we need find no serious obstacle in the nature of her magic rites, some of which, like *defixiones*,

are ostensibly to bind the love of Aeneas to her (as in *Ecl.* 8, 64–109 that of Daphnis is magically bound to his lover), and others are for quite the opposite intent, to set her free from him, these two types being again summarized in 4, 487–488; cf. *Ov. M.* I, 468–469, for Cupid's two darts, of opposite effects; *Rem. Am.* 549–550, on Lethaeus Amor. If either of these mutually inconsistent results (cf. Dedo, *op. cit.*, 48; Penquitt, *De Didonis Vergilianae Exitu* (1910), 34–35; 38; 51–52; Heinze, *Virgils epische Technik*, 3 ed. (1915), 142, n. 1) could be attained Dido's suicide would be unnecessary, but that she really thinks either to be possible is doubtful; perhaps even the use of *vel* instead of *aut*, in the present line, shows a certain carelessness on the part of the poet as to the result.

Virgil's sources are doubtless the figure of the magician Medea in Apollonius (see Henry in *Cl. Rev.* 44 (1930), 104, for a comparison of Virgil and Apollonius), together with some reminiscences of the eighth *Eclogue*; Pichon (in *Rev. de Philol.* 33 (1909), 247–254) would detect other early sources, perhaps Naevius, but this seems unlikely; cf. Penquitt, *op. cit.*, 68–70. Eitrem (in *Festskrift til H. Koht* (1933), 41) believes that Virgil took over the pyre — as the place of Dido's end — from an earlier poet, but himself added the amatory magic, without entirely harmonizing the two. Klausen (*Aeneas u. d. Penaten*, I (1839), 517) finds in the use of magic an indication of Sicilian elements in the legend, since magic was associated with Venus Erycina (cf. *Ov. Ars am.* 2, 419–426; *Luc.* 9, 911–937 (especially 919)). For contemporary passages dealing with magic cf. Hirschfeld, *De Incantamentis et Devinclionibus amatoris apud Graecos Romanosque* (1863), 20, n. 3.

479. eum: *Serv.: Aeneam, quem ut notum noluit dicere.* Aeneas is so prominent in

## 480. Oceani finem iuxta solemque cadentem

480-482. Oceani . . . aptum: *Comm. Cruq. in Hor. C. 1, 31, 14* — humero —. 480. Oceani . . . cadentem: *Auson. Ep. 14, 5, p. 245 Peiper* — oceani T<sup>1</sup> —. 480. Oceani . . . iuxta: *Gl. Ansil. 407, 19*. 480. solemque cadentem: *Anth. Lat. no. 719a, 92 (2, p. 192 Riese)*.

her mind that she need not call him by name. Plessis and Lejay remark that after line 329 she nowhere mentions his name (cf. Eur. *Troad.* 869-871: ἤκω δὲ τὴν τάλαυαν—οὐ γὰρ ἠδέως / ὄνομα δάμαρτος ἢ ποτ' ἦν ἐμῇ λέγω / —ἄξων), but this would be more impressive were it not for the fact that nowhere in this book before line 329 does she do so (cf. Duckett, *Hellenistic Influence on the Aeneid* (1920), 36). The chiasmus *mihī . . . eum . . . eo me* should be noted. Editors comment upon the prosaic character of the word *is* (see especially the long note on pp. 494-495 of Buscaroli's edition; Löfstedt, *Syntactica*, 2 (1933), 47, n. 3 (and works cited)), and think it was ordinarily avoided in the lofty style. Yet Virgil's three major works contain nearly a hundred instances of its use (cf. Wetmore, *Index Verborum Vergilianus* (1911), 253, and Helin (in *Rev. des Études lat.* 5 (1927), 64-65) observes that it is here very appropriate to Dido's unwillingness to give the slightest unnecessary emphasis to the person of whom she is speaking.

479. *solvat*: cf. 4, 487 and n. (*solvere*). Professor A. D. Nock tells me that he knows no parallel in the magical papyri for the expression *eo me solvat*. Cf. also Bonner in *Trans. Am. philol. Assoc.* 52 (1921), 112-114, publishing a magical papyrus owned by the University of Michigan, which reads: ἐρωτικὸν μόνον οὐχ εἰρίσκω φάρμακον οὐ ποιῆσαι δυνάμενον οὐ παῖσαι δυνάμενον, ἢ γῆ γὰρ φοβουμένη τὸν θεὸν οὐ φέρεϊ.

479. *amantem*: Mackail (*ad loc.*) emphasizes the double force of this word at the end of its line: "restore him as a lover to me or release me as a lover from him." The assonance of *amantem* and *cadentem* at the end of successive lines may be noted; cf. 4, 54, n. (*amore*).

480. *Oceani finem*: cf. *Catal.* 9, 54: *Oceani finibus ulterius*; *Stat. Silv.* 4, 2, 53: *Oceani finem . . . revisit*; *Prud. Hamart.* 881: *Oceani fines*; the meaning is "the (nearer)

bound set by the Ocean" (cf. 1, 286-287); Serv.: *finem Oceani nullus novit sed initium, quod et ipsum potest finis videri aliunde sumpto principio*. The details which follow furnish for Dido a slight relief from the tension of the general situation; cf. Nettleship, *Suggestions introd. to a Study of the Aeneid* (1875), 34.

480. *iuxta*: for the position of this preposition cf. 4, 256, n. (*ierras inter caelumque*).

480. *solemque cadentem*: references to the beauty of the sunset seem in ancient writers conspicuously lacking as compared with those to sunrise; cf. Biese, *Die Entwicklung des Naturgefühls bei d. Römern* (1884), 193-194; Allen, *Treatment of Nature in the Poetry of the Rom. Republic* (1899), 207. In art it was probably hard to represent (though Paus. 10, 19, 4 mentions among pediment sculptures at Delphi the δῶσις 'Ἡλίου), and when the setting sun appears in literature it is usually as an indication of the hour of the day (e.g., *G.* 3, 401; *Aen.* 3, 336; 3, 508; 11, 913-914 (with unusual emphasis on its beauty); also *Il.* 7, 465; 8, 485-486; 11, 209; 17, 455; *al.*; *Od.* 3, 329; 8, 58; 11, 12; *al.*; *Batrachom.* 302; *Plat. Phaed.* 116 b-e; *Apoll. Rh.* 1, 651; 3, 1407; *Enn. Ann.* 434-435; *Sen. Phaedr.* 749-751; *Agam.* 460; *Apocol.* 2; *Plin. N. H.* 8, 203; *Stat. Silv.* 1, 6, 85-88; *Paus.* 2, 1, 7; *Heliod. Aethiop.* 5, 27; *Auson. Epigr.* 74, 1; *Anth. Pal.* 7, 517, 1-2) or the direction of the compass or a part of the world (e.g., *Od.* 9, 26; *Pind. Nem.* 4, 69 (in these two cases ζῶφος is used); *Aesch. Suppl.* 255; *Pers.* 232; *Fr.* 69 Sidgwick; *Soph. O. C.* 1245-1249 (and *Schol.* on 1248); *Eur. Orest.* 1260; *Lycophr. Alex.* 956-957; *Cic. N. D.* 3, 44; *Virg. G.* 2, 298; *Plut. Plac.* 3, 7; *Flor.* 1, 33, 12; *App. B. C.* 2, 153; *Anth. Pal.* 5, 3, 82). Sunset, however, and the gloom following it are, literally or figuratively, associated with magic (cf. Heim, *Incantamenta magica* (1892), 478, no. 47), or especially with death (e.g., *Il.* 6, 11; *Aesch. Agam.* 1123: βίου δόντος ἀγλαΐς; *Eur. Ion*,

## 481. ultimus Aethiopum locus est, ubi maximus Atlas

ultimus (s in ras.) c. atlas Fb, Serv.: *nullum nomen Graecum 'ns' terminatur*, athlans α'c, athlas π, adlans γ, atlans codd. plerique.

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1135-1136 (cf. 1148-1149); Demades, 38: *πρεσβύται φιλοψυχούσιν ἐπὶ δυσμαῖς τοῦ βίου*; Catull. 5, 4-6; [Longin.] *De Sublim.* 9, 13: *ἐν τῇ Ὀδυσσεύα παρεικάσαι τις ἂν καταδυομένην τὸν Ὀμηρον ἡλίω, οὐ δίχα τῆς σφοδρότητος παραμένει τὸ μέγεθος*; S. Zeno, 1, 16, 8 (*Patr. Lat.* 11, 380); Iamblich. *Vit. Pythag.* 37: *ἀποφαίνων . . . μᾶλλον τιμώμενον τὸ προηγούμενον ἢ τὸ τῷ χρόνῳ ἐπόμενον, οἷον τὴν ἀνατολὴν τῆς δύσεως, τὴν ἑω τῆς ἐσπέρας, τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς τελευτῆς, τὴν γένεσιν τῆς φθορᾶς, κτλ.*; Clem. *Protr.* 10, p. 108, 3: *ἐπὶ δυσμαῖς τοῦ βίου*; Shakesp. *Jul. Caes.* Act 5, Sc. 3; Cowper, trans. of Latin epigram by Owen, on *Sunset and Sunrise*: "Contemplate, when the sun declines, / Thy death, with deep reflection"; Housman, *The West*, stanza 6 (*Last Poems* (1922), 12); also the modern phrase 'going west'; Mitchell in *Cl. Weekly*, 14 (1920), 59; Nichols in *London Times Lit. Suppl.* 31 (1932), 839; *Armour in eod.* 937. Again, a man's decline in importance is compared to the setting sun (e.g., Plut. *Reg. el Impr. Arophi.*, Pompey, 5: *καὶ τὸν ἥλιον ἀνατέλλοντα πλείονες ἢ δύνοντα προσκυνοῦσιν*; cf. *id.*, *Praecept. ger. Reipub.* 10; *Paroemiogr. Gr.* 2, 614, no. 35, and n.). Further, the West was pictured as the abode of the dead, e.g., in the 'Fortunate Isles'; cf. *Od.* 4, 561-568; Hes. *Op.* 166-173; Pind. *Ol.* 2, 70-74; Soph. *O. T.* 177; Strab. 3, 2, 12: *ἡ δὲ νῦν δτι δόσφημον καὶ τῷ "Αἰδῇ πλησιάζον, ὃ δὲ "Αἰδης τῷ Ταρτάρῳ, κτλ.*; Artemid. *Onirocr.* 2, 35-36; Eunap. *Vit. Philos.* p. 468: *'σκόπει', ἔφασαν, ' . . . ἡμεῖς γὰρ ἐπὶ τὸν ἐσπέριον ὠκεανὸν ἐνεχθέντες αὐτίκα ἐπανήσομεν.* τοῦτο συμφανέστατα δαίμονας εἶναι τοὺς φανέντας ἀπῆλεγξε; Schol. Apoll. Rh. 1, 587; Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, 4 ed., 1 (1903), 343; 2 (1903), 48-49; 62-68; 74; 422-423; etc.; Ganschinietz in *P.-W.* 10 (1917), 2367 (beliefs at Torres Straits); Ninck in *Philologus*, Supplbd. 14, 2 (1921), 124-127; Dieterich-Fehrle, *Muller Erde*, 3 ed. (1925), 22 (Huron Indians); Carpenter, *The Greeks in Spain* (1925), 3-4;

Jungbauer in Hoffmann-Krayer, *Handwörterbuch d. deutsch. Aberglaubens*, 2 (1930), 138-140; and bodies were at times buried with the feet toward the West (e.g., at Olynthus; Robinson in *The American Scholar*, 1 (1932), 115; cf. McCartney in *Papers of the Mich. Acad. of Sci., Arts, and Letters*, 16 (1931), 183-184).

Conversely, the East is associated, both among the Greeks (Jebb on Soph. *O. C.* 477), the Hebrews (Heidel in *Am. Journ. of Philol.* 45 (1924), 233, n. 26), and especially the Christians (Ambros. *De Myst.* 7), with deity, and prayers are directed thither (*Apost. Constit.* 2, 57; 7, 44; Tertull. *Apol.* 16; Clem. *Strom.* 7, 7), while the West may belong to the Devil (cf. Krüger in *Harv. theol. Rev.* 14 (1921), 344). Hence the numberless customs connected with the orientation of temples and churches (Vitruv. 4, 5, 1; *Apost. Constit.* 2, 57; Wissowa, *Relig. u. Kult. d. Römer*, 2 ed. (1912), 472, n. 1, and works there cited) and with the placing of the dead in their graves (e.g., Plut. *Solon*, 10; Ael. *V. H.* 5, 14: *θάπτειν δὲ πρὸς δυσμὰς βλέποντας* (cf. 7, 19); Diog. L. 1, 48 (and Hicks's n.); Athen. 9, 409-410; Rose in *Proc. of the cl. Assoc.* 17 (1920), 29-30), also, whether as cause or as effect, with the association of the West with the left and the East with the right (e.g., *Il.* 12, 239-240; Aët. *Plac.* 2, 10, 1 (Doxogr. Gr. 339): Πυθαγόρας Πλάτων Ἀριστοτέλης δεξιὰ τοῦ κόσμου τὰ ἀνατολικά μέρη . . . ἀριστερὰ δὲ τὰ δυτικά; Pease on Cic. *De Div.* 2, 82; Barnes, *The lucky Left* (in *Dublin Rev.* 172 (1923), 130-131)), or of the West with the bottom of the world (Serv. *Aen.* 1, 223), as well as — most significant for the present passage — the prescription of going or facing toward the West (to invite the aid of the departed?) in various magical rites, e.g., [Lys.] *In Andoc.* 51: *καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις ἱερεῖαι καὶ ἱερεῖς στάντες κατηράσαντο πρὸς ἐσπέραν καὶ φωνικίδας ἀνέσεισαν, κατὰ τὸ νόμιμον τὸ παλαιὸν καὶ ἀρχαῖον*; Plin. *N. H.*

482. axem umero torquet stellis ardentibus aptum;

humero *ab.* attorquet *M* (torquet *M*<sup>2</sup>). tellis  $\gamma^1$ .

[480\*] 482. axem . . . aptum: *Macrob. Sat.* 6, 1, 9 — humero —; *Schol. Iuv.* 13, 48; *Schol. Dan. Aen.* 1, 108 — fulgentibus —; 2, 512 — ardentibus —. 482. axem . . . torquet: [*Prob.*] *De ult. Syll.* 3 (G. L. K. 4, 221); 13 (G. L. K. 4, 256) — humero —; *Serv. Aen.* 7, 666 — humero (umero *RF*); torquens *SRHM* —; *Schol. Dan. Aen.* 12, 180. 482. stellis . . . aptum: *Schol. Dan. Aen.* 1, 552.

25, 148 (in digging the mandragora); Preisdanz, *Pap. Gr. mag.* 1 (1928), 36, 95; 38, 124 (cf. 82, 334); [Dionys. Areop.] *Eccl. Hier.* 3, 5 (in baptism); cf. 5, 1, 6.

Magicians are often brought from the remoter and more backward parts of the world (for those from the Italian hill-towns cf. Pease on *Cic. De Div.* 1, 105), where magical beliefs and practices linger after they are discountenanced elsewhere; cf. Tylor, *Prim. Culture*, 1, 4 ed. (1903), 112–115; Dedo, *De Antiquorum Superstit. amatoria* (1904), 32–33; Penquitt, *De Didonis Vergilianae Exitu* (1910), 36; Hopfner, *Gr.-ägypt. Offenbarungszauber*, 2 (1924), 3–12; Eitrem in *Festskrift til H. Kohl* (1933), 32–33; *id.*, in *Symbolae Osloenses*, 12 (1933), 34, n. 2; also below, 7, 750: *Marruvia venit de gente sacerdos*; while *Sil.* 1, 431 brings the magician Temisus *lilore ab Hesperidum*. Hence Dido's employment of this Massylian witch, who was not of the lower classes but had occupied a post of distinction in the shrine of the Hesperides (Penquitt, *l. c.*). She is described on a grander, more heroic scale than the rustic practitioner of the eighth *Eclogue*; cf. Dedo, *op. cit.*, 49; Heinze, *Virgils epische Technik*, 3 ed. (1915), 137–138.

481. ultimus: cf. *Od.* 1, 23: Αἰθιωας, τοι δὲ χαθὰ δαδαίταται, ἔσχατοι ἀνδρῶν; *Oros.* 1, 2, 11: *ultimus autem finis eius* (sc. *Africae*) *est mons Athlans et insulae quas Fortunatas vocant* (cf. 1, 2, 72; 1, 2, 94). Henry (*Aeneidea*, 2 (1878), 760) compares *Ov. M.* 4, 632–633: *ultima tellus / rege sub hoc* (sc. *Atlante*) *et pontus erat*; *Sil.* 3, 282–283: *quin et Massyli fulgentia signa tulere, / Hesperidum veniens lucis domus ultima terrae*. The phrase means “there is the farthest spot (of the earth), that of the Aethiopians.”

481. *Aethiopum*: *Serv.*: *Aethiopiae duae sunt; una circa ortum solis, altera circa occasum in Maurelania, quam nunc dicit. et dicta Aethiopia a colore populorum, quos solis vicinitas torret*; cf. *Sen. H. F.* 37–38: *qua Sol reducens quaque deponens diem / binos propinqua tinguit Aethiops face*. Riess (in *Am. Journ. of Philol.* 46 (1925), 238) thinks the Aethiopians are “the red ones”, who live where the sun rises and sets and everything is red; cf. also, however, Pietschmann in *P.-W.* 1 (1894), 1095–1096.

Homer localized the Aethiopians by the shore of the Ocean (*Il.* 1, 423; 23, 205–206), presumably in the East or Southeast (Pietschmann, *l. c.*), and also by that of the Western Ocean (*Od.* 1, 22–24 recognizes both localities; cf. *Strab.* 2, 3, 7), and others place some of them, at least, in the West; e.g., *Apoll. Rh.* 3, 1191–1192; *Plin. N. H.* 5, 43; *Avien.* 3, 738–739; *Claud. De IV Cons. Honor.* 34–35. *Callim. Hymn.* 6, 10–11 puts together in the West the black men and the golden apples.

481. *ubi, etc.*: cf. 6, 796–797: *ubi caelifer Atlas / axem umero torquet stellis ardentibus aptum*; Sparrow, *Half-lines and Repetitions in Virgil* (1931), 100–101.

481. *maximus Atlas*: = 1, 741; 8, 136; *Ov. M.* 6, 174; cf. 4, 247, nn. (*Atlantis; fulcii*), above. On the form *Atlas* (rather than *Atlans*, for which cf. Sommer, *Handb. d. lat. Laut- u. Formenlehre*, 2 ed. (1914), 245) cf. *Serv.*: *nullum nomen Graecum 'ns' terminatur*; *Ars Bern. gramm. Suppl.* 97, 11: *nomina quae 'n' litteram in genetivo addunt . . . Athlas Athlantis*; Cottino, *La Flessione de Nomi greci in Virgilio* (1906), 9; Palmer on *Ov. H.* 9, 18; and, especially, *Thes. Ling. Lat.* 2 (1900), 1042, 20–45.

482. *axem*: *Schol. Dan.*: *nunc pro*

## 483. hinc mihi Massylae gentis monstrata sacerdos

hic *b.* mihi *add. sup.* *F*<sup>3</sup>. massyleae *F* (massylae *F*<sup>1</sup>), massule *b*<sup>1</sup>, massilae *c*, massile *γ*, massyllae *p*, massylle *a*<sup>1</sup>, massyliae *Pieriani* *ω*.

483. hinc . . . sacerdos: *Serv. Aen.* 4, 132 — hinc *H*, hic *cett.* —; *Isid. Etym.* 9, 2, 123 — hic —; *Hrab. Maur. De Univ.* 16, 2.

'caelo'; non enim in axe sunt stellae; cf. *Aen.* 2, 512: nudoque sub aetheris axe; 6, 536: medium aetherio cursu traiecerat axem (sc. *Aurora*); 6, 797 (see above); 8, 28: gelidique sub aetheris axe; Braumüller, *Ueber Tropen u. Figuren in Vergil's Aeneis*, 1 (1877), 19; and, especially important for the scientific conceptions of the ἄξων (*axis*) and the πόλοι (*cardines* or *vertices caeli*) at its ends, Kauffmann in *P.-W.* 2 (1896), 2631–2633. Roman writers often use *axis* (like *polus*; cf. 4, 7, n. (*polo*); Maass in *Philol. Untersuchungen*, 12 (1892), 128; 239, n. 6) in a figurative sense, as the Scholia Danielis recognize, for the *caelum* as a whole, and in our passage, while the force is applied by Atlas to the axis of the sphere, yet the whole sphere is apparently in mind, as the phrase *stellis ardentibus aptum* indicates.

482. *umero*: Wernicke (in *P.-W.* 2 (1896), 2123) observes that Atlas is sometimes represented as propping a pillar which bears the heavens, again as holding the *axis* of the heavens upon his shoulders (e.g., 8, 136–137: *Electram maximus Atlas / edidit, aetherios umero qui sustinet orbes*; cf. 8, 141; *Ov. M.* 2, 296–297: *Atlas en ipse laborat, / vixque suis umeris candentem sustinet axem*; 6, 174–175: *maximus Atlas / est avus, aetherium qui fert cervicibus axem*; *F.* 5, 169: *nondum stabat Atlas umeros oneratus Olympo*; for representations in art cf. Furtwängler in Roscher, *Ausf. Lex.* 1 (1884), 709–711), and sometimes, as here, turning it with his shoulders (*Arist. De Mot. An.* 699 a 27–31: οἱ δὲ μυθικῶς τὸν Ἀτλαντα ποιοῦντες ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἔχοντα τοὺς πόδας δόξαιεν ἂν ἀπὸ διανοίας εἰρηκέναι τὸν μῦθον, ὡς τοῦτον ὥσπερ διάμετρον ὄντα καὶ στρέφοντα τὸν οὐρανὸν περὶ τοὺς πόλους· τοῦτο δ' ἂν συμβαίνει κατὰ λόγον διὰ τὸ τὴν γῆν μένειν; *Aen.* 6, 797 (see above); *Schol. Hes. Theog.* 509).

482. *torquet*: cf. 9, 93: *torquet qui sidera*

*mundi*; *Varr. Atac.* 12, 1 (*Frag. Poet. Rom.* p. 334 Baehrens): *vidit et aetherio mundum torquerier axe*; *Aetna*, 608: *et nitidum obscura caelum caligine torquet*; *Manil.* 1, 444: *axem quae mundi stridentem pondere torquent*; *Avien.* 2, 575: *caelifer adque umero magnum super aethera torquet*; 3, 101–102: *hic tumet Atlas / arduus, hic duro torquetur cardine caelum*.

482. *stellis*, etc.: cf. *Enn. Ann.* 29: *qui caelum versat stellis fulgentibus* (cf. *Schol. Dan. Aen.* 1, 108) *aptum*; 159: *caelum suspexit stellis fulgentibus aptum*; 339: *hinc nox processit stellis ardentibus apta*; *Lucr.* 6, 357–358: *autumnoque magis stellis fulgentibus apta / concutitur caeli domus*; *Aen.* 11, 201–202: *nox umida donec / invertit caelum stellis ardentibus* (*fulgentibus* cod. R) *aptum*. Virgil has combined the two Ennian phrases *stellis fulgentibus aptum* and *stellis ardentibus apta*; Bowra (in *Cl. Quart.* 23 (1929), 2) thinks he felt that *ardere* described the radiance of the stars better than *fulgere*; yet cf. Sparrow, *Half-lines and Repetitions in Virgil* (1931), 100–101. *Ambros. Hexaem.* 2, 12 has *stellis ardentibus*. For the fixed stars as fastened to the sky (late Latin *firmamentum*) cf. *Plin. N. H.* 2, 28: *sidera quae adfixa diximus mundo*.

482. *aptum*: *Serv.*: *satis perite loquitur, nam 'aptum' coniunctum dicit ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀπτεσθαι, non insignitum stellis; axis enim non habet stellas, qui est medius inter septemtriones, unde et Graece ἀναστρως dicitur. septemtriones autem non occidere axis vicinitas facit, non quia in axe sunt*. Yet, as Page (*ad loc.*) remarks, *aptum* may mean 'fitted with', as in *Enn. Sc.* 403: *Fides alma apta pinnis* (cf. *Lucr.* 5, 1205: *stellisque micantibus aethera fixum*), and, as I have suggested above (n. on *axem*), it seems likely that Virgil had in mind the whole sky as well as merely its axis.

## 484. Hesperidum templi custos epulasque draconi

aepulas *F* (epulas *F*<sup>1</sup>).484-485. Hesperidum . . . ramos: *Schol. Lucan. 9, 357.*

483. *hinc, etc.*: 'monstrata' praedicta; quae est oriundo Massyla, aliquando horti Hesperidum sacerdos, nunc venit de locis quae sunt circa Atlantem; nam aliter non procedit; Massyllia enim mediterranea est, Berenice civitas Libyae, unde haud longe horti sunt Hesperidum. 'Atlas' vero 'maximus' in Maurelania est. If this priestess was already at Carthage, as 4, 509 indicates, putting her art at the service of lovers, it is, Cartault thinks (*L'Art de Virgile dans l'Énéide*, 1 (1926), 327), though Virgil does not expressly state it, because the slaying of the serpent by Hercules (cf. *Apoll. Rh. 4, 1400-1405*) had left her without occupation. With this view the use of the imperfects, *dabat* and *servabat*, in line 485, seems to agree; cf. Heinze, *Virgils epische Technik*, 3 ed. (1915), 142, n. 3. With the line Henry (*Aeneidea*, 2 (1878), 761) compares Alciphron. *Ep. 2, 4, 15*: καὶ γὰρ ἔχω τινὰ νεωστὶ γυναῖκα ἀπὸ Φρυγίας. ἤκουσαν εὖ μάλα τούτων ἑμπερον, γαστρομαντεῖσθαι δευήν καὶ τῇ τῶν σπαρτῶν διατάσει, νύκτωρ δὲ καὶ τῇ τῶν νεκρῶν δελεῖ.

483. *Massylae*: cf. 4, 132, n. (*Massyli*); 4, 480, n. (*solemque cadentem*). A Numidian tribe has here been substituted for a Mauretanian one; Conington thinks (*ad loc.*) because both were Libyans.

483. *monstrata sacerdos*: cf. 4, 498: *monstratque sacerdos*. Others have recommended the priestess to Dido, and perhaps the recourse to magic itself is represented by her as at their urging rather than on her own initiative (cf. 4, 492-493).

Note the parallels between this story and that of the Golden Fleece — each with an enchantress (here the Massyllian priestess, there Medea), each with a golden treasure (here the golden apples (μῆλα), which one tradition (e.g., *Varr. R. R. 2, 1, 6*; *Serv. Aen. 4, 484* (quoted below); *Mythogr. Vat. I, 38*; and other references cited by Sittig in *P.-W. 8* (1913), 1247; *Gruppe in P.-W. 3 Supplbd.* (1918), 1068) identifies with sheep (μῆλα), and there the golden fleece of a sheep),

each with a dragon guardian, lulled to sleep by drugs or charms (for the Colchian one cf. *Apoll. Rh. 4, 156-161*; *Lycophr. Alex. 1313*; *Lact. Plac. in Stat. Theb. 5, 475*) and then slain — here by Hercules and there by Jason —, one of these adventures belonging to the far East and the other to the far West (cf. Heinze, *op. cit.*, 142, n. 3). Is the whole story a sun-myth? On the special power of women in magic — witches are commoner than wizards — cf. *Dedo, De Antiquorum Superstitione amatoria* (1904), 30-32. *Apoll. Rh. 4, 1396-1449* brings the apples of the Hesperides and the dragon into the Argonautic story.

484. *Hesperidum*: *Serv.*: *Atlantis filiae nymphae secundum fabulam hortum habuerunt, in quo erant mala aurea Veneri consecrata, quae Hercules missus ab Eurystheo occiso pervigili dracone sustulit. re vera autem nobiles fuerunt puellae, quarum greges abegit Hercules occiso eorum custode; unde mala fingitur sustulisse, hoc est oves; nam μῆλα dicuntur, unde μηλονόμης dicitur pastor ovium*. An earlier tradition, recognized by the Scholia Danielis and first found in *Hes. Theog. 215-216*, makes the Hesperides the daughters of Night, and another (in the *Schol. Dan.*) the daughters of Hesperus, while their association with Atlas is probably later; cf. Sittig in *P.-W. 8* (1913), 1243. *Hesiod* (*Frag. 270 Rzach*) names three, Aegle, Erytheia, and Hesperethusa; *Apoll. Rh. 4, 1427-1428* mentions Aegle, Hespere, and Erytheis; other writers (Sittig, *l. c.*) furnish yet other names. In art their number varies (1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, or 11), according to Sittig (*l. c.*).

The garden of the Hesperides (listed by *Plin. N. H. 19, 49*, among the famous gardens of the world, like those of Adonis, Alcinous, and the hanging gardens of Babylon), in which grew the marvellous tree of life with its golden apples guarded by a serpent, thus paralleling in part the story of the garden of Eden and other oriental accounts (Sittig, *op. cit.*, 1243-1244), was local-

485. quae dabat et sacros servabat in arbore ramos,

dabet (a *pr. in ras.*; *corr. in dabat*) γ.

[484] 485. servabat . . . ramos: *Anth. Lat. no. 17, 233* (I, p. 70 Riese).

ized in various places, originally in the Peloponnese, but later especially in Libya, where was founded the city of Euesperides, later Berenice (Benghazi) in Cyrenaica, or (as early as Hes. *Theog.* 274-275; also Lucr. 5, 32-36; Virgil, here; Plin. *N. H.* 19, 63; *al.*) in the far West, near Mt. Atlas, while others placed it among the Hyperboreans; cf. Sittig, *op. cit.*, 1246-1247; Gruppe in *P.-W.* 3 Supplbd. (1918), 1068-1070.

484. *templi*: of the garden — *τέμενος* —, rather than of a building. For ancient descriptions of this garden cf. Cook, *Zeus*, 2 (1925), 1021.

484. *epulasque*: in 6, 599 and Val. Fl. 8, 96, as here, of the food of lower animals. On the lack of grammatical parallelism cf. Hahn, *Coordination of non-coordinate Elements in Vergil* (1930), 89, who analyzes the sentence as containing a relative clause virtually doing duty for a noun of agent coordinate with a noun of agent (*custos*) which is present, and compares 9, 205-206: *animus lucis contemptor et . . . / qui . . . credat* (cf. also Knapp in *Cl. Weekly*, 26 (1933), 143). This explanation considers *quae* as deferred in its clause. Mackail (*ad loc.*) explains the words as equivalent to *quae dabatque epulas draconi et sacros servabat in arbore ramos*, where *quae* introduces two verbs correlatively connected by *-que . . . et*. Emendations of *et* to *ul* (Sabbadini), *is* (Regel), etc. are unnecessary.

484. *draconi*: cf. Apoll. Rh. 4, 1396-1399: *ἴξον δ' ἱερὸν πέδον, ᾧ ἐνὶ Λάδων / εἰσέτι που χθιζὸν παγχρύσεια ῥύετο μήλα / χώρῳ ἐν Ἀτλαντος, χθόνιος ὄφης ἄμφι δὲ νύμφαι / Ἑσπερίδες ποίπνρον, ἐφίμερον αἰέδουσαι*; Prob. G. 1, 205, also mentions this name. Ladon seems to have been originally the Arcadian river so called (Sittig, *op. cit.*, 1246), but other identifications were made elsewhere (Sittig, *op. cit.*, 1246-1247; Gruppe, *op. cit.*, 1070). A clue to the identification of serpent and river is seen in Plin. *N. H.* 5, 3 (describing the garden of the Hesperides): *adfunditur autem aestuarium e mari flexuoso meatu, in*

*quo draconis custodiae instar fuisse nunc interpretantur*; cf. Solin. 24, 4-5; Mart. Cap. 6, 667. Another rationalization reduces this dragon to a shepherd named Draco; cf. Heraclit. *De Incredib.* 20; Diod. 4, 26, 2-3; Schol. Dan. on our line. Modern students find in him a chthonic figure (Küster, *Die Schlange in der gr. Kunst u. Relig.* (1913), 93), and as such appropriately the guard of treasures of precious metals originating from the earth; cf. Gruppe, *Gr. Myth. u. Relig.* 1 (1906), 410-411.

Etymology doubtless had a part in setting a *draco* to watch over treasures (see below); cf. the derivation of *δράκων* from *δέρκεσθαι*; Lucr. 5, 33, who calls the serpent *acerba tuens*; Hor. S. 1, 3, 26-27: *tam cernis acutum / quam aut aquila aut serpens Epidaurius*; Paul. ex Fest. p. 67 M. (p. 59 Lindsay): *dracones dicti ἀπὸ τοῦ δέρκεσθαι, quod est videre. clarissimam enim dicuntur habere oculorum aciem; qua ex causa incubantes eos thesauris custodiae causa finxerunt antiqui*; Philostr. *Imag.* 2, 17, 6, gives yet another reason: *τοῦτο γὰρ λέγεται τὸ θηρίον εἶναι τε εἶναι τῷ χρυσῷ, καὶ ὅ τι ἴδῃ χρυσοῦν ἀγαπᾷ καὶ θάλλειν· τό τοι κώδιον τὸ ἐν Κόλχοις καὶ τὰ τῶν Ἑσπερίδων μήλα, ἐπειδὴ χρυσὰ ἐφαίνοντο, διττῷ ἄπνῳ ξυνείχον δράκοντε καὶ ἑαυτοῖν ἐποιούντο*. Indian epics speak of serpents which are 'poison-eyed' and kill by their sight (Vogel, *Indian Serpent-Lore* (1926), 16).

For a description of this particular beast cf. Gruppe, *op. cit.*, 1072; Wagner in *P.-W.* 5 (1905), 1647. Most accounts emphasize his wakefulness; e.g., Soph. *Trachin.* 1099-1100 (translated by Cicero; cf. *Frag. Poet. Rom.* 311, 43 Baehrens); Eur. *Heracl.* 394-399; Varr. *Menipp.* 299 Bücheler; Hygin. *Astron.* 2, 7, *inil.*: *conatur interficere draconem Hesperidum qui numquam oculos operuisse somno coactus existimatur, quo magis custos esse demonstratur*; *id.*, *Fab.* 151; Ov. *M.* 9, 190: *pomaque ab insomni concustodita dracone*; Luc. 9, 357-358: *atque insopili quondam tutela draconis, / Hesperidum pau-*

*per spoliatis frondibus hortus*; 9, 363: *numquam somno damnatus lumina serpens*; Manil. 5, 16: *Hesperidumque vigil custos et divitis auri*; Sen. *H. F.* 240: *aurifera vigilis spolia serpentis tulit*; 531-532: *cum somno dederit pervigiles genas / pomis divitiibus praepositus draco*; Agam. 856: *frigidus custos nescius somni*; Juv. 14, 113-114: *certa magis quam si fortuna servet easdem / Hesperidum serpens aut Ponticus*; Maximianus, 1, 189-190: *sicut in auricomis se tendens plurimus hortis / pervigil observat non sua poma draco*; Sil. 6, 183-184: *qualisque comantis / auro servavit ramos Iunonius anguis*; Avien. 2, 180-182: *Hesperidum venisse locos* (sc. *Herculem*) *adque aurea mala, / inscia quae lenti semper custodia somni / servabat, carpsisse manu*, etc.; Lact. Plac. in Stat. *Theb.* 2, 280; Schol. Dan. Aen. 4, 246: *Atlas rex qui habuit, ut quidam volunt, iuxta Aethiopas pomarium in quo mala aurea nascebantur, quae Hesperides et insomnis draco custodiebant*; etc.; Schol. Dan. G. 1, 244; Ennod. *Carm.* 2, 111, 17-18: *pervigil Hesperidum quae servas iugera serpens, / aurea ieiunis munera das epulis*; Mythogr. Vat. II, 161; Pediasimus, *De XII Herc. Lab.* 11 (Mythogr. Gr. 1, 258); Paroemiogr. Gr. 2, 528-529, no. 57; Isid. *Etym.* 14, 6, 10: *draconem pervigilem aurea mala servantem*. Later this serpent was included among the constellations (Arat. 46; Cic. *N. D.* 2, 106-108; Hygin. *Astron.* 2, 3). For representations of the myth in art cf. Sittig and Gruppe, *opp. cit.*, to which add: *Illust. Lond. News*, 29 Oct., 1927, 760-762; *Am. Journ. Arch.* 32 (1928), 85; 33 (1929), 562. The common position of the serpent is in coils around the tree bearing the apples; cf. Paus. 6, 19, 8.

The motif of this dragon guardian is a favorite in later literature (e.g., Fracastoro, *Ad Ioan. Matt. Gibertum*, 4-6; Shakesp. *Pericl.* Act 1, Sc. 1; Milton, *Comus*, 393-395; Tennyson, *The Hesperides*, Stanza 2; Morris, *The Golden Apples*, Stanzas 43-51; Ruskin, *Modern Painters*, Part 9, ch. 10, 9-22), and, as already stated, closely parallels other myths, such as that of the guardian of the Golden Fleece (e.g., Eur. *Med.* 480-481: *δράκοντά θ' δὲ πάγχρυσον ἀμπέχων δέρας / σπείραις ἑσφῆε πολυπλόκους ἀνπρος ὦν*; Apoll. Rh. 2, 404-407; 2, 1208-1209: *ὄφις περὶ τ'*

*ἀμφὶ τ' ἔρπται / ἀθάνατος καὶ ἀνπρος*; 2, 1269; 4, 127-129; Lycophr. *Alex.* 1311; Diod. 4, 47, 3; Ov. *H.* 6, 13; 7, 36; 7, 149; Manil. 3, 11; Sen. *Med.* 703-704; Val. Fl. 1, 60-63: *tanloque silet possessa dracone / vellerem; multifidas regis quem filia linguas / vibrantem ex adytis cantu dapibusque vocabat, / et dabat hesterno liventia mella veneno*; 8, 65-66; Lact. Plac. in Stat. *Theb.* 5, 475; Claud. *De Bell. Goth.* 23; Paroemiogr. Gr. 1, 111, no. 92; Mythogr. Vat. I, 23; 25; II, 134; 136), and the serpent guardians of fountains (e.g., Soph. *Frag.* 226 Pearson; Eur. *Phoen.* 657-665; Hygin. *Fab.* 6; 74; Paus. 9, 10, 5; Lact. Plac. in Stat. *Theb.* 2, 289), wells (MacCulloch in Hastings, *Encycl. of Relig. and Ethics*, 11 (1921), 408, and n. 2), caves (Plin. *N. H.* 16, 234), shrines (Soph. *Philoct.* 1327-1328; and the cases noted in Berthelot, *Les Alchimistes grecs*, 1, 22, 5; 1, 23, 5; 1, 30, 5; 2, 111, 5; MacCulloch in Hastings, *op. cit.*, 11 (1921), 403; 407; cf. also Tylor, *Prim. Culture*, 2, 4 ed. (1903), 241-242; Vogel, *Indian Serpent-Lore* (1926), 23), gardens (Eden, etc.; cf. Sittig, *op. cit.*, 1244), forests or trees (cf. Hdt. 3, 107; Isid. *Etym.* 17, 8, 8; perhaps, however, in a different sense), treasure (Eur. *Hyphs.* p. 17, 22-25 Herwerden; Küster, *op. cit.*, 120 and n. 2; Terzaghi, *Le Credenze relig. degli Antichi* (1927), 103; Vogel, *op. cit.*, 20-22; 28; etc.), tombs (Küster, *op. cit.*, 68-70), and of the casket containing Erichthonius (Mythogr. Vat. II, 37; 40; III, 10, 3); cf. also Apul. *M.* 6, 14. So in Teutonic mythology we find the serpent Fafnir guarding the treasure of the Nibelungs; cf. Grimm (tr. by Stallybrass), *Teutonic Mythology*, 2 (1883), 688-689; 3 (1883), 978-979; and other works cited by MacCulloch in Hastings, *op. cit.*, 11 (1921), 399; 409; also Welsford in the same work, 11, 420; parallels being found in Arabia, E. Africa, S. America (MacCulloch, *l. c.*), and India (Crooke, in Hastings, *op. cit.* 11 (1921), 416); cf. also Mackensen in Hoffmann-Krayer, *Handwörterbuch d. deutsch. Aberglaubens*, 2 (1930), 384-386. Buckland, *Anthropological Studies* (1891), 104-105, thought snakes might actually have aided by their burrowings in discovering the existence of metals.

485. *dabat*, etc.: for the tense cf. 4, 483,



## 486. spargens umida mella soporiferumque papaver.

humida *Pγb*. sororiferumque *P* (soporiferumque *P²*), soporiferumue *b*. papauē(r) *P*.

486. spargens . . . papaver: *Non. p.* 220 *M.* (*p.* 325 *L.*); *pp.* 404-405 *M.* (*p.* 651 *L.*) — sparges *A²B²* —; *Anth. Lat. no.* 17, 327 (*i.* *p.* 74 *Riese*) — humida *A*; soporiferumque *A*; papaver *A* —. 486. soporiferumque papaver: *Brev. Expos. in G.* 1, 78 — soporiserumque *corr. in* soporiferumque *N*; pauor *corr. in* papauer *N* —.

*n.* (*hinc, etc.*). Others would see here the influence of the imperfect *εσφε* in *Eur. Med.* 481.

485. sacros: *Schol. Dan.: vel Veneri vel Iunoni dedicatos*. The apples were a wedding present at the nuptials of Zeus and Hera (*Apollod. Bibl.* 2, 5, 11; *Athen.* 3, *p.* 83 c), the connection of apples with love being well known; cf. Foster in *Harv. Stud. in cl. Philol.* 10 (1899), 39-55; McCartney in *Trans. Am. philol. Assoc.* 56 (1922), 70-81.

485. servabat, etc.: cf. Cornelius Severus 9 (*F. P. R.* 353 Baehrens): *pomosa lentos servabat in arbore ramos*; *Sil.* 4, 636-637: *quid domus Hesperidum aut luci iuvare deorum, / fulvos aurifera servantes arbore ramos*; 6, 183-184; *Claud. De IV Cons. Honor.* 37-38: *virentes / Hesperidum risit, quos dilatat fabula, ramos*. The priestess maintains the dragon and the dragon preserves the apples (*Lucr.* 5, 32 (of the dragon): *aureaque Hesperidum servans fulgentia mala*); hence she may be said to guard the apples.

485. ramos: i.e., those bearing the golden apples. The nature of these *Hesperidum* . . . *mala* (cf. *Ecl.* 6, 61) has provoked much discussion, there having been suggested yellow apples (*Ecl.* 3, 71: *aurea mala*; cf. 8, 52-53), pomegranates (cf. the writers cited by McCartney, *op. cit.*, 74), quinces (the *chrysomela* of *Plin. N. H.* 15, 37; cf. Hehn, *Kulturpflanzen u. Haustierte*, 8 ed. (1911), 445; Marzell in Hoffmann-Krayer, *Handwörterbuch d. deutsch. Aberglaubens*, 1 (1927), 511; 515, n. 12 (and works there cited)), citrons (*Athen.* 3, *p.* 83 b: *Αἰμιλιανὸς δὲ ἔλεγεν Ἰόβαν τὸν Μαυρουσιῶν βασιλέα, ἄνδρα πολυμαθέστατον, ἐν τοῖς περὶ Λιβύης συγγράμμασι μνημονεύοντα τοῦ κитρίου καλεῖσθαι φάσκειν αὐτὸ παρὰ τοῖς Λίβυσι μῆλον Ἑσπερικόν, ἄφ' ὧν καὶ Ἡρακλῆα κομίσαι εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα τὰ χρύσεα διὰ τὴν ἰδέαν λεγόμενα μῆλα*;

the citron is thought by Servius to be the fruit to which Virgil refers in *G.* 2, 126-127, though he recognizes that Apuleius in his book on trees had disputed the identification; *Diosc.* 1, 115, 5, describes the fruit of the citron as *χρυσίζον τῇ χόρῳ*, or oranges (*Boetticher, Der Baumkultus d. Hellenen* (1856), 466-468; cf. Fée in the *Heyne-Lemaire* ed. of Virgil, 8, ciii-civ; Sittig in *P.-W.* 8 (1913), 1248; Gruppe in *P.-W.* 3 Supplbd. (1918), 1068). Against the tempting identification with the orange is the fact that that tree, apparently originating in South China or Burma, early cultivated in Hindustan, and carried by the Arabs to southwestern Asia, seems to have reached the Mediterranean only following the Moorish conquests; cf. Hehn, *op. cit.*, 442-456. Hence it seems more likely that some one of the other fruits I have mentioned was what Virgil had in mind. Allegorical interpretations (such as that of *Iambl. De Myst.* 5, 26, and that of Sallustius, *De Diis*, 4: *τὸ δὲ χρυσοῦν μῆλον τὸν κόσμον* (sc. *δηλοῖ*), or, in modern times, of Cook, *Zeus*, 2 (1925), 1014, who thinks the myth is stellar, the golden apples being golden stars) may have their place but were probably not what Dido or Virgil here had in mind.

486. spargens: cf. 7, 753-754 (of the Marruvian *sacerdos*): *graviter spirantibus hydrys / spargere qui somnos cantuque manuque solebat*; 12, 418-419 (of Venus): *spargitque salubris / ambrosiae sucos et odoriferam panaceam*. The word *spargens* probably refers to the sprinkling (cf. *Eitrem, Opferritus u. Voropfer d. Gr. u. Römer* (1915), 280, n. 3) of honey and poppy-seed, in some form, on the food, or to mixing the ingredients in the food (*Serv.*, quoted below), rather than to sprinkling the food (*offam*) on the ground; cf. *Serv.: id est miscens, ut Cicero (In Catil.* 2,

23) 'et spargere venena didicerunt.' nec incongrue ad amaritudinem amoris mel adhibet, ad oblivionem papaver.

Because of the adjective *soporiferum* (see below) Schrader deleted this line, while Ribbeck (*ad loc.*) placed it after 4, 517 and Cima (*Analecta Latina* (1901), 15) after 4, 509, all which courses seem unnecessary, though the verse may, of course, have stood in Virgil's own manuscript in some temporary position and have been inserted or left here by Varius and Tucca. Its remarkable rhythm (see below) marks it as something more than a mere interpolation.

That Medea drugged the Colchian snake, in order that the Golden Fleece might be stolen by Jason from its custody, is stated by many authors (e.g., Apoll. Rh. 4, 156-159: ἡ δὲ μὴν ἀρκέουσιν νέον τετμηότι θαλλῶ / βάπτουσ' ἐκ κυκλώσος ἀκήρατα φάρμακ' αἰδαῖς, / ῥαῖνε κατ' ὀφθαλμῶν / περί τ' ἀμφί τε νήριτος ὁδμή / φαρμάκου ἕπνον ἔβαλλε, κτλ.; Apollod. Bibl. 1, 9, 23 (cf. *Paroemiogr. Gr.* 1, III, no. 92): τὸν φυλάσσοντα δράκοντα κατακομίσασα τοῖς φαρμάκοις; Enn. Sc. 274: *draconis saevi sopivi impelum*; Hygin. Fab. 22: *dracone autem venenis sopito pellem de fano sustulit*; Ov. H. 12, 171: *potui sopire draconem*; M. 7, 149: *pervigilem superest herbis sopire draconem*; 7, 152-156: *hunc postquam sparsit Lelhaei gramine suci / verbaque ter dixit placidos facientia somnos, / quae mare turbatum, quae concita flumina sistunt, somnus in ignotos oculos sibi venit, et auro / heros Aesonius potitur*; Sen. Med. 703-704: *tu quoque relictis pervigil Colchis ades, / sopite primum cantibus, serpens, meis*; Val. Fl. 1, 60-63; 5, 238; 8, 69-74), and this account may have largely influenced Virgil's description. Certainly ability to put the serpent to sleep would attest the magical power of the priestess, like her control over rivers and stars described in 4, 489 (Plin. N. H. 28, 118, speaking of the crocodile, has a similar combination: *cauda flumina et aquarum impetus sisti, serpentis soporari*; cf. Pap. Gr. mag. 1, 76-78 Preisendanz: ἐγὼ εἰμι ὁ κλεισας ὀφρανοῦ δισσὰς πτυχὰς καὶ κοιμίσας δράκοντα τὸν ἠθεώρητον, στήσας θάλασσαν, ρείθρα, ποταμῶν νάματα, κτλ.; for that of the maga in Tib. 1, 2, 52: *feros Hecatae perdomuisse canes*, cf. Heinze, *Virgils epische Technik*, 3 ed. (1915),

143, n. o). Further, snakes were often charmed (cf. Smith on Tib. 1, 8, 20) or sometimes drugged, in order to kill them (Isid. Etym. 16, 14, 7) or for other purposes (Hertzog in *Hermes*, 29 (1894), 625-626), as was Cerberus (6, 420-423) by the Cumaeans Sibyl, or other guardians whom it was desirable to hoodwink (cf. Dryden, *Pal. and Arcile*, 2, 16-17, where wine, honey, and opium are used).

Why the priestess should thus neutralize by her action the very effect which the guardian dragon was intended to produce has disturbed scholars from the time of Servius, who remarks: *incongrue videtur positum ut soporifera species pervigili detur draconi*; and Heinze, *op. cit.*, 142-143, n. 3, considers that Virgil mingled here the idea of the Colchian dragon, which Medea had a good excuse for drugging, with the tradition of the dragon of the Hesperides.

Certain scholars (e.g., Heyne and Forbiger (*ad loc.*); Regel, *Quaest. Vergil.* (1866), 23; Henry, *Aeneidea*, 2 (1878), 766; Seaton in *Cl. Rev.* 3 (1889), 220; 10 (1896), 309; Penquitt, *De Didonis Vergilianae Exitu* (1910), 37; Kappes-Wörner *ad loc.*; cf. Knapp in *Cl. Philol.* 8 (1913), 357) have considered *soporiferum* a mere epitheton ornans (cf. G. 4, 545: *Lethaea papavera*), used with *papaver* to balance the adjective *umida* applied to *mella*. Virgil was not always happy in his choice of such epithets (cf. *Ecl.* 10, 66: *aquosae*; *Aen.* 11, 195: *ferventis*), as is remarked by Wunderlich (cf. Heyne-Wagner *ad loc.*). It should further be noted that in Ov. Tr. 5, 2, 24: *quotve soporiferum grana papaver habet*, the adjective is purely decorative, without especial appropriateness in the context. Yet other possibilities for the present line should be considered.

Servius's suggestion that the poppy, *licet del hominibus somnum, draconi adimil forsitan* is otherwise, I think, unsupported by ancient tradition. His other suggestion (followed by Gossrau in his first edition (1846) but not in his second (1876)) that a period be placed after *ramos* and line 486 be joined with what follows encounters another difficulty in deferring *haec*, which should begin the sentence, to the next line, and therefore can hardly be accepted. Knight (in *Cl.*

## 487. haec se carminibus promittit solvere mentis

praemittit *M* (promittit *M*<sup>1</sup>). mentes *MPp*.

487-491. haec . . . ornos: *Aug. C. D.* 21, 6 — mentes; inmittere; aquas *b*; ciet manes —; *Isid. Etym.* 8, 9, 6 — carminibus se *C*; uellet uelle *K*, quam uellet *C*<sup>1</sup>; alis du. in me inmit *K*; inmittere; fluminis (fluuiis *dell.*); ciet manes; subpendibus *K*; discindere *T* —; *S. Martin. Legion. Serm.* 7 (*Patr. Lat.* 208, 567) — mentes; ciet manes —. 487-488. haec . . . velit: *Porphy. in Hor. Ep.* 2, 2, 209 — mentes —.

*Weekly*, 26 (1933), 204, n. 9) believes that the poppy-seed "might have been explained as originally, perhaps from Minoan times (cf. Evans in *Journ. of Hellen. Stud.* 45 (1925), 15-17 and figg. 16-18), a fertility symbol, which, after it was forgotten that the snake itself was the spirit of the 'tree of life' rather than its guardian, came to be wrongly regarded as a drug to render the snake harmless", but this explanation seems over-subtle. Robert-Tornow (*De Apium Mellisque apud Veteres Significatione* (1893), 156-157) thought the honey was an offering made to the Hesperides as nymphs, while Trannoy (in *Rev. arch.* 27 (1928), 136-140) supposed that the dragon protected against human marauders while the honey and poppy were designed to lull to rest dangerous powers which the dragon could not avert, such as the winds; but this theory leaves inadequately explained why these particular offerings were selected and how they were made effective. Stephenson (*ad loc.*) suggests that these poisons were intended against other animals trespassing upon the sacred precinct but not for the dragon guardian. Sundry other explanations collected by Conington (*ad loc.*) and Kvčala (*Neue Beitr. z. Erkl. d. Aeneis* (1881), 136-138) hardly merit perpetuation here.

Much more probable seems the view of De la Ville de Mirmont (*Apollonios de Rhodes et Virgile* (1894), 153, n. 1) that the priestess had to feed the dragon but had also to protect the sacred branches against his fury, keeping him, by narcotics, in a state of somnolence from which she could arouse him in case of any sacrilegious attempt upon the sacred fruits. This theory derives some support from certain Oriental customs, as at Penang, where I have observed, in the so-

called 'Snake Temple', snakes of various sizes, apparently somewhat torpid from food or drugs, lying entirely unconfined upon the altars and the offerings thereon (cf. photographs in *Handbook of Brit. Malaya* (1930), opp. p. 35; Bilainkin, *Hail, Penang* (1932), opp. p. 139), and harmonizes with the explanation of Masera (*ad loc.*), who explains the adjective as meaning merely 'tranquilizing.'

For artistic representations of the scene described by Virgil cf. Henry, *op. cit.*, 2, 765; Sittig in *P.-W.* 8 (1913), 1246; Cook, *Zeus*, 2 (1925), 1151-1152, and fig. 967.

486. mella: frequent in the plural (cf. Braumüller, *Ueber Tropen u. Figuren in Vergil's Aeneis*, 1 (1877), 11), as in 15 out of 19 occurrences of the word in Virgil, who describes it as *roscida* (*Ecl.* 4, 30), *liquentia* (*Aen.* 1, 432), *spumantia* (*G.* 4, 140-141), *purissima* (*G.* 4, 163), *tenacia* (*G.* 4, 57), *dulcia* (*G.* 4, 101), *fragrantia* (*G.* 4, 169; *Aen.* 1, 436), etc. Honey was often the vehicle for medicines (*Lucr.* 1, 936-941) or poisons (*Otto, Strichwörter . . . der Römer* (1890), 217-218, to which add *Val. Fl.* 1, 63), and the combination of honey and poppy (*Paul. ex Fest.* p. 39 M. (p. 35 Lindsay): *cocetum genus edulii ex melle et papavere factum*; cf. *κυκεών*) is several times found: e.g., *Thuc.* 4, 26, where divers convey to *Pylos μήκωνα μεμελιτωμένην καὶ λίνου σπέρμα κεκομμένον*; *Hor. Ep.* 2, 3, 375: *Sardo cum melle papaver*; *Ov. F.* 4, 151-152: *nec pigeat tritum niveo cum lacte papaver / sumere et expressis mella liquata favis*; *Plin. N. H.* 19, 168: (*papaveris candidi* — probably our *Papaver somniferum* L.) . . . *semen tostum in secunda mensa cum melle apud antiquos dabatur*; 20, 208; *Val. Fl.* 8, 97 may refer to this: *mella dabam ac nostris nutribam fida venenis* (cf. *Aen.* 6, 420: *melle*

*soporatam et medicatis frugibus offam*); Petron. 1, 3: *mellitos verborum globulos et omnia dicta factaque quasi papavere et sesamo sparsa*; 31, 10: *glires melle ac papavere sparsos*; Diosc. 4, 64, 1; Steier in *P.-W.* 15 (1932); 2438. Honey was also a food of the gods (Usener in *Rh. Mus.* 57 (1902), 178-183; Penquitt, *op. cit.*, 37, and n. 3), associated with Hecate (Apoll. Rh. 3, 1035-1036; etc.), and, like bees (Pease on Cic. *De Div.* 1, 73; 1, 78; add also Borchart, *Hierozoicon* (1692 ed.), 510-533; Telfer in *Journ. of theol. Stud.* 28 (1927), 167-178, and works there cited), with chthonic beliefs and rites (Eitrem, *Opferrius u. Voropfer d. Gr. u. Römer* (1915), 104), and thus is often found in magic (Deubner, *De Incubatione* (1900), 46, and works there cited; Preisendanz, *Pap. Gr. mag.* 1 (1928), 2; 4; 16; 22; 50; 98; 104; 116; Schuster in *P.-W.* 15 (1931), 379-380). Sometimes it is given in liquid form (*umida*), sometimes in the shape of a honey-cake (*μελιτοῦρτα*; for which Herzog, in *Hermes*, 29 (1894), 625, compares Hdt. 8, 41; Hesych. s. v. οἰκουρὸν ὄφιν; Poll. 6, 76; cf. Ael. *N. A.* 11, 2; Schuster, *op. cit.*, 377-379); on the form here intended see the note on *papaver*, below.

For the caesura after *mella*, producing a line of unusually rich and rather sleepy rhythm, cf. Franzen, *Über den Unterschied des Hexameters bei Vergil u. Horaz* (1881), 8; Norden, 2 ed. of Book VI (1916), 434; also La Roche in *Wiener Stud.* 23 (1902), 125; G. 1, 357; *Aen.* 2, 9. With the rhythm Irvine (*ad loc.*) compares that of 7, 711: *Ereti manus omnis oliviferaeque Mutuscae*, while Marouzeau (in *Rev. des Études lat.* 11 (1933), 339) cites 5, 856 and certain lines in French poets.

**486. soporiferum:** first used here; cf. Ladewig, *De Vergilio Verborum Novatore* (1870), 5; Ov. *Tr.* 5, 2, 24: *quotve soporiferum grana papaver habet*; F. 4, 531-532: *illa soporiferum . . . / colligit agresti lene papaver humo*; Plin. *N. H.* 18, 229, who speaks of its *vis somnifera*. For the significance of the epithet cf. the note on *spargens*, above.

**486. papaver:** Virgil hardly makes clear in what form the poppy is used, but Henry (*op. cit.*, 2, 764) well compares certain cakes baked from a paste of honey and ground

poppy-seeds still eaten in Tyrol and in Poland. Ancient uses of the poppy include that of its seed, for seasoning, etc. (e.g., Athen. 14, 57; 14, 60; 14, 82), and that of the narcotic juice of its capsule (ὀπός, *opium*; with which Schmiedeberg (*Über die Pharmaka in der Ilias u. Odyssee* (1918), 9-14) identifies the Homeric *nepenthes*); cf. Plin. *N. H.* 20, 198-204 — important but too long to quote —, on different kinds of poppy and methods of preparation and use; Plut. *Quaest. conv.* 3, 1, 3; Diosc. 4, 63, 2; 4, 64, 2-3; 4, 64, 7; Apul. *Apol.* 32; Macrobi. *Sat.* 7, 6, 7; Marc. Emp. 8, 3; Isid. *Etym.* 17, 9, 31. The juice was dangerous, if taken in excess (Theophr. *H. P.* 9, 16, 8; Plin. *N. H.* 21, 180; 25, 130; Plut. *l. c.*; Apul. *l. c.*; but cf. Sext. Emp. 1, 14, 81), yet in moderation was used as an anodyne (Galen, *De Meth. Med.* 12, 1 (10, 816 Kühn); Diosc. 4, 64, 3; *id.*, *De Simplic.* 1, 6; Ambros. *Hexaem.* 3, 39), or, most commonly, to induce sleep; e.g., Arist. *De Somn. et Vig.* 3, 456 b 29-30, who mentions μήκων among τὰ ὑπνωτικά; Virg. G. 1, 78: *Lethaeo perfusa papavera somno* (where see Serv. and Prob.); 4, 545: *Lethaea papavera*; Ov. *Am.* 2, 6, 31: *causaeque papavera somni*; M. 11, 605-607: *papavera florent / innumeraeque herbae, quarum de lacte soporem / nox legit*; Tr. 5, 2, 24: *soporiferum . . . papaver*; F. 4, 547-548: *somnique papavera causas / dat tibi cum lepido lacte bibenda, puer*; 4, 661-662: *placidam redimita papavere frontem / Nox venit, et secum somnia nigra trahit*; Cels. 2, 32: *somno vero aptum est papaver*; Colum. 10, 104: *profugos vincitura papavera somnos*; Anth. Lat. no. 471, 7 (1, p. 345 Riese): *non sollicitos missura papavera somnos*; Plin. *N. H.* 18, 229; 20, 198-204; Diosc. *De Simplic.* 1, 11-13 (among ὑπνωτοιά); Lucian, *V. H.* 2, 33, who puts around the city of Sleep a grove of tall poppies and mandragoras; Athen. 5, 64: κάθυπνος ὡς μήκωνα φάρμακον πίνων; Seren. Sammon. 24: *amica papavera somno*; 987-988: *papaver / quo lila frons facilem praebebit nocte quietem*; Symphos. 40, 3 (of the *papaver*): *et me somnus amat*; Mythogr. Vat. III, 7, 1: *papaver soporem gignit*; Isid. *Etym.* 17, 9, 31; Politian, *Rusticus*, 190: *plenumque sopore papaver*; Spenser, *Faërie Queene*, Book 2, Canto 7, Stanza 52: "dead sleeping

488. quas velit, ast aliis duras immittere curas,

inmittere *Pp.*

[487\*] 488. duras curas: *Gl. Ansil.* 191, 160.

poppy"; Shakesp. *Othello*, Act 3, Sc. 3: "Not poppy, nor mandragora / Nor all the drowsy syrups of the world, / Shall ever medicine thee to that sweet sleep / Which thou owedst yesterday"; Steier in *P.-W.* 15 (1932), 2433-2446, especially 2437. In ancient art the poppy is often associated with Hypnos; cf. Winnefeld, *Hypnos* (1886), 13-14; Murr, *Die Pflanzenwelt in der gr. Myth.* (1890), 186; Jolles in *P.-W.* 9 (1916), 327. Like honey, the poppy also has its chthonic associations, being often used as a symbol of Demeter or Persephone (Kern in *P.-W.* 4 (1901), 2760-2761; cf. Evans in *Journ. of Hellen. Stud.* 45 (1925), 15-16; Nock in *Cl. Rev.* 39 (1925), 173, n. 4), and hence it and honey are appropriately offered to the *draco*, while the magic practices in which the *sacerdos* presently engages have a strongly chthonic character; e.g., 4, 510-512.

487. *haec*, etc.: the powers professed by the priestess are in the psychological, the physical, and the supernatural realms.

487. *carminibus*: commonly used, like *cantus* (7, 754-758) of formulae or rituals of a religious or magical character; cf. the Greek *ἐπωδαί*, as in Eur. *Hippol.* 478-479; Xen. *Mem.* 2, 6, 10: εἶναι μὲν τινὰς φασιν ἐπωδαί, ἀς οἱ ἐπιστάμενοι ἐπάδοντες οἷς ἂν βούλωνται (*quas velit* of line 488) φίλους αὐτοὺς ποιῶνται· εἶναι δὲ καὶ φίλτρα, οἷς οἱ ἐπιστάμενοι πρὸς οὓς ἂν βούλωνται χρώμενοι φιλοῦνται ὑπ' αὐτῶν. Many examples of this use of *carmen* (or *cantus*) are collected by Sutphen in *Stud. in Honor of Gildersleeve* (1902), 316, n. 2; *Thes. Ling. Lat.* 3 (1906), 464, 49-465, 52; Abt, *Die Apologie d. Apuleius* (1908), 96, n. 1; as typical may be cited *Ecl.* 8, 67: *nihil hic nisi carmina desunt*; 8, 70: *carminibus Circe socios mutavit Ulixi*; 8, 72; 8, 103; 8, 109; Hor. *Epod.* 5, 71-72: *solutus ambulat veneficae / scientioris carmine*; 17, 4; 17, 28; *Serm.* 1, 8, 19; Ov. *Am.* 1, 8, 18 (cf. *Rem. Am.* 252-254; 259-260: *nulla recantatas deponent pectora curas, / nec fugiet vivo sul-*

*pure victus amor*; 290); 2, 1, 23-27; 3, 7, 28-32; *Ars am.* 2, 104; *M.* 4, 49; 7, 137; 7, 167: *quid enim non carmina possunt*; 7, 195; 7, 203; 7, 208; 7, 253; 14, 20; *F.* 2, 426; Tib. 1, 2, 44; 1, 2, 54; 1, 2, 59-60: *haec eadem se dixit amores / cantibus aut herbis solvere posse meos*; 1, 5, 12; 1, 8, 17; 1, 8, 23; Prop. 1, 1, 24; 2, 28, 35; Val. Fl. 6, 448; Juv. 6, 133; Plin. *N. H.* 28, 10: *verba et incantamenta carminum*; 28, 12; 28, 21; Jevons, *Anthropology and the Classics* (1908), 94; Fahz, *De Poet. Rom. Doctr. magica* (1904), 116; D'Alton, *Horace and his Age* (1917), 211.

487. *promittit*: cf. Plin. *N. H.* 37, 124: *magorum vanitas ebrietati eas (sc. gemmas) resistere promittit*.

487. *solvere*: Schol. Dan.: *cura liberare* (supplied from *curas* in the next line), but it is perfectly possible to use the verb without an ablative of separation; cf. 10, 111; Hor. *Epod.* 5, 71-72; C. 1, 27, 21-22; etc. *Solvere* is the opposite of *vincire* or *alligare*, and of the idea in the ὑμνον . . . δέσμων of Aesch. *Eum.* 306. We find here repeated the two types of loosing and binding magic already noted (4, 479, n. (*quae*, etc.), above). Might this be suggested to a Westerner by Matt. 16, 19: δ ἐὰν δήσῃς ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἔσται δεδεμένον ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς, καὶ δ ἐὰν λύσῃς ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἔσται λελυμένον ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς? Excessive love was imagined as due to magic (Smith on Tib. 1, 2, 59-62), and hence might be removed by magical means (4, 479: *me solvat amantem*; cf. Hor. *Epod.* 5, 71 (quoted above); 17, 45: *et tu (potes nam) solve me dementia*; C. 1, 27, 21-22: *quae saga, quis te solvere Thessalis / magus venenis, quis poterit deus*; Tib. 1, 2, 59-60 (quoted above; cf. Smith *ad loc.*); Prop. 1, 4, 15: *nostros contendis solvere amores*; 3, 21, 2: *ut me longa gravi solvat amore via*; the refrain in Nemes. *Ecl.* 4: *cantet, amat quod quisque; levant et carmina curas*; also Bruns, *Vorträge u. Aufsätze* (1905), 321-356 (on love-charms in

## 489. sistere aquam fluviis et vertere sidera retro,

aqua *F* (aquam *F*<sup>1</sup>).

[487\*] 489. sistere . . . retro: *Aug. C. D.* 21, 8; [*Acro*] in *Hor. Epod.* 17, 5. 489. sistere . . . fluviis: *Anth. Lat.* no. 17, 175 (1, p. 68 Riese); *Isid. Diff.* 1, 516; *Gl. Placid.* 34, 19. 489. et . . . retro: *Anth. Lat.* no. 17, 62 (1, p. 64 Riese).

the Augustan poets); Penquitt, *De Didonis Vergilianae Exilu* (1910), 38-39, and n. 2).

With the present infinitive dependent upon *promittit* cf. 4, 425, and n. (*exscindere*); 5, 18: *sperem . . . contingere*; Kühner-Stegmann, *Ausf. Gram. d. lat. Spr.* 2, 1, 2 ed. (1912), 690. Yet there is something of a present notion as well as a future one in the infinitive, as in our phrase "profess to set free," meaning both that she habitually does it and also that she will in a particular case.

488. *quas velit*: one of the formulae of magic; cf. οἷς ἂν βούλωνται in *Xen. Mem.* 2, 6, 10, quoted at 4, 487, n. (*carminibus*); *δταν θέλῃς* in *Pap. Gr. mag.* 1, 8 Preisendanz; *cum volui* in *Ov. M.* 7, 199; *cum libet* of *Tibull.* 1, 2, 49. Cf. also *Pap. Gr. mag.* 2, 159, no. 34 Preisendanz: . . . *στήσεται, κἂν σελήνῃ κελύσω καταβήσεται, κἂν κωλύσαι θελήσω τὴν ἡμέραν, ἢ νύξ μοι μενεῖ, κτλ.* (cf. Bonner in *Trans. Am. philol. Assoc.* 52 (1921), 115-118).

488. *ast*: in archaic and archaistically solemn Latin used before both vowels and consonants; in the Augustan poets usually for *at* before vowels where a long syllable is necessary. Of 19 cases in the Virgilian corpus all but one (10, 743, where the reading is a little uncertain and where a solemn effect is intended) precede a vowel (cf. *Thes. Ling. Lat.* 2 (1900), 943, 54-63, for cases in verse before a consonant), and all but one (10, 173) receive an ictus. The word has an affinity for pronouns and such words as *alius* (cf. *Thes. Ling. Lat.* 2, 943, 63-944, 5); thus it is followed in 7 cases by *ille*, in 5 by *alius*, in 2 by *ego*, and once each by *ipse* and *ubi*; cf. Norden on *Aen.* 6, 316.

488. *aliis*: supply either *mentibus* (dative) or *carminibus* (ablative).

488. *duras*: *Schol. Dan.*: *bene duras affectu, quo ipsa passa est, dixit*; cf. *Tib.* 3, 6, 7: *ile procul durum, curae, genus*; *Sil.* 11, 371-372: *duras . . . curas*; *Nemes. Ecl.* 1, 59: *duras docuisti fallere curas*.

488. *immittere curas*: *Buscaroli (ad loc.)* compares *Sen. H. O.* 554: *immitte amorem*; *Val. Fl.* 7, 352-353: *maiora precatur / carmina, maiores Hecaten inmittere vires*, etc.; the opposite of *avertere curas* (4, 394) and *mittere* (6, 85: *mitte hanc de pectore curam*; *Val. Fl.* 4, 489: *mittere curas*) or *remittere* (*Stat. Silv.* 2, 1, 57: *quis curas mentisque arcana remittat?*). On the meaning of *curas* see 4, 1, n. (*cura*); cf. *Sil.* 8, 101: (*vales*) *spondentique novis medicamina curis*.

489. *sistere*, etc.: cf. *Apoll. Rh.* 3, 528-533: *κούρη τις μεγάροισιν ἐνιτρέφετ' Αἰήταο / τὴν Ἑκάτη περιάλλα θεὰ δᾶε τεχνήσασθαι / φάρμαχ', ὅσ' ἡπειρός τε φύει καὶ νήχυτον ὕδωρ. / τοῖσι καὶ ἀκαμάτοιο πυρὸς μελίσσεται / αὐτμή, / καὶ ποταμοὺς Ἰσθησιν ἄφαρ κελαδεῖν ῥέοντας, / ἄστρα τε καὶ μῆνης ἱερῆς ἐπέδωκε κελείθους*. Other noteworthy passages on the power of charms and witches are *Tibull.* 1, 2, 43-52 (43-44: *hanc (sc. sagam) ego de caelo ducentem sidera vidi, / fluminis haec rapidi carmine vertit iter*); 1, 8, 19-22 (21: *cantus ei e curru lunam deducere templat*); *Ov. Am.* 2, 1, 23-26: *carmina sanguineae deducunt cornua lunae, / et revocant niveos solis euntis equos; / carmine dissiliunt abruptis faucibus angues, / inque suos fontes versa recurrit aqua*; etc.; *H.* 6, 85-88: *illa reluctantem cursu deducere lunam / nititur et tenebris abdere solis equos; / illa refrenat aquas obliquaque flumina sistit*, etc.; *Rem. Am.* 253-259: *me duce non tumulto prodire iubebitur umbra, / . . . / . . . / ut solet, aequoreas ibit Tiberinus in undas; / ut solet, in niveis luna vehetur equis. / nulla recantatas deponent pectora curas*, etc.; *M.* 7, 199-214 (199-200: *quorum ope, cum volui, ripis mirantibus amnes / in fontes rediere suos*; 207-209: *te quoque, luna, traho . . . / . . . currus quoque carmine nostro / pallet avi*); *Ex Pont.* 4, 6, 45-48: *Hister / in caput Euxino de mare vertit iter, / utque Thyesteae redeant si tempora mensae, / solis ad eoas currus agelur aquas*; *Sil.* 8, 500-501: *et lunam*

## 490. nocturnosque movet manis; mugire videbis

mouet manis *MPc* (ciet manes *P<sup>2</sup>*), mouit amnis *F* (mouit manes *F<sup>1</sup>*, ciet manes *F<sup>4</sup>*), ciet manes γαβπ. mugere *F* (mugire *F<sup>1</sup>*).

[487\*]

excussisse polo, stridoribus amnes / frenan-  
tem; Apul. *M.* 1, 3: istud mendacium tam  
verum est quam si quis velit dicere magico susur-  
ramine amnes agiles reverti . . . solem inhiberi  
lunam despumari, stellas evelli, etc.; 1, 8:  
saga . . . potens caelum deponere . . . fontes  
durare . . . manes sublimare . . . sidera ex-  
tinguere; 3, 15: iam scies erae meae miranda  
secreta, quibus obaudiunt manes, turbantur  
sidera, etc.

Such supernatural power was most clearly  
shown in miracles, particularly of the kind  
known in rhetoric as ἀδύνατα (e.g., *Ecl.* 1,  
59-63; 3, 90-91; *G.* 2, 42-44; *Aen.* 6, 625-  
627; 12, 202-211; cf. Haackermann, *Ex-  
plicat. Vergil. Specimen* (1853), 21; Hunz-  
ker, *Die Figur der Hyperbel in d. Gedichten  
Vergils* (1896), 140-142; von Boltenstern,  
*Schillers Vergilstudien*, 2 (1900), 10; Dedo,  
*De Antiquorum Superstitione amatoria* (1904),  
27-30; Smith on *Tibull.* 1, 4, 65-66 (1913);  
Kroll, *Stud. z. Verständnis d. röm. Lit.* (1924),  
166; Canter, *Rhet. Elements in the Trag. of  
Seneca* (1925), 60-62, and n. 6; Eitrem in  
*Papyri Osloenses*, 1 (1925), 65-69; McCart-  
ney in *Cl. Journ.* 22 (1927), 334-336; Pease  
in *Cl. Journ.* 22 (1927), 651, and n. 44; and  
especially Canter in *Am. Journ. of Philol.* 51  
(1930), 32-41; Eitrem in *Symbolae Osloenses*,  
12 (1933), 35). Cf. [Quintil.] *Declam.* 10,  
15: homo cuius ars est ire contra naturam.

The stopping or turning backward of  
streams appears frequently; e.g., *Eur. Med.*  
410: ἄνω ποταμῶν ἱερῶν χωροῦσι παγαί (a  
phrase which became proverbial; cf. *Cic. Ad  
Att.* 15, 4 a, 1; *Luc. Apol.* 1; *Julian, Or.* 6;  
*Suid.* s. v. ἄνω ποταμῶν; *Paroemiogr. Gr.* 1, 47,  
no. 56; 1, 185, no. 27; 2, 96, no. 28; 2, 144,  
no. 7; 2, 286, no. 92; 2, 747, no. 20; *Otto,  
Sprichwörter . . . der Römer* (1890), 139);  
*Dion. Hal.* 7, 3, 3: οἱ παρὰ τὰ στρατόπεδα  
ῥέοντες αὐτῶν ποταμοί . . . ἀφέντες τὰς κατὰ  
φύσιν δόους ἀνέστρεψαν τὰ νάματα καὶ μέχρη  
πολλοὺ διετέλεσαν ἀπὸ τῶν στομάτων ἀναχω-

ροῦντες ἐπὶ τὰς πηγάς; *Verg. G.* 1, 469: sistunt  
amnes; *Aen.* 11, 405: amnis et Hadriacas  
retro fugit Aufidus undas; *Cul.* 278: iam  
rapidi steterant amnes (like several cases be-  
low, at the music of Orpheus); 281; *Hor.*  
*Epod.* 16, 28; *C.* 1, 12, 9-10: (Orpheus)  
rapidus morantem / fluminum lapsus; 1, 29,  
10-12: quis neget arduis / pronos relabi posse  
rivos / montibus et Tiberim reverti; 3, 11, 13-  
14: tu (sc. Mercuri) potes . . . / . . . rivos  
celeris morari; *Ov. Am.* 1, 8, 5-6: illa magas  
artes Aeaeaeque carmina novit / inque caput  
liquidus arte recurvat aquas; *H.* 5, 29-30:  
cum Paris Oenone poterit spirare relictas, / ad  
fontem Xanthi versa recurret aqua; *Medic.*  
*Fac. fem.* 40; *M.* 7, 153-154: verbaque ter  
dixit . . . / . . . quae concita flumina sistunt;  
13, 324; *Tr.* 1, 8, 1-2: in caput alta suum  
labentur ab aequore retro / flumina, conversis  
solque recurret equis; *Ex Pont.* 4, 5, 43; *Prop.*  
1, 1, 23-24: tunc ego crediderim vobis et sidera  
et amnes / posse Cylaines ducere carminibus;  
2, 15, 33: fluminaque ad caput incipient revo-  
care liquores; 3, 19, 6: fluminaque ad fontis  
sint reditura caput; *Calp.* 2, 15: et tenere  
suos properantia flumina cursus; *Sen. H. F.*  
573: ars quae praebuerat fluminibus moras;  
*Phoen.* 85-86: reget in fontem citas / revo-  
lutus undas amnis; *Thy.* 115-117; *H. O.*  
1040: dum fluminibus mora est; *Luc.* 6, 473-  
474; *Val. Fl.* 6, 441-443: illius (Medeae) ad  
fremilus sparsosque per avia sucos / sidera  
fixa pavent, et avi stupet orbila Solis; / mutat  
agros fluviumque vias; *Plin. N. H.* 2, 232:  
amnis retro fluere et nostra vidit aetas Neronis  
principis supremis; *Sil.* 5, 253-254; *Dio  
Cass.* 47, 40, 5 (42 B. C.): ποταμοί . . . οἱ  
μὲν παντάπασιν ἐξέλιπον οἱ δ' ἀνάπαλιν ῥεῖν  
ἤρξαντο; *Ambros. Hexaem.* 2, 11: Iordanis  
quoque reflexo amne in suum fontem revertitur  
(cf. 3, 6; *id.*, *De Myst.* 51; *Joshua*, 3, 13-16;  
*Ps.* 114, 3; *Aug. Ep.* 23, 4: hoc sacramentum  
etiam Iordanem fluvium refrenavit et reduxit  
in fontem; *Pap. Gr. mag.* 1, 170 Preisendanz:

μέγαν θεόν Σαβαώθ, δι' ὃν ὁ Ἰορδάνης ποταμὸς ἀνεχώρησεν εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω); Anon. *Panegy. Const.* 22, 2: *dicuntur interdum flumina resistere*; [Auson.] ap. Auct. de dub. *Nomin.* (G. L. K. 5, 579): *redite rursum flumina*; Claud. *In Rufin.* 1, 159-160; *In Eutrop.* 1, 353; Mart. Cap. 9, 907: *Tanais versis saepe reflatus aquis*; Isid. *Etym.* 16, 11, 1: *magi sufflū eorum, si creditur, tempestates avertunt, flumina sistunt*; *Pap. Gr. mag.* 1, 8 Preisendanz: πῆξει δὲ ποταμοὺς . . . καθίζει σοῦ θελψαντός ποτε τὸν ἄφρον ἄλ(δρομ)ον, καὶ ὅταν θέλψῃ ἄστρα κατενεγκύν, κτλ.; 1, 40: μείνατέ μοι, ποταμῶν τε βοαὶ καὶ νάματα ν(ασμῶ)ν; 1, 78: στήσας θάλασσαν, ρεῖθρα, ποταμῶν νάματα; Vida, *Christias*, 2, 492; 4, 550: *verso sistet vaga flumina cursu*; San-nazaro, *Ecl.* 5, 34-35; *sistere qui pluvias . . . / qui polis est*; *De Partu Virg.* 2, 22: *celerēs sistunt vaga flumina cursu*; Weber in *Abh. Berl. Akad. Wiss.*, phil.-hist. Kl., 1858, 336; 340 (Vedic instances); Smith on Tibull. 1, 4, 65-66; Pease on Cic. *De Div.* 1, 78. The opposite of the miraculous form is expressed in *Aen.* 1, 607: *in freta dum fluvii current*.

489. *fluvii*: probably dative.

489. *vertere*: Schol. Dan.: *utrum ut videatur etiam in caelo potestatem habere, an etiam fata posse mutare, quae secundum mathematicos sideribus gubernantur? et multi sidera hic planetas accipiunt, quia reliqua caelo adfixa sunt*. To magic was ascribed the power of staying heavenly bodies in their course (e.g., *Anth. Lat.* no. 490, 4-6 (2, p. 46 Riese): *nunc esto affatus, si quo te nomine dignum est, / quo sacer ignoto gaudes, quo maxima tellus / intremil et sistunt rapidos vaga sidera cursu*; *Joshua*, 10, 12-13; *Hab.* 3, 11), as well as the widespread belief that eclipses were caused by witches drawing down the sun or moon from the sky (e.g., Hippocr. *De Morb. sac.* 4: εἰ γὰρ σελήνην καθαιρεῖν καὶ ἥλιον ἀφανίζειν . . . ὑποδέχονται ἐπίστασθαι, κτλ.; Ar. *Nub.* 749-750: γυναικα φαρμακιδ' εἰ πρίμνος Θερταλὴν / καθέλοιμι νύκτωρ τὴν σελήνην, κτλ.; Plat. *Gorg.* 513a: ὅπως μὴ . . . πεισόμεθα ὅπερ φασὶ τὰς τὴν σελήνην καθαιρούσας, τὰς Θερταλίδας; Verg. *Ecl.* 8, 69: *carmina vel caelo possunt deducere lunam*; Hor. *Epod.* 5, 45-46: *quae sidera excantata voce Thessala / lunamque caelo*

*deripit*; 17, 4-5: *per atque libros carminum valentium / refixa caelo devocare sidera*; 17, 77-79: *polo / deripere lunam vocibus possim meis, / possim crematos excitare mortuos*; Tibull. 1, 2, 43 (see above); 1, 8, 21-22 (see above); Prop. 1, 1, 19: *at vos, deductae quibus est fallacia lunae*; 1, 1, 23-24; 3, 28 b, 3: *luna negat lotiens descendere caelo*; 5, 5, 13: *audax cantatae leges imponere lunae*; Ov. *Am.* 2, 1, 23 (see above); H. 6, 85-86: *illa reluctantem cursu deducere lunam / nititur*; *Medic. Fac. fem.* 42; M. 12, 263-264: *Mycale, quam deduxisse canendo / saepe reluctanti constabat cornua lunae*; Manil. 1, 94; Petron. 134, 12, 8-9: *lunae descendit imago / carminibus deducta meis*; Sen. *Phaedr.* 420-421: *sic te regentem frena nocturni aetheris / detrahare numquam Thessali cantus queant*; H. O. 467-468: *carmine in terras mago / descendat astris luna desertis licet*; Luc. 6, 499-506; Plut. *Coniug. Praecept.* 48; *De Pyth. Orac.* 12: ὥσπερ αἱ Θερταλαὶ κατὰγων τὴν σελήνην καὶ τὸν ἥλιον; *De Def. Orac.* 13; Plin. *N. H.* 25, 10 (of eclipses): *durat tamen tradita persuasio in magna parte volgi veneficiis et herbis id cogi eamque unam feminarum scientiam praevalere*; 30, 7: *ombages feminarum detrahentium lunam*; Lucian, *Philopseud.* 14; Philostr. *Vit. Apoll.* 8, 7, 9: ἐν Θερταλίᾳ . . . οὐ τὰ γύναια κακῶς ἤκουον ἐπὶ τῇ τῆς σελήνης ἔλξει; Hippol. *Philosophum.* 4, 37; Ambros. *Hexaem.* 4, 32; Basil, *Homil. in Hexaem.* 6, 11; Aug. *C. D.* 10, 16; Claud. *In Rufin.* 1, 146-147: *novi quo Thessala cantu / eripiat lunare iubar*; *Anth. Pal.* 11, 262, 1-2: αἰθερίην διὰ νύκτα νέοι κατὰγουσι Σελήνην / ἥτθεοι Φαρίης ἀνδρα τεμνομένην; *Paroemiogr. Gr.* 2, 417, no. 81 (explaining the proverb ἐπὶ σαντῶ τὴν σελήνην καθέλκεις); *Pap. Gr. mag.* 1, 8 Preisendanz: καὶ ὅταν θέλψῃ ἄστρα κατενεγκύν, κτλ.; 1, 140-146; Roscher, *Über Selene u. Verwandtes* (1890), 87-90; Hopfner in *P.-W.* 14 (1928), 375; De Waele in *P.-W.* 2 ser. 3 (1929), 1915 (and works there cited, including a representation in art; cf. Boll, *Die Sonne im Glauben u. in der Weltanschauung der alten Völker* (1922), pl. 2, fig. 3); Marlowe, *Faustus*, Act 1, Sc. 3: "Be it to make the moon drop from her sphere"; Milton, *Par. lost*, 2, 665-666: "while the labouring moon / Eclipses at their charms"; Dryden, *Threnod. Augusta-*



## 491. sub pedibus terram et descendere montibus ornos.

descere *F* (descendere *F*<sup>1</sup>).

[487\*] 491. sub . . . ornos: *Gl. Ansil.* 283, 127 — hornos —. 491. descendere . . . ornos: *Anth. Lat. no. 17, 175* (1, p. 68 Riese) — deducere (*sed cf. Ecl.* 6, 71) —.

*lis*: "the labouring moon / By charms of art was hurried down").

In a few instances witches and charms could apparently do the even more difficult act of reversing the movements of a heavenly body (e.g., Isaiah, as described in *Ecclus.* 48, 22-23). The most famous case, however, of such retrograde motion was that of the sun, caused not by magic but by horror at the banquet of Thyestes (*Eur. El.* 737-742; *I. T.* 193-195; *Ov. Ex Pont.* 4, 6, 47-48; *Sen. Thy.* 101-121; 784-804; Heidel in *Am. Journ. of Philol.* 45 (1924), 210). Cf. also on this subject Hdt. 2, 142-144; *Manil.* 3, 18-19: (*referam*) *conversaue sidera retro / ereptumque diem*.

490. *nocturnos*: Schol. Dan.: *utrum quia in nocte sunt, an quia per noctem evocantur, an noctu?* and they quote *Cic. Pro Mil.* 33: *nocturnis canibus*; cf. *G.* 4, 303; 3, 407; 4, 521; *Aen.* 4, 303, n. (*nocturnus*); 4, 609; 6, 252 (cf. *Val. Fl.* 6, 440); *Hor. Ep.* 2, 2, 209: *nocturnos lemures*. On the dislike of the spirits of the dead for the light of day — they live either in darkness or in a peculiar kind of light of their own; cf. 6, 640-641 — see 5, 738-739; 8, 246: *trepidant immisso lumine manes*. Because of this dislike evocation of spirits commonly occurs at night (e.g., *Sil.* 8, 100-101: *dum numina noctis / eliciunt*), and magic in general is associated with darkness; cf. Pharr in *Trans. Am. philol. Assoc.* 63 (1932), 284.

490. *movet*: the lack of parallelism between this verb and the infinitives *solvere*, *immiltere*, *sistere*, and *verlere* has been noted by commentators and others (cf. Hahn, *Coordination of non-coordinate Elements in Vergil* (1930), 222); there is perhaps, however, an intentional climax, which the indicative well expresses: the priestess professes (487) to do certain things; she does actually conjure up the shades, and you shall yourself see certain effects produced by her.

Many editors here accept the reading *ciet*, which makes good sense, but the weight of MS evidence is for *movet*, as is also the alliteration: *movet manis mugire*. As noted by Page and Buscaroli (*ad loc.*), *movet* often suggests a sacrilegious act: cf. *Hor. Epod.* 17, 3; *Ep.* 2, 3, 471-472: *triste bidental / moverit incestus*.

490. *manis*: of the spirits rather than of their corpses (cf. 4, 427, n. (*manes*), above), for the priestess is a necromancer rather than a grave-robber. The geographical distribution, history, ritual, and general purpose of necromancy I have summarized in a note on *Cic. De Div.* 1, 132; to the bibliography there noted add Frazer on *Paus.* 3, 17, 9; Jobbé-Duval, *Les Morts malfaisants* (1924), 99-100; Hopfner, *Gr.-ägypt. Offenbarungszauber*, 2 (1924), 49-50; Mackail, *Cl. Stud.* (1925), 178; Spargo, *Virgil the Necromancer* (1934), 51.

Typical references begin with *Od.* 10, 522-530 (prescriptions carried out in 11, 30-43; cf. the following context); *Aesch. Pers.* 619-842 (evocation of the ghost of Darius); *Frag.* 273-278 Sidgwick (of the play called *Ψυχαγωγοί*); Hdt. 5, 92 (of a *νεκρομαντήριον* near the River Acheron); *Plat. Legg.* 10, 909 b (penalties for τοὺς . . . τεθνεώτας φάσκοντες ψυχαγωγείν); *Cic. In Valin.* 14: *cum inaudita ac nefaria sacra susceperis, cum infernorum animas elicere, cum puerorum extis deos manes mactare soleas*; *Virg. Ecl.* 8, 98-99: *saepe animas imis excire sepulcris / atque satas alio vidi traducere messis*; *Hor. Epod.* 17, 79: *possim crematos excitare mortuos*; *S.* 1, 8, 28-29: *crur in fossam confusus, ut inde / manis elicerent, animas responsa daturas*; *Tib.* 1, 2, 45-46: *haec cantu finditque solum manesque sepulcris / elicit*; *Ov. Am.* 1, 8, 17-18: *evocat antiquis proavos atavosque sepulcris / et solidam longo carmine findit humum*; *Rem. Am.* 253-254: *me duce non tumulto prodire iubebitur umbra, / non*

*anus infami carmine rumpet humum*; *M.* 7, 206: *et mugire solum manesque exire sepulcris*; 14, 406-411: *exsiluere loco — dictu mirabile — silvae, / ingemuitque solum . . . / . . . / . . . / . . . et tennes animae volitare silentum*; *Plut. Cimon*, 6, 6: κατέφυγε πρὸς τὸ νεκρομαντεῖον εἰς Ἡράκλειαν καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ἀνακαλούμενος τῆς Κλεονίκης παρηρτεῖτο τὴν ὁργὴν (cf. *De sera Num. Vind.* 10; 17); *Hom. Exercit.* 1: ψυχαγωγοὶ τινες γόητες ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ οὕτω καλούμενοι, οἵτινες καθαρμοῖς τισι καὶ γοηταῖς τὰ εἰδῶλα ἐπάγουσι τε καὶ ἐξάγουσιν, κτλ.; *Sen. Oed.* 530-658 (an important passage, from which a few phrases may be here quoted: 561-563: *carmenque magicum volvit et rabido minax / decantat ore quicquid aut placat leves / aut cogit umbras*; 574-577: *subsedit omnis silva et erexit comas, / duxere rimas robora et lotum nemus / concussit horror, terra se retro dedit / gemuitque penitus*; 582: *subito dehiscit terra*); *H. O.* 458-460: *discussi fores / umbrasque Diis, et mea iussi prece / manes locuntur*; *Luc.* 6, 589-830 (a famous scene); *Plin. N. H.* 24, 160: *aglaophotim herbam . . . hac magos uli cum velint deos evocare*; 28, 104; 30, 14; 30, 18; 37, 192; *Sil.* 1, 95-98: *immugit tellus . . . / tum magico volitant cantu per inania manes / exciti*; *Val. Fl.* 3, 408; 6, 448; *Tac. Ann.* 2, 28, 3: *Iunius quidam, templatus ut infernas umbras carminibus eliceret*; [*Clem.*] *Recognit.* 1, 5; *Lucian, Philopseud.* 13: ὅσα ἐπεδέκνυτο ἔρωτας ἐπιπέμπων καὶ δαίμονας ἀνάγων καὶ νεκροὺς ἑώλους ἀνακαλῶν καὶ τὴν Ἐκάτην αὐτὴν ἐναργῆ παριστάς καὶ τὴν Σελήνην κατασπῶν; 14 (a detailed account); *Suet. Ner.* 34: *facto per magos sacro evocare manes et exorare temptavit*; *Philostr. Vit. Apollon.* 4, 11; 4, 15-16; *Lact. Inst.* 7, 13, 7: *qui profecto non audent de interitu animarum mago aliquo praesente deserere, qui sciret certis carminibus cieri ab inferis animas et adesse et praebere se humanis oculis videndas et loqui et futura praedicere, etc.*; *Zacchaeus, Consultat.* 1, 13 (*Patr. Lat.* 20, 1080 A-B); *Dict. Cret.* 6, 5; *Helioid. Aethiop.* 6, 14-15 (a full and thrilling account); *Hier. Comm. in Is.* 9, p. 389 *Vall.*: *magorum νεκρομαντείαν per quam animas evocare dicuntur, et tennes umbrarum, immo daemonum, audire voces*; *Claud. In Rufin.* 1, 154-156: *saeptis horrendos manes sacrisque*

*lilavi / nocturnis Hecaten et condita funera traxi / carminibus victura meis*; *Prud. Cont. Symm.* 1, 96-97: *murmure nam magico tennes excire figuras / atque sepulcrales scite incantare favillas*; *Dracont. De Laud. Dei*, 2, 333-335: *sollicitant animas mortis iam lege quietas / cantibus infaustis, herbis atque arte nefanda / et responsa petunt tenebris de voce sepulcri*; *Anth. Lat.* no. 406 (1, p. 315 Riese); on the evocation of the shade of Pompey); the formula in *Pap. Gr. mag.* 1, 120 *Preisendanz*: ἀναπέψατέ μοι τῶν νεκρῶν τούτων εἰδῶλα πρὸς ὑπηρεσίαν ἐν τῇ ἄρτι ὥρᾳ ἀνυπερθέτως, ἵνα πορευθέντες ἄξωσί μοι, τῷ δέῖνα, τὴν δέῖνα τῆς δέῖνα; *Isid. Etym.* 8, 9, 11; *Shakesp. II Hen. VI*, Act 1, Sc. 4. The value of the services of the dead lay, perhaps, less in any superior knowledge upon their part than in the fact that they spoke the truth, having nothing to gain by deceit; cf. *Artemid. Onirocr.* 2, 69. *Iambl. De Myst.* 1, 9, tries to explain why, although the gods are in heaven, theurgists invoke subterranean powers.

**490. mugire**: an opening had to be made for the spirits to emerge from the lower world, and this was commonly accompanied by a rumbling noise or a slight earthquake. In addition to *Ov. Am.* 1, 8, 18; *M.* 7, 206; 14, 407; *Sen. Oed.* 577; 582; *Sil.* 1, 95 (all quoted above), cf. *Aen.* 6, 256-257: *sub pedibus mugire solum et iuga coepta moveri / silvarum* (before the coming of Hecate); *Luc.* 3, 417-418: *fama ferebat / saepe cavas motu terrae mugire cavernas*; *Philostr. Vit. Apollon.* 4, 16 (just before the ghost of Achilles appears): σεισμός μὲν περὶ τὸν κολωνόν βραχὺς ἐγένετο; *Anth. Lat.* no. 406, 4 (1, p. 315 Riese): *magico carmine rumpit humum*. On this use of *mugire* cf. *G.* 3, 150; 3, 554; *Aen.* 3, 92; 3, 674; also *Cic. De Div.* 1, 35: *terrae saepe fremitus, saepe mugitus, saepe motus*; *Addit. Prosp. Havn.* p. 299 *Mommson*: *per dies VII Romae in foro Pacis terra mugitum dedit*.

**490. videbis**: used, by poetic zeugma, with both *mugire* and *descendere*; for its use with the former cf. *Ecl.* 9, 58: *adspice ventosi ceciderunt murmuris aurae*; *Aen.* 6, 256-257: *mugire solum et iuga coepta moveri / silvarum visaeque canes ululare*; *Ov. Tr.* 3, 8, 37-38: *cumque locum moresque hominum cultusque*

## 492. testor, cara, deos et te, germana, tuumque

deos *m. rec. add. in ras.* π.

492-493. testor . . . artis: *Aug. C. D.* 8, 19 — testor (*corr. in testor*) *C*; capud *C'de*; inuitum *C*; artes —; *Prisc. Inst.* 18, 133 (*G. L. K.* 3, 270) — teger mana *Vul*; dulcae *M*; capud *R*; artes —; *Asper*, p. 540 *Hagen* — te g. t. d. c. m. i. a. a. —. 492-493. tuumque . . . artis: *Prisc. Inst.* 17, 102 — perque tuumque *N*; dulce *add. r*; capud *RD*; magis *D*; accingear *R*; artes —.

*sonumque / cernimus*; *Prop.* 2, 16, 49: *vidistis toto sonitus percurrere caelo*; also *Aesch. Prom.* V. 115: τίς ἀχώ, τίς ὁδὸν προσέπτα μ' ἀφεγγής; *Sept.* 103: κτύπον δέδορκα; this usage is discussed at length by *Aug. Conf.* 10, 54. In our line the sound and the visible movement are probably considered, as *Mac-kail (ad loc.)* remarks, as a single phenomenon. The subject of *videbis* may be Anna, or, possibly, indefinite (so *Serv.*: *videbit quis*, comparing *cernas* in 4, 401).

491. sub pedibus: as a verse-beginning in *Ecl.* 5, 57; *G.* 1, 243; *Aen.* 2, 227; 6, 256.

491. descendere, etc.: cf. *Ecl.* 8, 99; *Aen.* 6, 256-257: *iuga coepta moveri / silvarum*; *Tib.* 1, 8, 19; for the effects of magic on vegetation (comparable to that of the music of Orpheus, as in *Hor. C.* 1, 12, 11-12) cf. *XII Tab.* ap. *Plin. N. H.* 28, 17; *Ov. Am.* 3, 7, 31; *Rem. Am.* 255; *H.* 6, 88: *illa loco silvas vivaque saxa movet*; *M.* 7, 205: *silvas moveo*; *Sen. Oed.* 574-576; *Stat. Theb.* 7, 115: *aut nulare solum aut veteres descendere silvas*; *Cayado, Ecl.* 6, 19-20: *quae faciant labentia flumina fluctus / sistere et aeras descendere montibus ornos*.

491. ornos: typical of trees in general. With the verse-ending cf. *Ecl.* 6, 71: *cantando rigidas deducere montibus ornos*; *G.* 2, 111: *steriles saxosis montibus orni*; 2, 626: *summis antiquam in montibus ornum*; *Aen.* 6, 182: *advolvent ingentis montibus ornos*; 10, 766: *summis referens annosas montibus ornum*.

492. testor . . . deos . . . invitam: cf. 4, 357: *testor utrumque caput*; 6, 459-460: *per superos . . . / invitus, regina, tuo de litore cessi*.

492. cara: cf. *Val. Fl.* 7, 347: *testor, cara, tuas, Circe Titania, voces*; *Harrod, Latin Terms of Endearment and of Family Relationship* (1909), 34-37, on the use of *carus*

and *dulcis*. Dido uses *cara* here of her sister and in 4, 634, of the nurse, Barce, as Aeneas employs it of Ascanius (4, 354), but it is not used of the affection between Dido and Aeneas.

492. te . . . tuumque . . . caput: cf. 2, 154-155: *vos . . . et non violabile vestrum / testor numen*; 8, 144-145: *me me ipse meumque / obieci caput*; *Soph. O. C.* 750: ἀέ σε κηδεύουσα καὶ τὸ σὸν κάρα; *Catull.* 66, 39-40: *invola, o regina, tuo de vertice cessi, / invola; adiuro teque tuumque caput*; *Cic. De Domo*, 145: *meque atque meum caput . . . devovi*; *Liv.* 26, 48, 12: *obstringere periurio non se solum suumque caput*.

493. dulce caput: like φῖλον κάρα or φῖλην κεφαλὴ; cf. 4, 354, n. (*capitis . . . cari*); 4, 357, n. (*caput*); *Prop.* 4, 11, 55: *te, dulce caput*; *Marin. Vit. Procli*, 12, 29: ἡ θεὰ κεφαλὴ.

493. magicas . . . artis: for the construction cf. 2, 510-511: *inutile ferrum / cingitur*; 4, 137, n. (*chlamydem*); the magic arts are, metaphorically, a weapon which Dido girds on. We need not, with the Scholia Danielis, explain *pro 'ad magicas,' aut 'magicas adgredi invitam.'* The expression *magicae artes* is frequent (cf. *Thes. Ling. Lat.* 2 (1900), 665, 34-46; to which add: *Hier. Vit. Hilar.* 20; *Comm. in Gal.* 3, p. 506 Vall.; *Comm. in Eph.* 3, p. 672 Vall.; *Vasold, Augustinus quae hauserit ex Vergilio*, 2 (1908), 4; *Isid. Etym.* 8, 9, 3), but sometimes the singular, *ars magica*, is used (*Thes. Ling. Lat.* 2, 665, 48-53).

493. invitam: *Knorr (Beiträge z. Erkl. einiger Stellen aus Horaz u. Verg. (1900), 19)* thinks Dido's unwillingness was not because the use of magic was unlawful but because it involved the evocation of terrible underworld powers whom she feared. But it

493. dulce caput magicas invitam accingier artis.

magica *M* (magicas *M*<sup>4</sup>). arces (corr. in artes) *P*, artes γαβ.

[492\*] 493. magicas . . . artis: *Diomed. Art. gram.* 1 (G. L. K. 1, 341) — artes —; 2 (G. L. K. 1, 441) — magicam *AB*; artes —; [Prob.] *De ult. Syll.* 18 (G. L. K. 4, 263); *Arus. Ex. Eloc.* (G. L. K. 7, 450) — artes —. 493. magicas . . . accingier: [Prob.] *De ult. Syll.* 7 (G. L. K. 4, 237) — magis inuita *B* —. 493. magicas invitam: *Schol. Dan. Aen.* 4, 646 — inuita *F*, inuicta *T* —. 493. accingier: *Gl. Ansil.* 22, 190; q.v.

is more probable that Virgil here anachronistically reflects in Dido's feeling that of his own day, when magic was employed by the more ignorant classes but held in great disfavor by the respectable and intelligent; cf. Serv.: *quia cum multa sacra Romani suscipere semper magica damnarunt; ideo excusat*; DeWitt, *The Dido Episode in the Aeneid of Virgil* (1907), 23; Penquitt, *De Didonis Vergilianae Exilu* (1910), 40, and works there cited; Tavenner, *Studies in Magic from Latin Literature* (1916), 25–60; id., *Magic in early Roman Religion* (1924), 2; 7; Prescott, *The Development of Virgil's Art* (1927), 287–290; Buscaroli (*ad loc.*), who gives (p. 342) a list of passages in Horace and the elegiac writers dealing with magic arts. Ovid, for example, does not recommend magic as a means for escaping from love (*Rem. Am.* 249–252). Sil. 8, 98–99, does not make Dido use magic till after Aeneas has sailed, and then with a similar reluctance: *ad magicas etiam fallax alque improba gentis / Massylae levitas descendere compulit artes*; cf. the reluctance of Deianira (*Soph. Trachin.* 582–587): *κακὰς δὲ τόλμας μήτ' ἐπιστάμην ἐγὼ / μήτ' ἐκμάθοιμι, τὰς τε τολμώσας στυγῶ. / φίλτροις δ' ἐάν πως τήνδ' ὑπερβαλόμεθα / τὴν παῖδα καὶ θέλκτροισι τοῖς ἐφ' Ἑρακλεῖ, / μεμηχάνηται τοῦργον, — εἰ τι μὴ δοκῶ / πράσσειν μάταιον*; cf. *ἐἰ δὲ μή, πεπαύσομαι*; also Faust in the Hexenküche (Goethe, *Faust*, 1982): *Mir widersteht das tolle Zauberwesen*. Dido's resort to magic comes when her use of religious rites has proved unsuccessful; Aeneas nowhere employs it, and in the latter part of the *Aeneid* the powers of the nether world side with the enemies of the Trojans; cf. DeWitt, l. c. Dido's use of it hardly estranges the sympathy of the reader, as does that of Medea (Rébelliau, *De Verg. in informandis*

*muliebr. quae sunt in Aen. Personis Inventore* (1892), 83, n. 2), perhaps because it is clear that she has no real belief in it but employs it as a pretext; cf. DeWitt, l. c.; Bellessort, *Virgile* (1924), 295. Had she really believed in these magic arts the result would have been 'antitragic,' for she would be deceiving herself and hoping when she should be aware of her misfortunes; cf. Fiore, *La Poesia di Virgilio* (1930), 268–269. Dido's magic arts were not, according to Henry (in *Cl. Rev.* 44 (1930), 109), "the mere everyday exercise of skill which they appear to be in Apollonius, but something infrequent, secret, and apart. They are wrought by a priestess from the remote Western world; they are done in secret and with a shamed face; and they fail. They are not of this world, but they are the servants of destiny; they cannot heal the sorrows of the heart."

Magic, with its coercion of divine powers, is continually at odds with the religious approach to them (cf. Lang, *Magic and Religion* (1901), 46; Frazer, *Golden Bough*, 1, 3 ed. (1913), 224–226; Lowe, *Magic in Greek and Latin Lit.* (1929), 4), and hence tends to be officially banned and constantly censured (e.g., Plin. *N. H.* 28, 8; Mythogr. Vat. III, 4, 7), especially by Christian writers, from an early period (e.g., *Didache*, 2, 2) onward (cf. Thorndike, *Hist. of Magic and experimental Science*, 2, 2 ed. (1929), 604).

493. accingier: *metri causa*, as Servius notes; cf. G. 1, 454: *immiscerier*; *Aen.* 7, 70: *dominarius*; 8, 493: *defendier*; 9, 231: *admittier*; 11, 242: *farier* (all these cases except 8, 493 being in the fifth foot). On this archaic form, common in Plautus, frequent in Lucretius and in Cicero's poetry, nine times in Horace, and apparently disappearing entirely only after Ausonius, cf. Wotke in

## 494. tu secreta pyram tecto interiore sub auras

tum *cod. Neap.* piram  $\gamma b$ . ininteriore  $P\gamma$  (interiore  $P^2$ ).

494-495. tu . . . erige: *Donat. Aen.* 4, 645; *Arus. Ex. Eloc.* (G. L. K. 7, 509); *Lact. Plac. in Stat. Theb.* 1, 199. 494. tu . . . interiore: *Charis. Inst. gram.* 2 (G. L. K. 1, 221) — tum  $N$  —. 494. tu . . . pyram: *Anth. Lat. no.* 17, 376 (1, p. 76 Riese) — secretam piram  $A$  —. 494. tecto interiore: *Gl. Ansil.* 553, 23.

*Wiener Stud.* 8 (1886), 145; Kühner-Holzweissig, *Ausf. Gram. d. lat. Spr.* 1, 2 ed. (1912), 691-693.

494. tu: Sabbadini (*Il primitivo Disegno dell' Eneide* (1900), 44, n. 4) remarks that what Dido now bids Anna do she herself actually executes in 4, 504-508, and concludes that we have here a relic of an earlier stage in Virgil's plan of the poem. But *iussa parat* (4, 503) may well refer to Anna's attention to the building of the pyre, which must have required the aid of workmen, while Dido, either from impatience or to keep occupied or to take a more personal part in the matter — the distinction between the command to Anna, in the imperative, *erige*, and the milder suggestion of the subjunctive, *superimponas*, should also be noted —, took upon herself to adorn it and place on it the sword and other objects; cf. Heinze, *Virgils epische Technik*, 3 ed. (1915), 141, n. 1, who discusses also the combination here of Dido's desire to bear public testimony to her devotion to the memory of Sychaeus (cf. 4, 24-29; *Schol. Dan. Aen.* 1, 340: *pyram . . . quam se ad expiandos prioris mariti manes extruxisse fingebat*) and her plan for a secret (*secreta*, *tecto interiore*, *penetrati in sede*) and unobstructed suicide.

494. secreta: Serv.: *sine arbitris; et est bona elocutio rem loci vel temporis ad personam transferre, ut 'nocturnus venit,' 'secretus fecit'*; cf. Bell, *The Latin Dual* (1923), 321, for examples of this type of hypallage, in which the epithet is transferred from the object to the subject.

494. pyram: on the substitution by the Carthaginians, in imitation of Greek usage, of cremation for their earlier custom of inhumation cf. Pareti, *Le Origini etrusche* (1926), 147-148. This change is explained by Justin, 19, 1, 10, as imposed upon them by the Persian king Darius; cf. Moore,

*Carthage of the Phoenicians* (1905), 82-83. Servius remarks *sub specie sacrificii praeparat morti exequias*.

494. tecto interiore: cf. 2, 486: *domus interior*; 4, 504: *penetrati in sede sub auras*; 4, 645 and n. (*interiora*); 7, 59: *laurus erat tecti medio in penetratibus altis*. Justin, 18, 6, 6, says that her pyre was *in ultima parte urbis exstructa* (cf. Sil. 8, 132-133, quoted below; but in 8, 51 Silius says it was *in penetratibus*).

494. sub auras: often taken to mean that the pyre was built in the *compluvium* or in the centre of a peristyle or some space open to the sky yet within the confines of the palace (cf. 2, 512-513: *aedibus in mediis nudoque sub aetheris axe / ingens ara fuit*), and surely if it had been in any roofed area Anna might well have felt alarmed at the risk. Gebhardi (*ad loc.*), however, followed by Hunziker (*Die Figur der Hyperbel in d. Ged. Vergils* (1896), 65, n. 92) considers the phrase and its repetition in 4, 504 as hyperbolic expressions of the height of the pyre, which in 4, 505 is described as *ingenti*, and from which Sil. 8, 132-133 says *cuius de sede dabatur / cernere cuncta frela et totam Carthaginis urbem*. Virgil uses *auras* with the prepositions *ad*, *in*, *per*, and *sub*, *per auras* especially of the horizontal dispersion of sound, news, birds, missiles, etc.; *ad auras* and *in auras* of motion upward, either from the underworld to that above ground or to birth (e.g., *G.* 4, 486; *Aen.* 6, 128; 6, 761), or of position or motion aloft, as of mountains (*Aen.* 12, 703), a tower (6, 554), the upward growth of trees (*G.* 2, 291; 2, 363; *Aen.* 4, 445), the rising of smoke or flames (*G.* 4, 499; *Aen.* 2, 759; 5, 740; 7, 466; 12, 592), the soaring of a bird (*Aen.* 5, 861), etc., while *sub auras* implies emergence into public notice (*Aen.* 2, 158) or, sometimes, has the idea of great height: *Aen.* 3, 422-423: *sorbet in abruptum fluctus rursusque*

495. erige, et arma viri, thalamo quae fixa reliquit  
impius, exuviasque omnis lectumque iugalem

erige (*corr. ex eriga, ut vid.*) γ. aram F (arma F<sup>1</sup>). in thalamo c. reliquit π.  
exsuuias F. omnes b.

[494] 495-496. thalamo . . . impius: *Quintil. Inst.* 8, 6, 29 — *deleverunt editores nonnulli* —. 495. erige: *Anth. Lat. no. 17, 377* (1, p. 76 Riese); *q.v.*; *Gl. Ansil.* 208, 126; *q.v.* 495. arma viri: *Gl. Ansil.* 65, 446.

[495] 496-497. lectumque . . . superimponas: *Diomed. Art. gram.* 2 (G. L. K. 1, 439) — *iugale ABM*; inponas —. 496. lectumque iugalem: *Auson. Cento nupt.* 86, p. 214 *Peiper*; *Anth. Lat. no. 15, 127* (1, p. 54 Riese). 496. iugalem: *Gl. Ansil.* 321, 114; *q.v.*

*sub auras / erigit alternos et sidera verberat unda*; 3, 575-577: *avolsaque viscera montis / erigit eructans liquefactaque saxa sub auras / cum gemitu glomerat*; 7, 767-768: *ad sidera rursus / aetheria et superas caeli venisse sub auras*; cf. 8, 24-25 (of a reflection): *sub auras / erigitur*. He seems nowhere else to use *sub auras* as exactly equivalent to *sub divo*, though here and in 2, 158 and 4, 504 there may be some slight connotation of that sort; cf. also *Ov. M.* 3, 296; 5, 641; 11, 184 (of a secret): *efferre sub auras*; *Sil.* 16, 325-326: *sub auras / erigitur globus*; *Thes. Ling. Lat.* 2 (1900), 1477, 50-57. In the present case we should perhaps render the words, 'raise aloft,' but understand as well that the pyre stands under the open sky; cf. Penquitt, *De Didonis Vergilianae Exitu* (1910), 41. Smith (*Religion of the Semites*, 1 ed. (1889), 354) thinks that the spot on which legend placed the self-sacrifice of Dido to her former husband was that at which later Carthaginian human sacrifices were performed.

495. erige: cf. 4, 505: *erecta*.

495. arma: *Serv.*: *gladium dicit abusive; nam ait paulo post* (4, 507) *'ensemque relictum'*; *proprie enim arma sunt quae armos tegunt*; cf. *Schol. Dan.*: *hic ideo generaliter 'arma' nominavit, ne mentione solius gladii consilium proderetur* (doubtless referring to the *ensis* of 4, 507; 4, 646-647). To burn the clothing and weapons of a dead hero on his pyre was a regular custom; cf. 6, 217 (of the pyre of Misenuus): *decorantque super fulgentibus armis*; 11, 193-194: *hic alii spolia occisis derepta Latinis / coniciunt igni, galeas ensesque decoros*. Why had Aeneas's weapons

been hung in Dido's apartment? Possibly as a symbol that his warfare was over and the life of love begun; cf. *Hor. C.* 3, 26, 3-6, where *arma* are hung in a temple after the warfare of love has passed; Henry (*Aeneidea*, 2 (1878), 767-768), who cites as a parallel the dedication of weapons by Ignatius Loyola; while Wagner (*ad loc.*) compares *Eur. Hec.* 919-920: *πόσις ἐν θαλάμοις ἔκει-/το, ξυστόν δ' ἐπὶ πασσάλῳ*; note also *Sen. H. O.* 868-870: *utinam esset, utinam fixus in thalamis meis / Herculeus ensis; huic decet ferro inmorti* — probably with a reminiscence of the Dido story. We may perhaps, however, gather from the expression *quaesilum munus* (4, 647) that these objects had been given by Aeneas to Dido at her request like other ill-omened presents (1, 647-655; *Glover, Virgil* (1912), 186) of his, matching various gifts which she had given him, and had been kept by her from sentiment in her own apartment. The use to which she is now to put them is based upon the familiar principle of contagious magic, by which things once in contact are believed to be always in contact.

495. viri: to avoid the mention of Aeneas by name. Cf. 4, 479; 4, 498; 10, 423: *arma exuviasque viri*; *Moseley, Characters and Epithets* (1926), 70, n. 1.

495. thalamo: possibly her actual bed-chamber, though Virgil sometimes uses the word of the women's apartments in general, as in *G.* 4, 333 and 4, 374, where Cyrene is surrounded in her *thalamus* by numerous attendants engaged in spinning.

496. impius: in reference to Aeneas's usual epithet; cf. 4, 393, n. (*pius*); also, for

## 497. quo perii superimponas; abolere nefandi

superinponant *FM* *p* (superinponas *M*<sup>2</sup>), superimpona . s *c*<sup>2</sup>, superimponas *γab*, superimponens *c*<sup>1</sup>, superinpones *cod. Franc., Schol. Dan.*: *quidam* 'imponant' *legunt, scilicet famulae.*

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such 'run-over' words (4, 23, n. (*impulit*), above) to express moral indignation cf. Murley in *Am. Journ. of Philol.* 49 (1928), 358, n. 4. Servius remarks: *qui gladium reliquit furenti. hoc autem tractum est de Homero (Il. 7, 303-305), qui dicit gladium Aiace datum ab Hectore et Heciori ab Aiace balteum, quae eis exilio fuerunt; nam alter tractus est balteo, alter se donato telo interemit* (so Hygin. *Fab.* 112); cf. Serv. *Aen.* 4, 647, also my note on that line (*non hos*). As there appears (cf. Sil. 8, 149: *ensem Dardanii quaesitum in pignus amoris*), Dido had solicited the gift when she considered Aeneas a lover; now he is an enemy (4, 424), and the sword and clothes are subject to the superstitions attaching to such belongings of enemies, which often led either to the dedication of spoils as trophies or to their destruction or mutilation; cf. Reinach, *Cultes, Mythes, et Religions*, 3 (1908), 223-227; Fowler, *Aeneas at the Site of Rome* (1918), 95-96; *id.*, *Death of Turnus* (1927), 155-156; also Soph. *Aias*, 664-665: ἀλλ' ἔστ' ἀληθὴς ἡ βροτῶν παροιμία, / ἐχθρῶν ἄδωρα δῶρα κοῦκ ὀνήσιμα; 815; 865; 1032-1033; Eur. *Med.* 618: κακοῦ γὰρ ἀνδρὸς δῶρ' ὄνησιν οὐχ ἔχει; Clem. *Strom.* 6, 2, p. 740 P.; Quint. Smyrn. 5, 482-484, where Ajax kills himself with the sword of Hector; *Paroemiogr. Gr.* 1, 84, no. 4, and parallels cited in von Leutsch and Schneidewin's note. So the use of the enemy's shields by Coroebus and others (*Aen.* 2, 386-395), like that of the helmet of Messapus and the trappings of Rhamnes (9, 359-366), leads to no happy result; in 10, 495-505 Turnus strips Pallas of his *balteus*, but in 12, 941-952 this act leads to his own death; in 10, 700-701 the arms of Latagus and Palmus are given to Lausus, but in 10, 774-776 (cf. Serv. on 10, 775) the gift contributes to his destruction; in Plut. *Dion.* 58, 3, Callippus is slain by the same sword by which his fellow-conspirators had killed Dion; cf. Shakesp. *Jul. Caesar.* Act 5, Sc. 3.

The gift of a sharp-edged instrument is in itself often regarded as ill-omened (cf. 9, 303-305 where Ascanius gives a sword to Euryalus before his fatal expedition; Gomme, *Folklore Relics of early Village Life* (1883), 163; Knowlson, *Origins of popular Superstitions* (1910), 181; Emily, Shareefa of Wazan (Morocco), *My Life Story* (1911), 311; Glover, *Virgil* (1912), 186, and n. 6; Westermarck, *Ritual and Belief in Morocco*, 2 (1926), 26; McCartney in *Trans. Am. philol. Assoc.* 62 (1931), 28, and n. 11. Sil. 8, 52-53 says of Dido: *tunc corripit ensem / certa necis, profugi donum exitiale mariti*; cf. Artemid. *Oniocr.* 1, 62: ὅσα γὰρ τέμνει καὶ διχάζει τὰυτα πάντα διχονοίας καὶ στάσεις καὶ βλάβας σημαίνει. The inappropriateness of the gift for a lady to receive is offset by its symbolism of his devotion to her; cf. Rébelliau, *De Verg. in informandis muliebr. quae sunt in Aen. Personis Inventore* (1892), 57, n. 2; Heinze, *Virgils epische Technik*, 3 ed. (1915), 144, n. 0; Ov. *H.* 7, 184-188: *scribimus, et gremio Troicus ensis adest, / perque genas lacrimae stricturn labuntur in ensem, / qui iam pro lacrimis sanguine tinctus erit. / quam bene conveniunt falo tua munera nostro! / instruis inpena nostra sepulcra brevi*; etc. It may be noted that the friendly presentation of arms of Neoptolemus to Aeneas by Helenus (3, 467-468) includes only defensive equipment.

496. *exuvias*: Serv.: *vestes Aeneae*. The term is used by Virgil of the skins of animals, the spoils of an enemy (e.g., 2, 275; 10, 423; 11, 7; 11, 790-791; 12, 946), and of clothing, especially when used for magic purposes; cf. *Ecl.* 8, 91-92: *has olim exuvias mihi perfidus ille reliquit / pignora cara sui* (based on Theocr. 2, 53-54: τοῦτ' ἀπὸ τὰς χλαίνας τὸ κράσπεδον ὤλεσε Δέλφης, / ὡγὼ νῦν τιλλοῖσα κατ' ἀγρίῳ ἐν πυρὶ βάλλω); *Aen.* 4, 507; 4, 651 (referring to the *Iliacas vestes*): *dulces exuviae*; Eur. *Hippol.* 509-515; Luc. *Dial. meretr.* 4, 4: δεήσει δὲ τι αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς εἶναι,

498. *cuncta viri monumenta iuvat, monstratque sacerdos.*'

monimenta *P.* iuat *F* (iuuat *F*<sup>3</sup>), iubet (*corr. in* iubat) *P*, iubet *M* (iuuat *M*<sup>3</sup>, iubet *M*<sup>3</sup>), iubat (*a corr. in e*)  $\gamma$ , iubet  $\alpha^2\beta\epsilon\pi$ ; cf. Sabbadini in *Historia (Studi storici)*, 4 (1930), 547. montrat *P*, monstra *p*.

οἶον ἰμάτια ἢ κρηπίδας ἢ ὀλίγας τῶν τριχῶν ἢ τι τῶν τοιοῦτων; Dedo, *De Antiquorum Superstitione amatoria* (1904), 21: Fahz, *De Poet. Rom. Doctr. magica* (1904), 131; Frazer, *Golden Bough*, 1, 3 ed. (1913), 205-207; Penquitt, *op. cit.*, 41; Crawley-Besterman, *Mystic Rose*, 1, 2 ed. (1927), 145; 162; 164; Hopfner in *P.-W.* 14 (1928), 333; Rose, *Primitive Culture in Italy* (1926), 129; Jungbauer in Hoffmann-Krayer, *Handwörterbuch d. deutsch. Aberglaubens*, 4 (1932), 1490-1491.

496. *lectumque iugalem*: Schol. Dan.: *elegantier etiam in morte perseverat in amore, et quatenus potest Aeneae se coniungit, si uno igne cum eius concremetur exuviis*. For the phrase cf. Ov. *H.* 2, 57; Claud. *In Eutrop.* 1, 67: *lectusque iugalis*; Valmaggi in *Riv. di Filol.* 25 (1897), 46, and n. 2; La Cerda (*ad loc.*) would identify it with the Roman *lectus genialis*. It is doubtless the *notum* . . . cubile of 4, 648, and it may perhaps be identified with that covered with the *stratis* . . . *relictis* of 4, 82, which Dido's eager imagination has converted into something more significant than it really was. We must not forget that the one who uses the adjective *iugalem* is the same who in 4, 172, *coniugium* *vocat*.

497. *quo perii*: Serv.: *propter extinctum pudorem*; a "euphemism and a pathetic paradox," according to DeWitt, *The Dido Episode in the Aeneid of Virgil* (1907), 71; cf. Ov. *Tr.* 4, 4, 37: *hanc quoque, qua perii, culpam*; Anth. Lat. no. 60, 1-2 (1, p. 106 Riese): *inputat aegra toris vim per deserta Calypso; / vim Dido incensis inputat aegra toris*. But *perii* may be used, as in *Ecl.* 8, 41 and like the compound *deperire*, of infatuation rather than anything more tangible. Valmaggi (in *Riv. di Filol.* 25 (1897), 46) compares Eur. *Alc.* 179-180 (to her bed): χαῖρ'· οὐ γὰρ ἐχθαίρω σ'· ἀπώλεσας δέ με / μύνην. Another explanation is found in Diomedes, *Art. gram.* 2 (G. L. K. 1, 439):

*minus apertum. subdistinguendum enim est pro voluntate dicentis. hoc enim voluit intellegi Dido, non esse lectum iugalem quo perierit. inmorandum est ergo et respirandum post 'iugalem' et sic inferendum cum ὑποκρίσεως affectu 'quo perii.'*

497. *superimponas*: perhaps first used here. Virgil seems to have coined several such double compounds with *super*; cf. Ladewig, *De Vergilio Verborum Novatore*, 1 (1870), 5. The variant *superinponant* may be due to the thought that Anna could hardly execute all these commands; cf. Unterharnscheidt, *De Veterum in Aeneide Coniecturis* (1911), 55; also above, 4, 494, n. (tu). The plural seems to some editors hard to reconcile with the order of secrecy (4, 494), yet 4, 504-505 implies more help than Anna alone could give. If we read *superimponas* we do not, of course, need to infer that Anna was to do this with her own hands, but merely that Dido delegated to her the care of rearing the pyre, as in *erige* (4, 495).

497. *abolere*: cf. 1, 720-721: *abolere Sychaem / incipit*; Tac. *H.* 1, 84: *abolete memoriam foedissimae noctis*; Aug. *C. D.* 7, 34: *flammis aboleri nefanda monumenta*; Oros. 6, 20, 6: *litterarum etiam monumentis abolitis*. Aeneas seems to have had no such feeling about Dido's gifts to him, which appear at 5, 571-572; 9, 266; 11, 72-75, as carried with him on his journey. Dido's ostensible motive is partly to put out of sight the objects recalling Aeneas and partly to apply magic through them to him, their former owner; beneath her statements, however, perhaps lurks a thought, unsuspected by Anna, of the means by which her recollection of Aeneas is to be ended; cf. 4, 638, n. (*sacra, etc.*). With the passage cf. also Ov. *Rem. Am.* 719-720: *omnia pone feros (pones invitus) in ignes / et dic 'ardoris sit rogos iste mei.'*

497. *nefandi*: the name of whom she cannot bear to speak; cf. 3, 644: *infandi*



499. haec effata silet; pallor simul occupat ora.  
non tamen Anna novis praetexere funera sacris  
germanam credit nec tantos mente furores

anniuus (? *corr. in anna nouis*) *P.* protexere *M* (praetexere *M*<sup>2</sup>), p . . texere (*corr. m. 2 in praetexere*) *a.*

credidit *m.* tantos (*t pr. fere eras.*) *P.*

499. haec . . . ora: *Anth. Lat. no. 15, 133* (1, p. 55 *Riese*) — sumul *A* —. 499. haec . . . silet: *Anth. Lat. no. 17, 336* (1, p. 74 *Riese*). 499. haec effata: *Gl. Ansil. 276, 33.*  
499. pallor . . . ora: [*Acro*] in *Hor. Epod. 7, 15.*

500. non . . . sacris: *Schol. Dan. Ecl. 7, 12.* 500. praetexere . . . sacris: *Schol. Dan. Aen. 6, 5.* 500. funera: *Gl. Ansil. 258, 188; q.v.*

501-502. mente concipit: *Gl. Ansil. 365, 374* — concepit —.

*Cyclopes*; 3, 653: *gentem . . . nefandam*; 4, 613: *infandum caput.*

498. *cuncta*, etc.: cf. *Sil. 8, 102-103: congensit in altam / cuncta tui monumenta pyram et non prospera dona.*

498. *viri*: cf. 4, 495, n. (*viri*); *Theocr. 2, 3: ὡς τὸν ἐμοὶ βαρὺν εὖντα φίλον καταδήσονται ἄνδρα.*

498. *iuuat*: the arguments of *Geist* (*Erkl. einiger Stellen aus d. Aen. Vergils* (1878), 11-12) for *iubet*, taken by hendiadys with *monstrat*, fail to see that Dido is speaking here confusedly and with feigned purpose. The *Scholia Danielis* gloss *iuuat* by *συμφέρει*, *hoc est et voluntas mihi est et sacerdos hoc praecipit.*

498. *monstratque sacerdos*: *Mackail* (ed. of *Aen.* (1930), 130) thinks the phrase a stop-gap (*tibicen*), while *Sparrow* (*Half-lines and Repetitions in Virgil* (1931), 50; 145) believes that with *iubet* it is tautologous, with *iuuat* a feeble afterthought, and, noting its likeness to 4, 483: *monstrata sacerdos*, he would consider it the work of an interpolator trying to finish out one of Virgil's half-lines. Yet, as he admits, we need here an allusion to the *sacerdos*, and we have perfectly good sense as the line stands: Dido says that it will please (or help) her to get rid of all that suggests Aeneas, and the priestess directs her how to do this; cf. *G. 4, 549: monstratas . . . aras*; *Aen. 4, 636: monstrata picula*; *Hor. Ep. 2, 2, 149*; *Ov. Tr. 3, 11, 53.*

499. *haec effata*: cf. 4, 30, n. (*sic effata*); *Schol. Dan.: subitum silentium imperfectam orationem ex perturbatione mentis ostendit.*

499. *pallor*: sometimes a sign of love (e.g., *Sappho*, 2, 14-15 *Bergk: χλωροτέρα δὲ ποίης / ἔμμι*; *Theocr. 2, 55-56*; *Ov. Ars am. 1, 729: palleat omnia amans hic est color aptus amanti*; *Pichon, De Sermone amatorio* (1902), 224), but here, as the *Scholia Danielis* observe, *ex conscientia cogitatae mortis* (cf. 4, 644: *pallida morte futura*; 8, 709: *pallentem morte futura*), paleness being associated with fear, death, the spirits and rulers of the dead, and the place of the departed; cf. 4, 26, n. (*pallentis*). With this passage cf. *Hor. Epod. 7, 15: tacent, et albus ora pallor inficit*; *Paul. Petric. De Vila Mart. 3, 198-199: oraque et artus / perfudit croceus glaciali corpore pallor.*

499. *occupat ora*: cf. *G. 4, 190: sopor suus occupat artus*; *Ov. M. 3, 40: tremor occupat artus*; *Mantuan, Ecl. 5, 72: situs occupat ora.*

500. *non tamen Anna*: cf. 4, 8, n. (*unanimam*). Anna's insensibility — she realizes the truth all too late, at 4, 675-685 — is paralleled by that of Aeneas; cf. 6, 463-464: *nec credere quivi / hunc tantum tibi me discessu ferre dolorem*. For her failure to make a verbal reply cf. 4, 437, n. (*talis*, etc.). As *Conington* (*ad loc.*) says, *tamen* means "in spite of her paleness."

500. *novis*: *Schol. Dan.: pro inusitatis et malis et per hoc magicis.*

500. *praetexere*: her use of magic charms is merely to deceive; cf. *Eur. I. T. 1316: δόλια δ' ἦν καθάρματα*; *Prescott, Development of Virgil's Art* (1927), 286-287. *Schol. Dan.: et est antisirophie, funeribus nova sacra praetexere.* With the construction cf. 4, 172:

502. concipit aut graviora timet quam morte Sychaei.  
ergo iussa parat.

At regina, pyra penetrali in sede sub auras

concepit *Fb*<sup>1</sup>. au (*corr. in aut*) *c*, aut *γ*<sup>1</sup>, aud (*corr. in haud*) *γ*<sup>2</sup>, haud *π*, *dett.* sychei *Pc*, sychey *γ*, sychaei *b*, sychaeis (*ult. s eras.*) *p*.  
ad *Pγ*. pura *F* (pyra *F*<sup>1</sup>), pyram *M* (*cf.* 4, 494; pyra *M*<sup>1</sup>), pyra (*1 corr. ex p, a m. 2 in ras.* 2 *litt.*) *γ*.

[501\*] 502. quam . . . Sychaei: *Gl. Ansil.* 476, 97 — sicei —.

503. ergo . . . parat: *Mar. Victor. Art. gram.* 1 (*G. L. K.* 6, 28); *Anth. Lat. no.* 11, 96 (1, *p.* 44 *Riese*); *no.* 15, 14 (1, *p.* 50 *Riese*).

504-505. erecta ingenti pyra: *Gl. Ansil.* 444, 224 — pira —. 504. penetrali: *Gl. Ansil.* 306, 1221; *q.v.* — inpenetrabili —; *Gl. Abstr.* 49, 167; *q.v.*

*praetexit nomine culpam*; also other cases collected by Kvřčala, *Neue Beitr. z. Erkl. d. Aeneis* (1881), 140-141.

500. funera: on the plural (as in 6, 874; 9, 486) *cf.* Spitta, *Quaestiones Vergilianae* (1867), 17; Braumüller, *Ueber Tropen u. Figuren in Vergil's Aeneis*, 1 (1877), 4; 13.

501. credit: *cf.* 6, 463-464: *nec credere quivi / hunc tantum tibi me discessu ferre dolorem*.

501. nec . . . aut: as in 4, 338-339.

501. mente . . . concipit: *cf.* *Ov. M.* 1, 777: *concepit aethera mente*; 10, 403-404: *nec nutrix etiamnum concipit ullum / mente nefas*; *Thes. Ling. Lat.* 4 (1906), 59, 67-81, to which add *Hier. Comm. in Is.* 5, *p.* 181 *Vall.*; *Comm. in Ezech.* 6, *p.* 201 *Vall.*; 6, *p.* 227 *Vall.*; *Comm. in Osee*, 3, *p.* 152 *Vall.*; *Sedul. Pasch. Carm.* 3, 135: *conceptos mente dolores*. In 4, 474 *concepit furias* is used in a different sense from the metaphorical one of this line.

501. furores: *cf.* 7, 406: *primos . . . furores* (of Amata); *Catull.* 64, 54; 64, 94; 68, 129; Spitta, *op. cit.*, 501; Braumüller, *op. cit.*, 1, 15. Of course *furores concipit* is in quite a different sense from 4, 474: *concepit furias*; *Cir.* 164: *concepit in ossa furorem*; *Ov. M.* 2, 640: *concepit mente furores*.

502. graviora: *cf.* 4, 23, *n.* (*adgnosco*). The matter-of-fact, rather coarse nature of Anna is seen nowhere more clearly than in this line; *cf.* the letter of Charles James Fox to Wakefield, quoted by Henry, *Aeneidea*, 2 (1878), 769-770. The coarseness, it should be noted, is not that of Virgil — hence

Henry's defence against Fox is beside the point — but of the character whom he is, with such psychological accuracy, describing. As Dido had been affected for a time after the death of Sychaeus so it will be now, and then she will get over it. Anna is not comparing her own fears with those which she entertained for Dido at the death of Sychaeus (as Ribbeck supposes) but rather what will happen now with what happened then; *cf.* *Schol. Dan.*: *hoc est, quae vel fecit vel passa est Dido*. It should be noted that Aeneas (6, 463-464) says *nec credere quivi / hunc tantum tibi me discessu ferre dolorem*.

502. morte: 'at the death'; *cf.* 3, 333; 4, 244; 4, 436.

503. ergo, etc.: *cf.* Cartault, *L'Art de Virgile dans l'Énéide*, 1 (1926), 357, who thinks the half-verse unnecessary but probably added by Virgil himself in the margin when he noticed, on rereading the book, that there was no reference to the execution of Dido's orders; Sparrow, *Half-lines and Repetitions in Virgil* (1931), 33; Walter, *Die Entstehung der Halbverse in der Aeneis* (1933), 46.

504. at regina: *cf.* 4, 1, *n.* (*at*); 4, 296. Servius's criticism of this line seems somewhat captious: *notatus est hic versus; vitiosa est enim elocutio quae habet exitus similes, licet sit casuum dissimilitudo*. Yet, as Conington (*ad loc.*) well remarks, *erecta . . . secta* in the next line is more objectionable than *reginā pyrā*.

Some possible inconsistencies in the magic practices which follow seem partly due to the

505. *erecta, ingenti taedis atque ilice secta,*taedds *P* (taedis *P*<sup>2</sup>). adque *F*.

[504]

author's lack of expert knowledge (for, despite the eighth *Eclogue*, he had no Canidia to instruct him), and partly, perhaps, to the lack of his final revision of the poem, yet in larger measure they accurately represent Dido's own frantic state of mind. Of the three women concerned only the witch is an expert, professing both to entangle and to disentangle human affections (4, 487-488), and her operations (4, 507-516) seem more or less consistently directed toward recovering for Dido the love of Aeneas (note especially the use of the *hippomanes*; cf. 4, 515, n. (*nascentis equi*)). If unsuccessful in this she perhaps plans to attempt the opposite (cf. 4, 479). Whither Dido's own actions (4, 517-521) tend matters little to her, since they are, after all, but a feint to deceive Anna, who, living in the palace, is as unfamiliar as the queen with the disreputable acts of magic to which Dido so reluctantly (4, 493) resorts. The feint is successful and Dido's purpose is effected; the hocus-pocus, then, is, from Dido's point of view, justified.

504. *pyra*: cf. 4, 494-495: *pyram tecto interiore sub auras / erige*; Sil. 8, 51-52 (of Dido): *in penetralibus atram / festinat furibunda pyram*; 8, 131-132: *celsam, quam struxerat anle / magna mole, pyram*; Dracont. *De Laud. Dei*, 3, 514 (of Dido): *ipsa pyram manibus propriis construxit ut aram*. On the methods of building a funeral pyre see Vitruv. 2, 9, 15; also *Aen.* 6, 214-225; Stat. *Theb.* 4, 449-468.

504. *penetralli in sede*: for the adjectival use cf. *G.* 1, 379: *teclis penetralibus*; *Aen.* 2, 297: *adytis . . . penetralibus*; 5, 660: *focis penetralibus*.

505. *ingenti*: cf. 4, 89, n. (*ingentes*); 6, 214-217 (the pyre of Misenus): *principio pinguem taedis et robore secto / ingentem struxere pyram, cui frondibus atris / intexunt latera et feralis ante cupressos / constituunt, decorantque super fulgentibus armis*. By a

comma after *erecta* many editors, following Wakefield, have well connected this word with *taedis atque ilice*, as in the passage just quoted *robore secto* depends on *ingentem*; cf. also 7, 483: *cornibus ingens*; 11, 124: *fama ingens, ingentior armis*; 11, 641: *ingentem animis, ingentem corpore et armis*. In Sil. 2, 422 Dido stands *pyram super ingentem*. Cf. also Prud. *Peristeph.* 10, 846-847: *at parte campi ex altera inmanem pyram / texebat ustor fumidus pinu arida*; etc.

505. *taedis*: pieces of resinous pine wood (cf. Plin. *N. H.* 16, 44: *taeda propria dicta abundantior suco quam reliqua, parciore liquidiorque quam picea, flammis ac lumini sacrorum etiam grata*; etc.), doubtless cloven into what the Greeks called *σχιῶται* or *σχιδακες* (*Il.* 1, 462; 2, 425; *Od.* 3, 459; *Ar. Pax*, 1024; 1032; *Anth. Pal.* 6, 231, 3; 1 *Kings*, 18, 33; etc.), to make a hotter fire (cf. our saying "cooked over split wood"); cf. *Ecl.* 7, 49: *taedae pingues*; *G.* 2, 431; *Aen.* 7, 71. The word is also commonly used of torches or firebrands.

505. *ilice*: cf. 6, 180 (in preparation for the pyre of Misenus): *sonat icta securibus ilix*; Sil. 10, 532; 13, 277-278: *consurgens ilice nulla / extruitur rogos*.

505. *secta*: cf. 2, 16: *secta . . . abiete*, though there in reference to boards or planks, which is probably not the case here. The word emphasizes, however, that the wood is deliberately prepared rather than consisting of mere fallen branches.

506. *intendit, etc.*: Serv.: *ligat, ut* (2, 236-237) '*et stuppea vincula collo / intendunt*.' *et est hypallage, 'intendit sarta per locum'*; cf. Cic. 2 *Verr.* 5, 80: *tabernacula . . . carbaseis intenta velis*. One may hang garlands 'around a place' or 'hang a place with garlands,' in Latin as in English. Cf. also 4, 202, n. (*florentia limina sertis*); Dedo, *De Antiquorum Superstitione amatoria* (1904), 17, for such a magically binding use of garlands; Köchling, *De Coronarum apud Anti-*

506. intenditque locum sertis et fronde coronat  
funerea; super exuvias ensemque relictum

coronant *F* (coronat *F*<sup>1</sup>).

funereas γ<sup>1</sup>, funereas (s *eras*.) *p*.

506-507. intenditque . . . funerea: *Anth. Lat. no. 17, 324-325* (I, *p. 74 Riese*) — incenditque *A* — 506-507. et . . . funerea: *Schol. Lucan. 3, 442 — om. U*; coronant *WC*, coronam *G*<sup>1</sup>; funera *WC* —; *Gl. Ansil. 149, 2282*. 506-507. fronde . . . funerea: *Lact. Plac. in Stat. Theb. 4, 460 — funesta fronde coronat L*; funeram *Pa* —. 506-507. fronde funerea: *Gl. Ansil. 255, 211; cf. 259, 198*. 506. intenditque . . . sertis: *Serv. Aen. 2, 237; 5, 403; Gl. Plac. 25, 9*. 506. intendit: *Gl. Ansil. 312, 1729; Gl. Philox. 202, 591; q.v.* 506. sertis . . . coronat: *Anth. Lat. no. 14, 20* (I, *p. 49 Riese*).

[506\*] 507. ensemque relictum: *Serv. Aen. 4, 495*.

quos *Vi atque Usu* (1914); Eitrem, *Opfer-ritus u. Voropfer d. Gr. u. Römer* (1915), 65-66.

506. -que . . . et: a correlation avoided by some writers including Cicero, but found from Enn. *Ann. 240* onward; cf. Kühner-Stegmann, *Ausf. Gram. d. lat. Spr. 2, 2, 2 ed.* (1914), 37.

506. fronde . . . funerea: *Schol. Dan.: Romani moris fuit propter caerimonias sacrorum, quibus populus Romanus obstrictus erat, ut potissimum cupressus, quae excisa renasci non solet, in vestibulo mortui poneretur, ne quis imprudens funestam domum rem divinam faclurus introeat et quasi atlatinatus suscepta peragere non possit; hinc ergo 'funerea' cupresso* (cf. Paul. ex Fest. *p. 63 M.* = *p. 56 Lindsay*); *Serv. Aen. 6, 216: . . . Varro tamen dicit pyras ideo cupresso circumdari propter gravem ustrinae odorem, etc.*; also *Virg. Aen. 3, 63-64: stant manibus arae / caeruleis maestae viltis atraque cupresso* (and *Serv. ad loc.*); *6, 215-216: frondibus atris / . . . et feralis ante cupressos*; *Hor. C. 2, 14, 23; Epod. 5, 18: cupressus funebris*; *Cul. 140: fleta cupressus*; *Ov. Tr. 3, 13, 21: funeris ara mihi, ferali cincta cupressu*; *Luc. 3, 442; Petron. 120, 75: ferali . . . cupressu*; *Stat. Theb. 4, 460-461: cupressus / . . . plorata*; *Silv. 5, 5, 30: plorata cupressus*; *Plin. N. H. 16, 139: cupressus . . . Dili sacra et ideo funebri signo ad domos posita*; *Sil. 10, 533-535: devolvunt quercus et amantem litora pinum / ac, ferale decus, maestas ad busta cupressos. / funereas tum deinde pyras certamine texunt*; etc. For the history of the

cypress (*Cupressus sempervirens* L.) cf. Olck in *P.-W. 4* (1901), 1909-1938, especially 1932-1938 for its use as a symbol of mourning and of the gods of the underworld (cf. the yew in Northern Europe; Knowlson, *Origins of popular Superstitions* (1910), 222-225); also Dedo, *De Antiquorum Superstitione amatoria* (1904), 11; Hopfner, *Gr.-ägypt. Offenbarungszauber* (1921), 137. The pyre is here garlanded, as in *Ecl. 8, 64* the altar is bound with a fillet; cf. Köchling, *op. cit.*, 11. The contrast between the *telleribus niveis et festa fronde* about the shrine of Sychaeus (for whom, though dead, his widow's love had continued living and active) and the dusky symbols which here portend, not only death for Dido, but also the termination of her affection for the lover whom they typify, should not be overlooked. With the phraseology here used cf. *Hor. Ep. 1, 18, 64: fronde coronet*; *Juvenc. 3, 637: fronde coronant*; *Ambros. Hexaem. 3, 49: sertis uvarum coronat*; *Pandoni, cited by Zabughin, Vergilio nel Rinascimento ital. 1* (1921), 342: *solumque replent foliis et fronde coronant*.

507. funerea: first here; cf. Ladewig, *De Vergilio Verborum Novatore, 1* (1870), 4. The emphasis upon black or dark objects — ominously symbolic — may be noted: *ilice, fronde funerea, nigri . . . veneni*; it is further probable that the rites took place at night (cf. 4, 522).

507. super: adverbial.

507. exuvias: cf. 4, 496, and n. (*exuvias*).

507. relictum: cf. 4, 647, n. (*non hos*).

508. effigiemque toro locat, haud ignara futuri.

thora c<sup>1</sup>. iaut *M* (haut *M*<sup>1</sup>), haud *FPpabc*.

508. effigiemque . . . futuri: *Serv. Ecl.* 8, 75. 508. toro locat: *Gl. Ansil.* 566, 152. 508. ignara futuri: *Anth. Lat. no.* 17, 337 (1, p. 74 *Riese*) — aut (i.e., haut) ignara *A* —.

508. effigiem: *Schol. Dan.: imaginem scilicet Aeneae, quia solent magi effigies eorum facere propter quos carmen instituunt; Serv.: exprimitur amoris adfectus, quod etiam in morte amati imagini volebat esse coniuncta, ut paulo post* (4, 605–606) *'natumque patremque/cum genere extinxem, memet super ipse dedissem.'* The use of effigies or puppets to symbolize those upon whom magical effects are to be produced (*Serv. Aen.* 2, 116: *sciendum in sacris simulata pro veris accipi; unde cum de animalibus quae difficile inveniuntur est sacrificandum de pane vel cera fiunt et pro veris accipiuntur*) is ancient and widespread; cf. *Plat. Legg.* 11, 933 b, who speaks of κήρινα μιμήματα πεπλασμένα, εἴτ' ἐπὶ θύραις εἴτ' ἐπὶ τριόδους εἴτ' ἐπὶ μύημασι γονέων αὐτῶν; *Theocr.* 2, 28–29: ὡς τοῦτον τὸν κηρὸν ἐγὼ σὺν δαίμονι τάκω, / ὡς τάκουθ' ὑπ' ἔρωτος ὁ Μῦνδιος αὐτίκα Δέλφει; *Ecl.* 8, 74–75: *terque haec altaria circum / effigiem duco;* 8, 77–78: *necte tribus nodis ternos, Amarylli, colores; / necte, Amarylli, modo et 'Veneris' dice 'vincula necto';* 8, 80–81: *limus ut hic durescit et haec ut cera liquescit / uno eodemque igni, sic nostro Daphnis amore;* *Hor. Epod.* 17, 76: *cereas imagines;* *Serm.* 1, 8, 30–34: *lanea et effigies erat altera cerea; maior / lanea, quae poenis compesceret inferiorem; / cerea suppliciter stabat, servilibus ut quae / iam peritura modis. Hecaten vocal altera, saevam / altera Tisiphonen;* 1, 8, 43–44: *imagine cerea / largior arserit ignis;* *Ov. H.* 6, 91: *devovet absentis simulacraque cerea figit;* *Hygin. Fab.* 104: *Laodamia . . . fecit simulacrum cereum simile Protesilai coniugis, et in thalamis posuit, sub simulatione sacrorum . . . (Acastus pater) ne diutius torqueretur, iussit signum et sacra, pyra facta, comburi; quo se Laodamia, dolorem non sustinens, immisit atque usta est* (from some Alexandrian epic or elegiac source describing this story Penquitt (*De Didonis Vergilianae Exitu* (1910), 43, n. 2) thinks that Virgil borrowed the motif

of the effigy placed on the pyre and Dido's suicide by a sword); *Luc. Philopseudes*, 14: ὁ 'Περβόρεος ἐκ πηλοῦ ἐρώτιόν τι ἀναπλάσας, ἀπιθί, ἔφη, καὶ ἄγε Χρυσίδα. καὶ ὁ μὲν πηλὸς ἐξέπτατο, καὶ μετὰ μικρὸν δὲ ἐπέστη κόπτουσα τὴν θύραν ἐκείνη καὶ εἰσελθοῦσα περιβάλλει τὸν Γλαυκίαν ὡς ἂν ἐμμανέστατα ἐρώσα, κτλ.; *Paragr. Gr. mag.* 1 (1928), 82 *Preisendanz: φιλτροκατάδεσμος θαυμαστός: λαβὼν κηρὸν (ἢ πηλὸν) ἀπὸ τροχοῦ κεραμικοῦ πλάσσον ζῶδια δύο, ἄρρενικὸν καὶ θηλυκόν, followed by elaborate instructions for magic words to be written on these puppets and thirteen needles to be thrust into them, together with various charms;* 1, 174: *λαβὼν κηρὸν Τυρρηνικὸν πλάσσον ἀνδριάντα, κτλ.;* 2 (1931), 39 *Preisendanz, where an effigy is made and the adjuration given: ἀπελθεῖν πρὸς τὴν δεῖνα, ἄξει αὐτὴν τῶν τριχῶν, τῶν π(ο)δῶν φοβουμένη, φανταζομένη ἀγρυπνοῦσα ἐπὶ τῷ ἔρωτί μου καὶ τῇ ἐμοῦ φιλίᾳ . . . μὴ δυνήθῃ ἡ δεῖνα ἢ ὁ δεῖνα ἐπιτυχεῖν (sc. ὕπνου), ἕως ἐλθοῦσα πρὸς ἐμὲ τὸν δεῖνα . . . καὶ μὴ δυνάσθῃ ἄλλω ἀνδρὶ συνμιγῆναι εἰ μὴ ἐμοὶ μόνῳ.* On this and similar cases see *Dedo, De Antiquorum Superstitione amatoria* (1904), 20–27; *Abt, Die Apologie des Apuleius von Madaura u. die antike Zauberei* (1908), 80–85; 239–240; also *Hirschfeld, De Incantamentis et Devinctionibus amatorii apud Graecos Romanosque* (1863), 38; 43, n. 5; *Heim, Incantamenta magica* (1892), 510–511; *Kuhnert in Rh. Mus.* 49 (1894), 40–41; *Oldenberg, Die Relig. des Veda* (1894), 484–485; *Kroll, Antike Aberglaube* (1897), 22–23; *Hopkins in Proc. Am. philos. Soc.* 49 (1910), 38–39; *Penquitt, op. cit.*, 42–44; *Frazer, Golden Bough*, 3 ed., 1 (1913), 55–56; 70–78; 4 (1911), 217–254; 9 (1914), 7–8; 204–206; 10 (1914), 106–128; 167; 172–173; 195; etc.; *Nock in Archiv f. Religionswiss.* 24 (1926), 172–173; *Crawley-Besterman, Mystic Rose*, 2 ed., 1 (1927), 162; *Thorndike, Hist. of Magic and exp. Science*, 2 ed., 1 (1929), 19; 561; 563, n. 2; 666; 2

## 509. stant arae circum, et crinis effusa sacerdos

{st}ant P. are F (arae F<sup>1</sup>). crines cp.

509. crinis effusa: *Gl. Ansil.* 153, 190.

(1929), 158; 350; 802; 818; Kittredge, *Witchcraft in Old and New England* (1929), 73; Nock in *Proc. Brit. Acad.* 17 (1931), 245.

508. *haud ignara futuri*: cf. 5, 284: *operum haud ignara Minervae*; 5, 618: *haud ignara nocendi*; 10, 501: *nescia mens hominum fati sortisque futurae*; Hor. *Serm.* 1, 1, 35: *haud ignara ac non incauta futuri*; Liv. 8, 7, 12: *ignarus fati futurique*; Ov. *M.* 15, 815: *ne sis etiamnum ignara futuri*; Val. Fl. 7, 192: *et adhuc ignara futuri*; Dracont. *Orest.* 271: *vel mens ignara futuri*; Politian, *Manto*, 216: *Dido ignara futuri*. Schueler (*Quaest. Vergilianae* (1883), 28) thinks it inconsistent in Dido in this verse clearly to foresee the future and at 4, 534 to be again in indecision, and he would assume different strata in the composition of the book (as do Gercke, Sabadini, Vivona (in *Riv. di Filol.* 26 (1898), 432-434), and others). Yet a woman contemplating suicide may perhaps be allowed some irresoluteness, as at 4, 534, and in the present line the phrase is intended to contrast the deliberate *intent* of Dido with the evident ignorance of it on the part of Anna and the *sacerdos* (cf. Penquitt, *De Didonis Vergilianae Exitu* (1910), 51, which answers, I think, the doubts of Crump, *Growth of the Aeneid* (1929), 61). Pichon (in *Rev. de Philol.* 33 (1909), 249) thinks Dido's feint so good that the author must here warn the reader that it is only a pretense after all, and not far from this view is that of Fickelscherer (cited by Knorr, *Beiträge z. Erkl. einiger Stellen aus Horaz u. Vergil* (1900), 21-22) that the clause is concessive: "though she foresaw the future" yet she went on with her preparations. Knorr himself (*l. c.*) supposes that back of the magic acts lay Dido's desire to have close about her at the moment of her death all available relics which might recall her brief romance and the person of her beloved.

509. *stant*, etc.: cf. Sil. 1, 91-94 (of Dido): *ordine centum / stant arae caelique*

*deis Ereboque potenti. / hic, crine effuso, atque Hennaee numina divae / atque Acheronta vocat Stygia cum veste sacerdos*. For the use of *stant* (= 'are set up'; cf. ἵστημι as the passive of τίθημι) cf. *Aen.* 2, 767: *stant circum*; 3, 63: *stant manibus arae*; Henry, *Aeneidea*, 2 (1878), 90; 110. In most of its occurrences in Virgil it is initial in its clause or line, like *it* and *fit* (cf. 4, 130, n. (*it*); 4, 135, n. (*stat*)).

509. *arae*: cf. 4, 21, n. (*penates*). Penquitt (*op. cit.*, 44, and n. 2) observes that in the magical papyri there is usually but a single altar mentioned at magic rites, but he well suggests that several altars befit the dignity of the queen. Cf. also *Ecl.* 6, 65-66: *en quattuor aras: / ecce duas tibi, Daphni, duas altaria Phoebos*.

509. *crinis effusa*: cf. 4, 148, n. (*premit*). Schol. Dan.: *crines effusos habens*; cf. G. 4, 337: *caesariem effusae*; *Aen.* 10, 838: *fusus propexam in pectore barbam*. The principle is recognized by Serv. *Aen.* 4, 518: *in sacris nihil solet esse religatum, praecipue eius quae amore vult solvi* (but this seems an inference from the present line). It may be seen, however, in the bare foot of the queen in line 518; for other combinations of loose locks and bare feet cf. Hor. *Serm.* 1, 8, 24 (of Canidia): *pedibus nudis passoque capillo*; Ov. *M.* 7, 183 (Medea): *nuda pedem, nudis umeros infusa capillis* (7, 257: *passis Medea capillis*); Sen. *Med.* 752-753: *tibi more gentis vinculo solvens comam / secreta nudo nemora lustravi pede*. Loosing the hair occurs not only in magic but in other prayers and in sacrifices; e.g., Callim. *Hymn. Cer.* 5: ἀκατέχελαρο χαλτράν; *Aen.* 1, 480: *crinibus . . . passis*; 2, 403-404: *passis . . . / crinibus*; 3, 65: *crinem de more solutae* (= 11, 35); 3, 370-371; 6, 48; 12, 870: *crinis . . . solutos*; Ov. *H.* 6, 89: *passis discincta capillis*; F. 3, 257: *resoluto crine precetur*; Octavia, 719: *resolutis comis*; 745: *fusae comae*; Sil. 1, 93 (quoted above); 8, 130: *resolutaque crinem*; Opp. *Cyneg.* 1,

510. *ter centum tonat ore deos, Erebumque Chaosque*(t)er P. deum (?) F (deos F<sup>1</sup>). herebum b.510. *ter* . . . *deos*: *Asper*, p. 538 *Hagen* — *ore d.* —.

496: λύσατο μὲν πλοκάμους; also the general treatments in Dedo, *De Antiquorum Superstitione amatoria* (1904), 13; Abt, *op. cit.* (1908), 76, n. 1, and works there cited; Appel, *De Romanorum Precationibus* (1909), 203; Samter, *Geburt, Hochzeit, u. Tod* (1911), 109-120; Penquitt, *op. cit.* (1910), 44-45; Frazer, *Golden Bough*, 3 ed., 3 (1914), 310-311; Heckenbach, *De Nuditate sacra sacrisque Vinculis* (1911), 70-75; Schredelseker, *De Superstit. Graecorum quae ad Crines pertinent* (1913), 63-65 (with citation of pertinent inscriptions); Eitrem, *Opferritus u. Voropfer d. Gr. u. Römer* (1915), 398-401; McCartney in *Cl. Journ.* 19 (1923), 171-172 (modern instances); *id.*, in *Papers of Mich. Acad. of Sci., Arts, and Letters*, 16 (1931), 137-138.

509. *sacerdos*: cf. 4, 483; Val. Fl. 1, 755 also uses it of an enchantress. With the verse-ending cf. *Cir.* 147: *lympha perfusa sacerdos*.

510. *ter centum*: Serv.: *non 'tercentum deos,' sed tonat ter centum numina Hecales: unde Hecate dicta est ἑκατόν, id est, centum potestates habens* (with which Clark, *Numerical Phraseology in Vergil* (1913), 24, agrees). But in all the other six cases in Virgil in which the combination *ter centum* occurs (of which *G.* 1, 15; *Aen.* 9, 370; 10, 182 begin the verse, as here; cf. *Ov. M.* 14, 146), and in the one case of *bis centum* (8, 518), the numeral adverb modifies not the verb but *centum*. Further, while Virgil refers to a hundred altars (1, 416; 4, 200) and a hundred temples (4, 199), this would be his only reference to a hundred gods, and hence might just as well be made to three hundred, for in 8, 716 we find an allusion to *ter centum* . . . *delubra*. On the number three hundred as one expressing, like six hundred, indefinite greatness (Latin has a plural for *mille* but not for *centum* in the sense in which we use 'hundreds') cf. Henry, *Aeneidea*, 2 (1878), 773-774; Smith on Tib. 1, 4, 69; Pease on Cic. *De Div.* 2, 34. As an example of the

large numbers of gods invoked in magic rites cf. *Papyr. Gr. mag.* 1, 120-122 Preisendanz; Penquitt, *op. cit.*, 46; Ussani in *Atti del II Congresso nazionale di Studi Romani*, 3 (1931), 167. While three is a number often found in magic rites (e.g., Theocr. 2, 43; *Ecl.* 8, 73-77; Tib. 1, 2, 54; *Ov. M.* 7, 189-190; 7, 261; Dedo, *De Antiquorum Superstitione amatoria* (1904), 15; Penquitt, *op. cit.*, 45, n. 3; Tavenner in *Trans. Am. philol. Assoc.* 47 (1916), 117-143; Lease in *Cl. Philol.* 14 (1919), 56-73; Eitrem, *Papyri Osloenses*, 1 (1925), 55 (and works cited); etc.), and Penquitt (*op. cit.*, 45) and Clark (*l. c.*) would hold that Sil. 1, 91-92: *ordine centum / stant arae caelique deis Ereboque potenti* imitates our line, it should not be overlooked (1) that the sacred three is a factor in three hundred; (2) that Silius (1, 94) in writing *vocat* rather than *ter vocat* may be imitating Virgil and indicating that he construed *ter* with *centum* (Henry, *l. c.*); (3) that those who construe *ter* with *tonat* underestimate the significance and use of the number three hundred; and (4) that Virgilian usage as shown above favors our construing the numeral adverb with *centum*. For a fair sample of the contrary argument cf. Klouček, *Vergiliana* (1883), 9-15, who cites the ancient custom of threefold invocations (e.g., 6, 506: *magna manis ter voce vocavi*; Hor. C. 2, 22, 3: *ter vocata*; etc.).

510. *tonat*: Serv.: *perite dixit, in aliquibus enim sacris imitabantur tonitrui*; cf. 6, 607: *intonat ore*; 11, 383: *tona eloquio*; *Aetna*, 57: *hic magno tonat ore pater*; Prop. 3, 17, 40: *qualis Pindarico spiritalis ore tonat*; 4, 1, 134: *insano verba tonare foro*; [Quintil.] *Declam.* 10, 15: *qui simul ore squalido barbarum murmur intonuit, favere superos, audire inferos, tremere terras*; 10, 19: *tu (i.e., the magus) . . . qui nocturno terribilis ululatu profundum specus et ima terrarum moves, modo servientium revocator animarum*, etc.; Mart. 8, 3, 14: *bella tonare*; Claud. *De Rapt. Pros.* 1, 83-84: *italia celso / ore tonat*; Com-

511. *tergeminamque Hecaten, tria virginis ora Dianae.*

(t)ergeminamque P. haecaten P<sub>γ</sub> (hecaten P<sup>1</sup>), hiecaten M (hecaten M<sup>1</sup>), haecat. en c.

511. *tergeminamque* . . . *Dianae*: [Prob.] *De ult. Syll.* 17 (G. L. K. 4, 259). 511. *tria* . . . *Dianae*: *Serv. Ecl.* 8, 75; [Acro] in *Hor. C.* 3, 22, 4; *Schol. Germ. Arat. p.* 200 Breysig — *hora BGG<sup>a</sup>G<sup>b</sup>* —; *Isid. Etym.* 8, 11, 57; *Mythogr. Val.* I, 112; II, 25. 511. *tergeminam*: *Gl. Abba*, 132, 59; q.v.

mod. *Carm. apolog.* 598: *illi tonant ore*; Wandalbertus, *Martyrolog.* 229 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 2, 584): *Marcus tonat ore beatus*; *Ymnus in omnes Sanctos*, 5, 2 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 2, 604): *sacerdolum tonat ore*; [Angelos-mus,] *In IV Libr. Regum*, 4 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 2, 676): *ore tonante sopho*; Flodoardus Remensis, *De Triumphis Christi* (Antioch.) 1, 14, 1-2: *Prudentius ore / intonuit*; Gualterus, *Alexandreis*, 2, 15: *intonat ore minas Darius*; other parallels in prose, in Greek (*ῥοντᾶν*), and in modern languages are cited by Hunziker, *Die Figur der Hyperbel in d. Ged. Vergils* (1896), 96-97, and n. 159. On crying with a loud voice as part of the technique of magic cf. Dieterich, *Eine Mithrasliturgie* (1903), 41-42; Hopfner, *Gr.-ägypt. Offenbarungszauber* (1921), 201-202; Bonner in *Harv. theol. Rev.* 20 (1927), 172-173; Pfister in Hoffmann-Krayer, *Handwörterbuch d. deutsch. Aberglaubens*, 3 (1931), 358-359; Eitrem (in *Festschrift til H. Kohl* (1933), 36, and n. 5), who thinks *tonat* especially appropriate for calling up the ghosts and powers of death, and compares *Luc.* 6, 729: *manibus inlatrat*; *Stat. Theb.* 4, 472: *Lucian, Necy.* 9; to which add *Ar. Ran.* 1175-1176.

510. *deos*: on the accusative construction cf. Rantz, *Der Accusativus bei Vergil*, 1 (1871), 10.

510. *Erebumque*: cf. 4, 26, n. (*Erebo*). Hahn (*Coordination of non-coordinate Elements in Vergil* (1930), 227) explains this to mean "he calls on three hundred gods, including Erebus, Chaos, and three-formed Hecate," and cites parallel cases. So in the Great Paris Magical Papyrus we read (*Papyr. Gr. mag.* 1, 120 Preisendanz): *ὅτι ἐπικαλοῦμαι Χάος ἀρχέγονον, Ἐρεβος, φρικτὸν Στυγὸς ὕδωρ* . . . *Ἐκάτη*, κτλ.; cf. *Papyr. Mus. Brit.* 121 (*Papyr. Gr. mag.* 2 (1931), 16, 350 Prei-

sendanz): *ἐπικαλοῦμαι ὅμᾶς χάους καὶ ἐρέβους, βυθοῦ, γαίας οὐκίτηρας*, κτλ. Prescott, *Development of Virgil's Art* (1927), 287, suggests that Dido invokes Hecate and other underworld powers not merely as patrons of magic but as rulers of that underworld kingdom to which she is so soon to depart; yet if this be the case why not also Dis?

510. *Chaosque*: cf. *Ov. M.* 14, 404-405 (of Circe); *et Noctem Noctisque deos Ereboque Chaosque / convocat et longis Hecaten ululatibus orat.* In *Aen.* 6, 265 Chaos and Phlegethon are invoked with the gods of the underworld; cf. *Sen. Med.* 740-741: *comprecor . . . vosque ferales deos / et Chaos caecum atque opacum Diis umbrosi domum*; *Luc.* 6, 696. For the meaning of the word cf. Waser in *P.-W.* 3 (1899), 2112-2113; for its inflexion see Koczyński, *De Flexura Graecorum Nom. propr. apud Lucilium . . . Vergilium* (1892), 26; Kühner-Holzweissig, *Ausf. Gram. d. lat. Spr.* 1, 2 ed. (1912), 490.

511. *tergeminam*: *Schol. Dan.*: *quidam Hecaten dictam esse tradunt quod eadem et Diana sit et Proserpina, ἀπὸ τῶν ἑκατέρων*, etc. The adjective (also in the form *trigeminus*, and analogous to *septemgeminus* (6, 800) and *centumgeminus* (6, 287)) is applied to Geryon (8, 202) and Cerberus (e.g., *Ov. Tr.* 4, 7, 16: *tergeminumque virum tergeminumque canem*), as well as to Hecate; *Val. Fl.* 1, 781: *tergeminam . . . eram*; *Auson. Griph. tern. Num.* 18 (p. 201 Peiper): *tergmina est Hecate, tria virginis ora Dianae*; also cf. *Stat. Theb.* 10, 366-367: *te tergeminis perhibent variare figuris / numen*; *Claud. De Rapt. Pros.* 1, 15: *ternis Hecate variata figuris*. Other terms are *triformis* (*Hor. C.* 3, 22, 4; *Ov. M.* 7, 94; 7, 177; *Sen. Med.* 7 = *Phaedr.* 412; *Sil.* 1, 119-120; *C. I. L.* II, 2660 (= Dessau 3259, 2): *Delia virgo triformis*), *triceps* (*Ov. M.* 7, 194), and *triplex* (*Ov. H.* 12, 79; *F. 1,*



## 512. sparserat et latices simulatos fontis Avernī,

(<)parserat P. fontes γ<sup>1</sup>.

512. sparserat . . . Avernī: *Macrob. Sat.* 3, 1, 7 — sarserat P —; *Donat. in Ter. Ad.* 316 — simulatos f. a. —; *Serv. Aen.* 2, 116; [*Acro*] in *Hor. Epod.* 5, 26; *Anth. Lat. no.* 17, 328 (1, p. 74 Riese) — simulatos fonte A —; *Mythogr. Val. III*, 6, 30. 512. simulatos: *Gl. Ansil.* 525, 340; q.v. 512. fontis Avernī: *Gl. Ansil.* 250, 70.

387), while in Greek we find *τρίμορφος* (Cornut. *N. D.* 34; Chariclid. ap. Athen. 7, 126: *δέσπου* 'Εκάτη, *τριοῦδι*, *τρίμορφε*, *τριπρόσωπε*; *Papyr. Gr. mag.* 2, 169, 188 Preisendanz (and parallels cited by Eitrem, *Papyri Osloenses*, 1 (1925), 11; 82)), *τρισσοκέφαλος* or *τρισσοκάρηνος* (Orph. *Argon.* 979), *τρικάρανος* (*Papyr. Gr. mag.* 1, 152; 158; 160 Preisendanz), *τριάχην* (Lycophr. 1186), *τριπρόσωπος* (Chariclid. (quoted above); Artemid. *Oniocr.* 2, 37; *Papyr. Gr. mag.* 1, 136; 154; 160; 164 Preisendanz), and other such compounds (cf. *Papyr. Gr. mag.* 1, 160: *τριπρόσωπε*, *τριάχευε* καὶ *τριοῦδι*, ἢ *τρισσοῖς* *ταλάροισιν* *ἔχεις* *φλογὸς* (*ἀκ*)*άματον* *πῦρ* καὶ *τριοῦδων* *μεδέεις* *τρισσῶν* *δεκάδων* *τε* *ἀνάσσεις*). In some of these passages the repetition of *ter* or *tri-* (*τρι-*) suggests the anaphora in the present lines: *ter centum* . . . *tergeminam* . . . *tria*.

Why Hecate had this triple form (for its representation in art, beginning with Alcamenes, cf. Roscher in *Ausf. Lex.* 1 (1896), 1900–1910; Heckenbach in *P.-W.* 7 (1912), 2781–2782), has been variously explained (*ibid.*). By syncretism associated with Artemis and Selene (and hence with Diana and Luna), she formed the third member of a trinity effective in sky, earth, and underworld (*Aen.* 6, 247 calls her *caeloque Ereboque potentem*); others saw in her different forms the varying phases of the moon (Schol. Dan.; Roscher, *op. cit.*, 1888–1890; 1896–1897; Heckenbach, *op. cit.*, 2778–2779; Frazer on *Ov. F.* 1, 141), though she is perhaps originally a goddess of spirits rather than of the moon; while if the *τρίκεφαλος* Ἐρμῆς acquires his characteristics from the places where three roads meet (*Paroemiogr. Gr.* 2, 691, no. 23) we may perhaps detect a similar origin for the goddess who appears elsewhere as Trivia (*τριοῦδης*); cf. 4, 609 and n. (*trivialis*); *Ov. F.* 1, 141–142: *ora vides Hecates in tres*

*vergentia partes*, / *servet ut in ternas compila secta vias*; Farnell in *Cl. Rev.* 2 (1888), 167; Gruppe, *Gr. Myth. u. Rel.* 2 (1906), 1291, n. 1; Pearson on *Soph. Frag.* 525, 2; Eitrem, *Papyri Osloenses*, 1 (1925), 95 (and works cited). Still another view appears in the Scholia Danielis: *non nulli eandem Lucinam, Dianam, Hecaten appellant ideo, quia uni deae tres assignant potestates nascendi, valendi, moriendi; et quidem nascendi Lucinam deam esse dicunt, valendi Dianam, moriendi Hecaten; ob quam triplicem potestatem triforem eam triplicemque finxerunt, cuius in triviis templa ideo struxerunt*.

A feature of the underworld, like Erebus and Chaos, Hecate was constantly associated with magic rites (Roscher, *op. cit.*, 1894–1895; Abt, *Die Apologie des Apuleius von Madaura u. d. antike Zauberei* (1908), 200–204; Heckenbach, *op. cit.*, 2772; 2778; Hopfner, *Gr.-ägypt. Offenbarungszauber* (1921), 227; and the many references cited by these authors), and repeatedly invoked in the magical papyri and by witches (Lact. *Plac. in Stat. Theb.* 9, 733: *Hecate quae invocatur a magis*), especially in love affairs, in which the moon has always prominently figured (cf. Plut. *De Is. et Osir.* 52, for Egyptian amatory invocations of the moon). As noted by Gsell, *Hist. anc. de l'Afrique du Nord*, 4 (1920), 335, n. 2, Virgil here ascribes to the Carthaginians Roman practices of his own day.

511. *tria*, etc.: in loose apposition with *Hecaten*; cf. Penquitt, *op. cit.*, 47. Conington (*ad loc.*) compares 7, 575: *foedatque ora Galaesi for Galaesum foedato ore*.

511. *virginis*, etc.: cf. Val. Fl. 5, 380: *haec virginis ora Dianae*. We are not told the content of the prayer of the priestess to the powers of the underworld.

512. *sparserat*: cf. *Macrob. Sat.* 3, 1, 6: *constat dis superis sacra facturum corporis*

*ablutione purgari, cum vero inferis lilandum est satis actum videtur si aspersio sola contingat*, and he compares 4, 635: *dic corpus properet fluviali spargere lymphā*; 6, 230: *spargens rore levi*; 6, 635-636: *corpusque recenti / spargit aqua*. The subject of the verb is probably the priestess rather than Dido, and Belling (*Stud. ū. d. Compositions-kunst Vergils in d. Aeneide* (1899), 130) remarks that lines 504-521 divide themselves symmetrically into groups of 5 + 4 + 4 + 5, the first and last of which have Dido as subject, while the two middle groups describe the actions of the priestess and her attendants. In *Ecl.* 8, 64 water is fetched, probably for sprinkling (as in *Theocr.* 2, 18; 2, 21); cf. *Prop.* 4, 1, 106: *umbra neque e magicis mortua prodit aquis*; 4, 3, 15: *Stygio sum sparsa lacu*; *Juv.* 6, 528-529: *a Meroe portabit aquas ut spargat in aede / Isidis*. The magical materials here employed lack the revolting character of those (more powerful ones?) used by Canidia in *Hor. Epod.* 5, 15-40; *S.* 1, 8, 23-29.

512. *latices*: commonly of pure water in limited quantities, as for drinking, pouring libations, sprinkling, or, at the most, in a spring.

512. *simulatos*: many magical or religious rites prescribe the use of water, itself regarded as chthonic (cf. Ninck, *Die Bedeutung des Wassers* (1921), 1-46), for sprinkling, bathing, or drinking, and this is often to be taken from specified sources (Dedo, *De Antiquorum Superstitione amatoria* (1904), 10; Eitrem, *Opferritus u. Voropfer d. Gr. u. Römer* (1915), 111-112 (cf. *id.* in *Symbolae Osloenses*, 12 (1933), 31, n. 3); Hopfner, *Gr.-ägypt. Offenbarungszauber* (1921), 241-242), such as the Almo (where the image of Cybele was annually washed; cf. Hülsen in *P.-W.* 1 (1894), 1589, to which add Ambros. *Ep.* 18, 30), the Anio (Cato ap. Priscian. *Inst.* 6, 16 (*G. L. K.* 2, 208)), the Nile (e.g., *Serv. Aen.* 2, 116; *Mythogr. Vat.* III, 6, 30), the Jordan (e.g., 2 *Kings*, 5, 12-14; and, for its modern use in baptism, Burris, *Taboo, Magic, Spirits* (1931), 3-4), the pool of Siloam (*John*, 9, 7-11), etc.; cf. Frazer on *Ov. F.* 5, 673; Eitrem in *Festskrift til H. Kohl* (1933), 37, n. 2.

On account of distance, however, the

prescribed water might not always be available, hence it was the custom, as in other prescriptions (and as in legal fictions), to permit a substitute; cf. Bachofen, *Versuch ū. d. Gräbersymbolik der Alten* (1859), 51-53 (= 2 ed. (1925), 51-53); Wissowa, *Relig. u. Kult. d. Römer*, 2 ed. (1912), 421; Jobbé-Duval, *Les Morts malfaisants* (1924), 186-187. So Fahz, *De Poet. Rom. Doctr. magica* (1904), 115, and more fully Nock (in *Cl. Rev.* 38 (1924), 169-170 (followed by Rose, *Primitive Culture in Italy* (1926), 74-75); cf. Nock in *Proc. Brit. Acad.* 17 (1931), 258-259), compare various substitutes used for human sacrifice, and we may note that the effigies just mentioned by Virgil is a ritual substitute for the man himself. In magic, as in children's play, calling a thing so makes it so (cf. *Serv. Aen.* 2, 116 (quoted at 4, 508, n. (effigies), above); *id.*, on our line: *in sacris . . . quae exhiberi non poterant simulabantur, et erant pro veris*; Samter, *Familienfeste* (1901), 56-57; Pichon in *Rev. de Philol.* 33 (1909), 248-249; Penquitt, *op. cit.* (1910), 49 (who cites parallels from a Leiden magical papyrus; cf. Nock, *op. cit.*, 170); Samter, *Geburt, Hochzeit, u. Tod* (1911), 190-191; Frazer, *Golden Bough*, 3 ed., 1 (1917), 57; Rose, *Primitive Culture in Italy* (1926), 75), even to the extent of changing the physical nature of an object (a comparison with the doctrine of transubstantiation is here pertinent), and Nock (*l. c.*) compares a magic charm to change wine (*Papyr. Lond.* 121, 644, in *Pap. Gr. mag.* 2, 29 Preisendanz): *σὺ εἰ οἶνος οὐκ εἰ οἶνος ἀλλ' ἡ κεφαλὴ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς. σὺ εἰ οἶνος οὐκ εἰ οἶνος ἀλλὰ τὰ σπλάγχνα τοῦ Ὀσεῖρου τὰ σπλάγχνα τοῦ Ἰάω Πακερβῆθ*; cf. also *Pap. Gr. mag.* 2, 173 Preisendanz: *σὺ εἰ τὸ θεῖον, δ' ἔβρεξεν ὁ θεὸς ἀνὰ μέσον Σωδόμων καὶ Γουώρων*. This general principle is perhaps also to be seen when colonists name and construct a new town in imitation of that from which they have come, as in 3, 302; 3, 349-351.

For such pretenses in regard to water cf. *Hor. Epod.* 5, 25-26 (of Canidia's assistant): *at expedita Sagana, per totam domum / spargens Avernales aquas* (though these may be genuine); *Serv. Aen.* 2, 116 (= *Mythogr. Vat.* III, 6, 30): *et in templo Isidis aqua sparsa de Nilo esse dicebatur*; also Ambros.

## 513. falcibus et messae ad lunam quaeruntur aënis

(f)alcibus P. messe FM (messae F<sup>1</sup>M<sup>2</sup>). quaerantur F (quaeruntur F<sup>1</sup>), queruntur γ. aeneis F, aheneis 'plerique' codd. Pieriani (cf. 2, 470).

513-516. falcibus . . . amor: *Apul. Apol.* 30 — nascentis (i corr. ex e ead. m.); reuulsus (reuulsum corr. in reuulsus φ). 513-514. falcibus . . . veneni: *Macro. Sat.* 5, 19, 9 — ad limam P —. 513-514. falcibus . . . herbae: *Donat. in Aen.* 12, 411-414 — messe (messae V) —. 513. ad lunam: *Gl. Ansil.* 28, 414.

*Ep.* 18, 30: unde igitur exemplum quod currus suos simulato Almonis in flumine lavat Cybele? Professor S. Eitrem also (by letter) suggests to me *Pap. Gr. mag.* 1, 182 Preisendanz: ἐὰν δὲ μὴ εὐρὺς ὕδωρ ἀπὸ νεραννηγρότος πλοίου, ἀπὸ πακτώσος βεβαπτισμένου (sc. ἐν χρισμῶν).

The reason for selecting water from Avernus — a place as yet unfamiliar to Aeneas and *a fortiori* to Dido — is that Odysseus perhaps there descended to the underworld (cf. Hülsen in *P.-W.* 2 (1896), 2286; Hygin. *Fab.* 125) and before doing so made a libation (*Od.* 11, 26-28: ἀμφ' αὐτῷ δὲ χοὴν χεῖρην πᾶσιν νεκέουσι, / πρῶτα μελικρήτη, μετέπειτα δὲ ἡδέϊ οἴνω, / τὸ τρίτον αἰθ' ὕδατι), this water, then, being probably thought of by Virgil as taken from Lake Avernus (Penquitt, *op. cit.*, 48). The conception of Avernus as an entrance to the underworld (Hülsen, *l. c.*; Gruppe and Pfister in Roscher, *Ausf. Lex.* 6 (1924), 60) made it constantly used in figurative expressions for that region itself and its denizens (cf. *Thes. Ling. Lat.* 2 (1906), 1315, 36-76) and naturally associated it with magicians (cf. Val. Fl. 6, 158) and magical arts depending on evocation of the dead (cf. 4, 490, above; Serv. on our line: bene autem de Averno, per quem descensus ad inferos dicitur; Cic. *Tusc.* 1, 37: Avernī lacus 'unde animae excitantur obscura umbra opertae (ex) ostio / altae Acheruntis, salso sanguine'; Sil. 13, 397-398: hortatur vicina palus, ubi signat Avernī / squalentem introitus stagnans Acherusius humor; Max. Tyr. 14, 2). Water from such a source might be a sort of opposite to holy water; cf. Lowe, *Magic in Gr. and Lat. Lit.* (1929), 101, n. 7.

512. fontis Avernī: usually called a lacus (though in Claud. *De Rapt. Pros.* 2, 348 a flumen), but Penquitt, *op. cit.*, 49, suggests that fons here = aqua, comparing 12,

119: fontem ignemque ferebant. Whether Avernī is here a substantive or an adjective (as in *G.* 2, 164; *Aen.* 3, 442; 5, 732; 6, 118; 6, 564; 7, 91; and other authors cited in *Thes. Ling. Lat.* 2 (1906), 1315, 82-1316, 15) can hardly be determined, for with fons Virgil elsewhere uses each of these constructions (cf. 1, 244: fontem . . . Timavi; 12, 816: Stygii fontis).

With the end of the line cf. Sidon. *Carm.* 16, 2: Orpheaque et laticem simulatum fontis equini (i.e., Hippocrene). Mackail (*ad loc.*) considers lines 512-517 a draft not fully worked into shape, and bearing — in addition to the unfinished line 516 — various traces of incompleteness.

513. falcibus . . . aënis: placed at the ends of the verse; cf. 4, 124 n. (*speluncam*). Important on Virgil's source is Macro. *Sat.* 5, 19, 7-11: in libro enim quarto Vergilius Elissam facit, postquam ab Aenea relinquitur, velut ad sacrificarum sagarumque carmina et devotiones confugientem, et inter cetera ait sedandi amoris gratia herbas quaesitas, quae aëneis falcibus secarentur. haec res nonne quaestione digna est, unde Vergilio aëneae falces in mentem venerint? . . . Sophoclis autem tragoedia id de quo quaerimus, etiam titulo praefert: inscribitur enim Πιστοβοιοί. in qua Medeam describit maleficas herbas secantem . . . et sucum quidem herbarum in cados aëneos refundentem, ipsas autem herbas aëneis falcibus exsecantem. Sophoclis versus hi sunt: ἦδ' ἐξοπίσω χερὸς ὄμμα τρέπουσ' / ὅπδ' ἀργυρεφὴ στάζοντα τομῆς / χαλκίοισι κάδοις δέχεται, et paulo post: αἶδε καλύπτραι / κίσται ῥιζῶν κρύπτονται τομῆς, / ἀς ἦδε βοῶσ' ἀλαλαζομένη / γυμνὴ χαλκίοις ἡμα δρεπάνοις. haec Sophocles, quo auctore sine dubio Vergilius protulit aëneas falces, etc. We also find bronze sickles (for which cf. Lucr. 5, 1294) specifically mentioned by Ov. *M.* 7, 226-227:

*placitas* (sc. *herbas Medea*) *partim radice revellit, / partim succidit curvamine falcis aënae* (in *H.* 6, 84 sickles are similarly used: *diraque cantata pabula falce metit*); cf. *Apul. Apol.* 30. For various bronze sickles dating from the Terramara civilization cf. Peet, *Stone and bronze Ages in Italy and Sicily* (1909), 348-349 (and fig. 176); 423. Virgil's own consciousness of a bronze age in Italy is seen (according to Fowler, *Virgil's 'Gathering of the Clans'* (1918), 71) in 7, 743.

The succession of cultures represented by the stone, golden, bronze, and iron ages left its impress upon religious and magical rites — which are notoriously conservative —, so that utensils of stone, gold, or bronze continue to be prescribed for certain ritual acts long after they would be an anachronism in secular ones. Thus the use of implements of stone, such as the flint axe of the fetials (*Liv.* 1, 24, 8; *Schol. Dan. Aen.* 8, 641; *Otto, Die Sprichwörter . . . der Römer* (1890), 305) and the stone knives used in Jewish circumcision (*Exod.* 4, 25; *Joshua*, 5, 2-3; but cf. *Philastr. De Haeres.* 151, in *Patr. Lat.* 12, 1291) and in that of the priests of Cybele (*Catull.* 63, 5; *Cumont in P.-W.* 7 (1912), 677), or of gold (*Plin. N. H.* 16, 251; 20, 29; *Serv. Aen.* 12, 87), after bronze was customary, and that of bronze after iron was usual (e.g., for cutting the hair of the *Flamen Dialis* (*Serv. Aen.* 1, 448) and for ploughing out the boundary of the city of Rome (*Plut. Rom.* 11, 2; cf. *Macrobi. Sat.* 5, 19, 13)), is commonly due to a cult survival, the rite being older than the use of the metal; cf. *Lucr.* 5, 1275; 5, 1287; *Isid. Etym.* 8, 11, 66; 16, 20, 1; 16, 21, 2; *Tylor, Primitive Culture*, 1, 4 ed. (1903), 140 (who observes that iron is a new metal and that fairies and witchcraft belong to an earlier age); *Dedo, De Antiquorum Superstitione amatoria* (1904), 13-15; *Abt, Die Apologie des Apuleius von Modaura u. d. antike Zauberei* (1908), 85-86 [159-161], and nn. 3-4 for a bibliography, to which add: *Penquitt, op. cit.*, 49-50; *Wächter, Reinheitsvorschriften im gr. Kult.* (1910), 115-117; *Lawson, Mod. Gr. Folklore and anc. Gr. Religion* (1910), 140; *Frazer, Golden Bough*, 3 ed., 3 (1911), 225-236; *Pearson on Soph. Frag.* 534, 3; 534, 7; *Hopfner, Gr.-ägypt. Offenbarungszauber* (1921),

151-153; *Kroll in P.-W.* 12 (1924), 616; *Eitrem, Papyri Osloenses*, 1 (1925), 33; *McCartney in Cl. Journ.* 21 (1925), 118, and n. 57; *id.*, in *Cl. Weekly*, 18 (1925), 163-164; *Coulter in Trans. Am. philol. Assoc.* 56 (1926), 45, n. 16; *Cary and Nock in Cl. Quart.* 21 (1927), 124-127 (who stress not only the newness of the metal iron but also its uncanny magnetic powers); *McCartney in Cl. Weekly*, 21 (1927), 38, and n. 17; *Frazer on Ov. F.* (1929), 2, 577; 5, 44; *Burriss in Cl. Weekly*, 22 (1929), 120; *Olbrich in Hoffmann-Krayer, Handwörterbuch d. deutsch. Aberglaubens*, 2 (1930), 717-728; *Burriss, Magic, Taboo, Spirits* (1931), 114-123 (who thinks the taboo on iron due to its newness, its susceptibility to magnetism, and its power of producing sparks when struck); *Bailey, Phases in the Relig. of anc. Rome* (1932), 24-25, who thinks iron was originally tabooed as a 'stranger.' Iron consequently came to have a neutralizing or negative effect upon magic operations (cf. *Od.* 11, 48-50 and *Eustath. ad loc.*; *Plin. N. H.* 34, 151; *Crawley in Hastings, Encycl. of Relig. and Ethics*, 8 (1916), 590; *Crawley-Besterman, Mystic Rose*, 2 ed., 1 (1927), 129), so that we often find it expressly forbidden; e.g., in the building and repair of the *pons sublicius* (which used neither bronze nor iron; cf. *Dion. Hal.* 3, 45; *Plin. N. H.* 36, 100; *Plut. Num.* 9), of the *buleuterium* at Cyzicus (*Plin., l. c.*), of Solomon's temple (1 *Kings*, 6, 7), of various Jewish altars (*Exod.* 20, 25; *Deut.* 27, 5; *Joshua*, 8, 31), and of the temple of Tōji and the building called Azekura (or Kuji-nashikura) at Kyoto (*Official Guide to Eastern Asia*, 2 (1914), 241); at various points in the rites of the Arvals (*Acta Frat. Arval.* 132; 135 *Henzen*), and other religious ceremonies (in *C. I. L.* IX, 3513, 6 it is allowed in an exceptional instance), at certain sacred places (*Justin*, 44, 3, 6), times (*Schol. Dan. G.* 1, 268), and rites (e.g., *Plin. N. H.* 30, 102), as well as in connection with taboos affecting certain persons (*Plut. Aristid.* 21, 4; *Griffis, Corea the Hermit Nation* (1882), 219). On the positive side *mana* may be considered as especially resident in particular substances like stone; cf. *Rose, Primitive Culture in Italy* (1926), 46.

Especially in point is the requirement

## 514. pubentes herbae nigri cum lacte veneni;

(p)ubentes P.

[513] 514. pubentes herbae: *Serv. Aen.* 12, 413; *Gl. Abol.* 160, 5; *Gl. Aa.* 335, 1658 — herbe —. 514. nigri . . . veneni: *Macrobius Sat.* 6, 6, 9; [*Acro*] in *Hor. Serm.* 1, 4, 85; *Porphyrius* in *Hor. C.* 1, 12, 27 — nigro *M*; uenenum *M* —; in *Serm.* 1, 4, 85; *Gl. Ansil.* 391, 57.

that certain herbs, particularly for magic purposes, be gathered *sine ferro*; e.g., *Plin. N. H.* 19, 177; 23, 163; 24, 12; 24, 68; 24, 103; 24, 171–172; 24, 176; [*Apul.*] *Herbar.* 92; 131 (of the mandragora): *cum videris cito circumducis eam ferro, ne tibi fugiat; talis ac tanta est virtus eius ut venientem ad se hominem inmundum, cito ante eum fugit, ideo circumducis eam ferro et ita circa eam effodies ne eam de ferro tangas, et diligentissime de palo eburneo amoves ante eam terram*; [*Ant. Musa.*] *De Herba Beton.*, praef.; *Marc. Emp.* 25, 13; *Abt, op. cit.*, 86, n. 6; *Thorn-dike, Hist. of Magic and exp. Science*, 2 ed., 2 (1929), 496. The *Aeneid* is set at the beginning of the iron age in Italy; cf. *Carcopino, Virgile et les Origines d'Ostie* (1919), 269, n. 6 (*Harland in Am. Journ. of Arch.* 34 (1930), 59–60, would put the general use of iron in the Aegean countries not earlier than the twelfth or eleventh century B.C.). *Hopfner* (in *P.-W.* 14 (1928), 326–327) observes that different planets are associated with different metals, Venus being thus connected with bronze (cf. *Berthelot, Les Alchimistes grecs*, 1 (1888), 24, 5); this perhaps lends added appropriateness to the use of bronze sickles for gathering love-charms. Further, bronze is noted at times as standing for necessity or compulsion; cf. *Wünsch in Inscr. Gr.* III, 3, App. (1897), iii–iv (for bronze nails in *defixiones*).

513. et: on its deferred position cf. 4, 33, n. (*Veneris nec*); 4, 418, n. (et), above.

513. ad lunam: *Serv.*: *herbae enim pro lunae ratione tolluntur; nec omnes eodem modo, unde perile et 'aënis falcibus' dixit, quia aliae velluntur, aliae inciduntur; et 'ad lunam' non ad noctem sed ad lunae observationem*, i.e., according to the phases of the moon, which were widely believed to influence the growth of both plants and animals (cf. my notes on *Cic. De Div.* 2, 33, with much on the effect

of the moon on the proper times for pruning and cutting trees; *Eitrem, Papyri Osloenses*, 1 (1925), 126–129). For herbs cf. *Ov. M.* 7, 180–227; *Plin. N. H.* 24, 149; [*Apul.*] *Herbar.* 7, 1; 78, 2; *Marc. Emp.* p. 13, 11 *Helmreich: Terenti Euelpisti in ultimo libello leges dynames herbarum, quas ut crescentibus numeris lunae observes, dum tollis et conponis, curato*; also *Roscher, Selene u. Verwandtes* (1890), 84–87, and the material on *βοτανή-ἀρσους* from the magical papyri quoted by *Abt, op. cit.*, 87–89.

It is much more likely, however, that *ad lunam* here means 'by moonlight,' for with the phrase we may compare *Colum. De Arbor.* 15: *noctu ad lunam pulabimus*; *Hor. Serm.* 2, 8, 31–32: *me docuit melimela rubere minorem / ad lunam delecta*; *Juv.* 10, 21: *molae ad lunam . . . harundinis*; *Plin. N. H.* 21, 62: *nyctegreton . . . erui post aequinoctium vernum radiculis siccarique ad lunam triginta diebus*; in *C. I. L.* IV, 3884 (= *Dessau* 5145) the phrase *ad luna(m)* seems somewhat obscure. The custom of gathering herbs at night is well attested; e.g., *Theophr. Hist. Pl.* 9, 8, 5: *τὰς δὲ νύκτωρ τὰς δὲ μεθ' ἡμέραν, ἐνίας δὲ πρὶν τὸν ἥλιον ἐπιβάλλειν* (sc. συλλέγειν κελεύουσι); 9, 8, 6: *τὴν παιωνίαν . . . νύκτωρ κελεύουσιν ὀρύττειν* (cf. *Hor. S.* 1, 8, 21–22: *nec prohibere modo, simul ac vaga luna decorum / protulit os, quin ossa legant herbasque nocentis*; *Plin. N. H.* 25, 29; [*Apul.*] *Herbar.* 65; 9, 19, 2; *Colum. R. R.* 2, 10: *silenti luna fabam vellito ante lucem*; *Plin. N. H.* 24, 133: *si quis ante solis ortum eam* (sc. *chamelaeam*) *capiat*; 24, 170: *herba quaecumque e rivis aut fluminibus ante solis ortum collecta ita ut nemo colligentem videat*; 27, 85: *tradunt nocte effodiendas*; [*Apul.*] *Herbar.* 23: *ante solis ortum*; *Achill. Tat.* 5, 26, 12: *διανυκτερεύσειν γὰρ ἐλεγεν εἰς τὸν ἀγρὸν βοτανῶν ἔνεκεν χάριν, ὥς ἐν ὄψει τῆς σελήνης αὐτὰς ἀναλάβοι*; *Marc. Emp.*

14, 65. In a charm quoted by Abt, *op. cit.*, 86, n. 6 (= Heim, *Incantamenta magica* (1892), 554) we find various points combined: *anlequam maturescat flos eius tollas eam ante solis ortum plenilunio dextra manu sine ferro*; cf. Heim, *op. cit.*, 562; also Shakesp. *Hamlet*, Act 3, Sc. 2: "thou mixture rank, of mid-night weeds collected"; *Macbeth*, Act 4, Sc. 1: "Root of hemlock digg'd i' the dark." For the significance of the night (with moon present and sun absent) for the purposes of magic rites cf. Hopfner, *Gr.-ägypt. Offenbarungszauber* (1921), 226; *id.* in *P.-W.* 14 (1928), 353-356; Eitrem, *Papyri Osloenses*, 1 (1925), 126-129; 12 (1933), 32 and n. 1. Roscher, *Nachträge zu . . . Selene u. Verwandtes* (1895), 30, suggests that the moon by its supposed connection with the dew enhanced the magical power of herbs. With *lunam* = 'moonlight' cf. 2, 340; 3, 152; 6, 270.

513. *quaeruntur*: this verb and *quaeritur* in line 515 do not mean that the priestess or her attendants now set out to cull such herbs, for one could hardly insure, in this winter season, that they or the moonlight could be had when needed (but cf. 4, 514, n. (*pubentes*) below), or that one could secure a new *hippomane*s at will. Rather the priestess-witch fetches from her stores ritual ingredients previously laid up there, as is shown by the participles *messae*, *revolsus*, and *praereptus* (cf. Arist. *Hist. An.* 6, 23, 577 a 12-13 (of the *hippomane*s): δὴ καὶ τοῦτο αἱ φαρμακίδες ζητοῦσι καὶ συλλέγουσιν; *Ecl.* 8, 95-96: *Ponto mihi lecta venena / ipse dedit*; Eitrem in *Symbolae Osloenses*, 12 (1933), 31, n. 2). Hence the doubts of Klouček (*Krit. u. Exeget. z. Vergilius* (1879), 17-18) are needless, he probably being deceived by the different use of *quaerere* in 7, 758: *Marsis quaesitae montibus herbae*. Eitrem (in *Festschrift til H. Kohl* (1933), 37) would like to place lines 513-516 after 508, but lines 504-508 refer to the part played by Dido, 509-516 to the operations of the *sacerdos*, and it is surely the latter who has fetched from her stores the small articles (water, herbs, and *hippomane*s), while Dido provides the pyre, the sword, the effigy (perhaps decked in Aeneas's garments?), and (517) the *mola* — all things to be had in the palace and needing no specialized preparation.

514. *pubentes*: Serv.: *quia aliae siccae, aliae viridiores leguntur. et sciendum inter homines et herbas esse reciprocam translationem: sic enim 'pubentem herbam' dicimus, quemadmodum 'florem aetatis'*; cf. the note on *quaeruntur*, above. Valentine (in *Cl. Weekly*, 21 (1928), 107) thinks this word an indication of winter rather than of summer (when North African vegetation is parched), but this view lays, perhaps, undue emphasis upon greenness implied in the adjective and too little upon the notion that the plants are in a vigorous and hence potent state with abundant juices (not 'woolly,' which the adjective means in modern botanical usage and as Buscaroli (*ad loc.*) would understand it here; in 12, 413 it is difficult to decide upon the meaning of *puberibus caulem foliis*). Further, we cannot be sure that Virgil is attempting to describe realistically conditions in Tunisia. For other adjectives applied to magic herbs cf. Abt, *op. cit.*, 89. *Pubentes* so used is found as a variant reading in G. 3, 126, but probably occurs first in Latin literature in our line; cf. [Tert.] *Carm. adv. Marc.* 1, 16, 13 (*Patr. Lat.* 2, 1059): *mirificos tribuit succos pubentibus herbis*; Ermoldus, *Carm.* 3, 97 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 3, 64): *tellus pubentes parturit herbas*; Stat. *Silv.* 3, 3, 129 uses it of roses, and Ausonius (*Mosella*, 203) of *germina* (corr. by Boecking to *gramina*); cf. *Ep.* 20, 14: *pubentes salicium . . . frondes*; also the use of *pubescere*, as in G. 2, 390; *Ov. Tr.* 3, 12, 7.

514. *herbae*: πῶαι; cf. Theophr. *Hist. Pl.* 9, 8, 1: καλοῦσι γὰρ καὶ πῶαν ἔνια τῶν φαρμακῶδων οἱ ῥιζοσῶμοι. Between medicinal and magical uses of herbs it is not always easy to distinguish (but cf. Aug. *De Doctr. Christ.* 2, 45). For the latter cf. G. 2, 129 (= 3, 283): *miscuerunt herbas et non innoxia verba*; *Aen.* 7, 758: *Marsis quaesitae montibus herbae*; *Hor. Epod.* 5, 21-22; 5, 67-68; *S.* 1, 8, 22; *Tib.* 1, 2, 51; 1, 2, 60; 1, 8, 17; 1, 8, 23; *Prop.* 1, 12, 10; 3, 6, 25; 4, 5, 11; 4, 7, 72; *Ov. Am.* 3, 7, 28; *H.* 6, 93; *Med. Fac. fem.* 35-36: *Ars am.* 2, 101: *non facient ut vivat amor Medeides herbae* (cf. *Apoll. Rh.* 3, 844-868 on Medea's use of herbs); 2, 415-416; *Rem. Am.* 261-263; *M.* 7, 224-227; *Dedo, De Antiquorum Superstitione amatoria* (1904), 10-11; Abt, *op. cit.*, 89-92; Penquitt, *De*

## 515. quaeritur et nascentis equi de fronte revolsus

quaerentistur *M* (quaeritur *M*<sup>1</sup>). fronde (?) *F* (fronte *F*<sup>1</sup>). reuulsus *FPγpabc*.

[513\*] 515-516. quaeritur . . . amor: *Schol. Iuv. 6, 616* — reuulsus —.

*Didonis Vergilianae Exilu* (1910), 48-51; Hopfner, *Gr.-ägypt. Offenbarungszauber* (1921), 114-141; *Papyr. Gr. mag.* 1 (1928), 80; 168 Preisendanz; Lowe, *Magic in Gr. and Lat. Lit.* (1929), 27-28; also the work of Teirlinck, *Flora magica* (1930).

514. *nigri*: Serv.: *aut noxii, quia nigri fiunt homines post venenum, aut certe illud est quia sunt herbae 'nigri lactis', id est suci. dicunt autem per periphrasin agreste papaver significari*; cf. *G. 2, 130* (= *Seren. Samm. 839*): *membris agit atra venena*; *Aen. 2, 221*: *atroque veneno*; 4, 507, n. (*funerea*); *Hor. C. 1, 37, 27-28*: *atrum / . . . venenum*; *Sil. 3, 312*: *atro . . . veneno*; *Seren. Samm. 820*: *virus . . . atrum*; Flodoardus Remensis, *De Triumphis Christi* (Palaest.), 1, 1, 55: *atra venena*; 2, 4, 6: *atri . . . veneni*; 2, 4, 13: *nigra venena coquens*; Porphyry in *Hor. Sermon. 1, 4, 85*: *nigrum autem pro malo ac noxio*. Note the oxymoron in combining *nigri* and *lacte* (cf. Bell, *The Latin Dual* (1923), 392, for other cases). For *lac* of the milky juice of a plant cf. *Ov. M. 11, 606-607*: *innu-meraeque herbae quarum de lacte soporem / Nox legit et spargit per opacas umida terras*; *Nux, 95*; *Colum. 7, 8, 1*; *Cels. 5, 7*.

514. *cum*: cf. 2, 72: *poenas cum sanguine*; *Cic. De Off. 1, 40*: *interitum cum scelere*; *Ov. M. 15, 87*: *dapibus cum sanguine gaudent*.

514. *veneni*: the etymology (\**veneno-m*, from *Venus*; hence 'love-potion'; cf. Ernout and Meillet, *Dict. étym. de la Lang. lat.* (1932), 1040-1041) and the fact that poisonous herbs were often employed in philtres (cf. Abt, *op. cit.*, 90; 237-240; also Lenormant, *La Magie chez les Chaldéens* (1874), 57) help to explain the passage; cf. *Ecl. 8, 95-96*: *has herbas atque haec Ponto mihi lecta venena / ipse dedit Moeris*; *Aen. 7, 190-191*: *versumque venenis / fecit avem Circe*; *Hor. Epod. 5, 21-22*: *herbasque quas Iolcos atque Hiberia / mittit venenorum ferax*; 5, 61-62: *cur dira barbarae minus / venena Medae valent*; 5, 87-88: *venena magnum fas*

*nefasque non valent / convertere humanam vicem*; 17, 35: *cales venenis officina Colchicis*; *Ov. M. 2, 198*: *nigri madidum sudore veneni*; 14, 403 (of Circe): *spargit virus sucosque veneni*. In *Aen. 1, 688* the use is figurative.

515. *quaeritur*: cf. 4, 513, n. (*quaeruntur*). The repetition is thought by Eitrem (in *Symbolae Osloenses*, 12 (1933), 31, and n. 1) to indicate feverish haste, and he compares that of *iubet* in the magical rites described in *Hor. Epod. 5, 17-18*.

515. *nascentis equi*: Serv.: *secundum Plinium, qui dicit in naturali historia (8, 165) pullos equinos habere in fronte quandam carnem, quam eis statim natis odimit mater; quam si quis forte praeripuerit odil pullum et lac ei denegat . . . et merilo suspicantur amorem creari ex carne, sine qua mater non alit ex se creatum*; but contrast Serv. *G. 3, 280*: *scilicet lectum esse apud Hesiodum (Fr. 232 Rzach) herbam esse quandam quae hippomanes vocatur, quasi ἵππου μανία; si enim eam comederint equi furore qualiuntur . . . re verà autem hippomanes dicit esse virus, defluens ex equarum inguinibus quo tempore feruntur amoris furore, ut sil hippomanes virus natum ἀπὸ τῆς μανίας τῆς ἵππου* (cf. *Schol. Dan.*). With these three views of the *hippomanes* cf. the following: *Arist. Hist. An. 6, 18, 572 a 10-12*: αἱ μὲν οὖν ἵπποι αἱ θήλειαι ἵππομανοῦσιν. ὅθεν καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν βλασφημίαν τὸ ὄνομα αὐτῶν ἐπιφέρουσιν ἀπὸ μόνων τῶν ζῶων τὴν ἐπὶ τῶν ἀκολάστων περὶ τὸ ἀφροδισιάζεσθαι; 6, 18, 572 a 19-22: (when mares are 'wind-impregnated') τότε δ' ἐκβάλλουσι τι. καλοῦσι δὲ καὶ τοῦτο, ὥσπερ ἐπὶ τοῦ τικτομένου, ἵππομανές· ἔστι δ' οἶον ἡ καπρία, καὶ ζητοῦσι τοῦτο μάλιστα πάντων αἱ περὶ τὰς φαρμακείας; 6, 22, 577 a 7-13: ὅταν δὲ τέκη ἡ ἵππος, τὸ τε χόριον εὐθὺς κατεσθίει, καὶ ἀπεσθίει τοῦ πῶλου δ' ἐπιφύεται ἐπὶ τοῦ μετώπου τῶν πῶλων, καλεῖται δὲ ἵππομανές· ἔστι δὲ τὸ μέγεθος ἑλαττον μικρῷ ἰσχάδος, τὴν δ' ἰδέαν πλατὺ, περιφερές, μέλαν. τοῦτο ἔαν τις φθῇ λαβῶν καὶ ὀσφρηται ἡ ἵππος, ἐξίσταται καὶ μαίνεται

πρὸς τὴν ὁσμήν· διὸ καὶ τοῦτο αἱ φαρμακίδες ζητοῦσι καὶ συλλέγουσιν; 8, 24, 605 a 2-6: τὸ δ' ἵππομανὲς καλούμενον ἐπιφύεται μὲν, ὥσπερ λέγεται, τοῖς πῶλοις, αἱ δ' ἵπποι περιλείχουσαι καὶ καθαίρουσαι ἀποτρώγουσιν αὐτό· τὰ δ' ἐπιμυθεύμενα πέπλασται μᾶλλον ὑπὸ γυναικῶν καὶ τῶν περὶ τὰς ἐποδὰς; Theophr. Fr. 175 Wimmer (ap. Phot. Bibl. 278, 8): καὶ ἡ ἵππος ἀπεσθίει τῶν πῶλων τὸ ἵππομανὲς· καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο πρὸς ἓνα χρήσιμον; Laevius ap. Apul. *Apol.* 30: *hinnientium dulcedines*; Virg. G. 3, 280-282: *hic demum hippomanes, vero quod nomine dicunt / pastores, lentum destillat ab inguine virus, / hippomanes, quod saepe malae legere novercae* (cf. 3, 266-268); Tib. 2, 4, 57-58: *et quod, ubi indomitis gregibus Venus adflat amores, / hippomanes cupidae stillat ab inguine equae*; Prop. 4, 5, 17-18: *et in me / hippomanes felae semina legit equae*; Ov. *Am.* 1, 8, 8: (*scit*) *quid valeat virus amantis equae*; *Ars am.* 2, 100: *dalque quod a teneri fronte revellit equi*; *Med. Fac. fem.* 38: *nec template nocens virus amantis equae*; Colum. R. 6, 27, 3: *curandum est praedicto tempore anni ut tam feminis quam admisariis desiderantibus coeundi fiat potestas, quoniam id praecipue armentum si prohibeas libidinis exstimulatur furiis, unde etiam veneno inditum est nomen ἵππομανές, quod equinae cupidini similem mortalibus amorem accendat*; Juv. 6, 133: *hippomanes carmenque loquar coctumque venenum*, etc. (schol.: *hippomanes quod de partu equarum rapitur a fronte pulli statim ut nascitur, quod mater ab eo delambit, quod datum in poculum ad amatorias res facit*); 6, 615-617: *et furere incipias, ut avunculus ille Neronis, / cui tolam tremuli frontem Caesonia pulli / infudit* (also schol. and Suet. *Calig.* 50); 6, 626 and schol.; Luc. 6, 455-456: *cum turgentia suco / frontis amaturae subducunt pignora felae*; Plin. *N. H.* 8, 165: *et sane equis amoris innasci (enasci Sillig) veneficium hippomanes appellatum in fronte, caricae magnitudine, colore nigro, quod statim edito partu devorat feta aut partum ad ubera non admittit. si quis praereptum habeat, olfactu in rabiem id genus agitur* (cf. Solin. 45, 17; Vincent. *Bellov. Spec. nat.* 18, 49); 28, 180; 28, 181: *hippomanes tantas in veneficio viris habet ut adfusum aeris mixturae in effigiem equae Olympiae admos maris equos ad rabiem coitus agat*; Ael. *N. A.* 3,

17: *ἰνγγας δὲ ἑρωτικὰς τῷ πῶλῳ συντίκτουσαι ἵππος οἶδε· ταῦτά τοι καὶ ἄμα τῷ τεχθῆναι τὸ βρέφος ἢ δὲ τὸ ἐπὶ τῷ μετώπῳ σαρκίον ἀπείτραγεν. ἵππομανὲς ἄνθρωποι καλοῦσιν αὐτὲ. καὶ οἱ γόητες τὰ τοιαῦτά φασιν ὁρμάς τινας ἑλκτικὰς ἐς μῆξιν ἀκατάσχετον καὶ οἴστρον ἀφροδίσιον παρέχειν καὶ ἐξάπτειν*; 14, 17: *ἵππος ὅταν τέκη τοῦ βρέφους ἐκπεφυκῖαν σάρκα οὐ πολλὴν ἀλλὰ ὀλίγην ἀπηρτῆσθαι οἱ μὲν κατὰ τοῦ μετώπου φασίν, οἱ δὲ κατὰ τῆς ὀσφίος, ἄλλοι γε μὴν κατὰ τοῦ αἰδοίου. ταύτην οὖν ἀποτραγοῦσα ἀφανίζει, καλεῖται δὲ τὸ σαρκίον τοῦτο ἵππομανές*; Paus. 5, 27, 3; Hesych. s.v.: *τοῦτ' ἔχρῳνται πρὸς τὰ φίλτρα αἱ φαρμακίδες*. It thus appears that the *hippomanes* might be a lump on the forehead (or on other parts) of a foal at birth or a *lentum ab inguine virus*. The chief agricultural writers (e.g., Varr. *R. R.* 2, 7; Pallad. 4, 13, 6) do not mention it. By others (e.g., Theocr. 2, 48-49 and schol. (cf. *Prob. in Virg. G.* 3, 282); Dioscur. 2, 173; [4, 80] Abt, *op. cit.*, 103, n. 2; and perhaps Soph. *Aias*, 142; *Etyim. M.* 474, 42) the name is applied to plants of hot and aphrodisiac qualities.

Among later allusions — derived from those already mentioned — may be cited Bartholomaeus Anglicus, *De Proprietatibus Rerum* (1485), 18, 39 (cf. Stelle, *Medieval Lore* (1893), 126); Agrippa von Nettesheim, *Geheim. Philos.* 1 (1916 ed.), 192-193; Gesner, *Hist. Anim.* 1 (1551), 478-479; Lyly, *Euphues* (1916 ed.), 331: "in the head of a young colt a bunch named Hippomanes"; Needham, *Disquis. anatomi. de formato Foetu* (1667), 57-58; 182, concluding: *magis insignis est illa concretio quae lienem bubulum fere repraesentat, sed multo minor est, linguam pulli equini vocant nostrates inventamque et reservatam boni ominis esse credunt. forte etiam illud est quod Cornelius Agrippa (si bene memini) pulli fronti adnasci putat, matremque, nisi illud comederit, pulli oblivisci; indeque philtrum componit*; Tytler, *Hist. of Scotland*, 4 (1864), 201, for a magic potion including among its ingredients "the hippomanes in the head of a young foal"; Leyel, *Magic of Herbs* (1927), 104, who quotes the lines: "Hippomanes, for shepherds call it so / Distil a venom from their parts below, / Hippomanes that wicked stepdames pluck / Mingling with herbs that bring bad luck."



## 516. et matri praereptus amor.

praereptus (*corr. in praeruptus*) γ, praeruptus (*corr. in praereptus*) ρ, praeruputus *c'delt.*

[513, 515] 516. et . . . amor: *Schol. Lucan.* 6, 456 — praeruptus *UGV* —; *Anth. Lat.* no. 17, 402 (*l. p. 77 Riese*) — praeruptus *A* —; *Mythogr. Vat.* III, 9, 11.

Modern anatomical explanations are discussed at length by Thieke in *Anatom. Anzeiger*, 38 (1911), 454-460; 465-486, with plates, a summary of the views of various anatomists (454-456), and a large bibliography (484-486), and by Stadler in *P.-W.* 8 (1913), 1881 (and works there cited). Add also: Hirschfeld, *De Incantamentis et Devinc-tionibus amatoriis apud Graecos Romanosque* (1863), 42, n. 6; Le Breton, *De Animalibus apud Verg.* (1895), 515-516; Dedo, *De Antiquorum Superstitione amatoria* (1904), 6-7; Fahz, *De Poet. Rom. Doctr. magica* (1904), 28 (134); Chauveau and Arloing, *Traité d'Anatomie comparée des Animaux domestiques*, 5 ed., 2 (1905), 702-703: "on désigne sous ce nom [i.e., Hippomanes] une sorte de concrétions discoides, jaunes ou brunâtres, d'apparence fibrineuse, que l'on trouve en suspension dans le liquide allantoidien des Solipèdes et aussi des Ruminants. . . . Pour M. Dastre les hippomanes prennent naissance entre le chorion et l'allantoïde; etc."; Gruppe, *Gr. Myth. u. Relig.* 1 (1906), 83, n. 4; Bonnet, *Lehrbuch d. Entwicklungsgesch.* (1907), 194-195 (and fig. 142) — an important account; Ellenberger u. Baum, *Handb. d. vergl. Anat. der Haustiere*, 12 ed. (1908), 625; Abt, *Die Apologie des Apuleius von Madaura u. d. antike Zauberei* (1908), 92 [166], n. 2; Penquitt, *op. cit.*, 51-52; Royds, *Beasts, Birds, and Bees of Virgil* (1918), 15; Grosser, *Frühentwicklung Eihautbildung u. Placentation des Menschen u. der Säugetiere* (1927), 101: "Die Konkreme des Allantois hohlraumes ('Hippomanes') sind nicht aus der Allantoisflüssigkeit niedergeschlagen, sondern abgekapselte, in den Hohlraum eingewanderte Brocken eingedichten Uterussekretes, die dann mit verschiedenen Salzen, auch Harnsäure, inkrustiert werden"; Lowe, *Magic in Gr. and Lat. Lit.* (1929), 29; Steller in Hoffmann-Krayer, *Handwörterbuch d. deutsch. Aberglaubens*, 4 (1932), 73-74, and

works there cited; Spargo, *Virgil the Necromancer* (1934), 85-86; 354, n. 18.

As summarized by Thieke (*op. cit.*, 454), antiquity and the middle ages used the term *hippomanes* for a flattish, olive-green or dull body about the size of a fig, lying free in the allantoid cavity or on the forehead of the foetus, but from Bourgelat on it has been employed for other formations, of which Thieke recognizes three kinds: (a) inpocketings of the allantoids; sessile swellings or stalked cysts filled with yellowish serous fluid, with walls like those of the allantoids, in two layers; (b) inpocketings of the 'Allantoischorion'; degenerative, sessile or stalked, with more or less indurated contents; (c) flattened discoid structures, of varying size and color, at the end of twisted and knotted threads coming from the allantochorion but not forming a terminal cavity. These structures may become detached as free bodies, but there is no indication of how they may come to be — if indeed they are — on the forehead of the foal.

The magical properties associated with the *hippomanes* suggest those ascribed to umbilical cords, afterbirths, cauls, etc. (cf. Jonson, *Alch.* 1, 2, 613; Dickens, *David Copperfield*, ch. 1; Hood, *Sea Spell*, 9-10; Frazer, *Golden Bough*, 3 ed., 1 (1913), 186-201; *id.*, *Folk-Lore in the Old Test.* 3 (1918), 175; Eitrem, *Papyri Osloenses*, 1 (1925), 114; Westermarck, *Ritual and Belief in Morocco*, 2 (1926), 400), but inquiry among anatomists and practical veterinarians — in which I have been greatly helped by Professor F. T. Lewis of the Harvard Medical School — has not indicated that mares eat these substances.

The appropriateness of the *hippomanes* in magic philtres, transferring to the persons for whom they were intended the amatory violence of mares (*Hor. C.* 1, 25, 13-14; Gruppe, *Gr. Myth. u. Relig.* 2 (1906), 853,

## 517. ipsa mola manibusque piis altaria iuxta

molam *MPγ<sup>1</sup>c*, mola *Fabb*, *Serv.*

517. ipsa . . . iuxta: *Schol. Lucan.* 1, 610 — *om. U* —. 517. ipsa . . . piis: *Eutych. Ars*, 2 (*G. L. K.* 5, 477) — ipsam *B*; molam —. 517. ipsa mola: *Schol. Dan. Ecl.* 8, 82 — ipsam molam *L* —. 517. manibus piis: *Gl. Ansil.* 356, 627. 517. altaria iuxta: *Cento Probae*, 325 — altaria *S*; iuxta *SAπ<sup>2</sup>* —; *Gl. Ansil.* 46, 298.

n. o), is obvious. Dido, however, objects (*op. cit.*, 48) that the drug was used only in potions, which could not be administered by Dido to Aeneas after he had set sail; hence he concludes that the poet is here inconsistent. But Virgil may have contemplated some other use of the *hippomanes*, such as burning (a frequent magical use of herbs; cf. *id.*, 10) or its application, in sympathetic magic, to the *effigies* which represented Aeneas (the *mola* mentioned in line 517 was probably sprinkled over objects to be burned; cf. *Ecl.* 8, 82: *sparge molam et fragilis incende bitumine laurus*).

516. et, etc.: Sparrow (*Half-lines and Repetitions in Virgil* (1931), 33) thinks lines 515–516 are perhaps a marginal jotting intended as an alternative to 513–514, for in addition to the incomplete line there is an unusual meaning in *amor* (= ‘love-charm’). Yet the heaping up of the magical equipment is in itself effective, and the unusual use of *amor* (cf. *στέργημα* in *Soph. Trach.* 1138) deserves not to be lost. A partial parallel is *Plin. N. H.* 8, 165: *equis amoris innasci veneficium hippomanes appellatum in fronte, if amoris* be taken as a sort of appositional genitive with *veneficium*. In *Anth. Lat.* no. 17, 402 (1, p. 77 Riese) this hemistich recurs as an incomplete line.

516. praereptus: cf. *Plin. N. H.* 8, 165 (quoted in 4, 515, n. (*nascentis equi*), above); *Solin.* 45, 17, in both of which the same verb is used of the *hippomanes* snatched away before the mare can devour it.

517. ipsa: reverting from the *sacerdos* to Dido. With the phrase cf. *Anth. Lat.* no. 4, 116 (1, p. 24 Riese): *ipsa mola et manibus*.

517. mola: the variant *molam* — probably due to dittography before the initial *m* of *manibus* — is not recognized by cod. *F* or by *Servius* or the scholia to *Lucan*, and syn-

tactically depends on nothing. If, with many editors, we retain it we must either, with *Sabbadini* (*ad loc.*; cf. *id.*, in *Riv. di Filol.* 28 (1900), 82), awkwardly supply *sparsere* from line 512 and treat 513–516 as parenthetical, or assume that a governing verb would eventually have been supplied in 4, 516 (but for this the only possible parallel among the half-lines as they now stand is 3, 340: *quam tibi iam Troia*, where the omission seems due to an intentional delicacy on the part of the speaker), or else must make some transposition. *Ribbeck* places 486 after 517, making *molam* depend on *spargens* (cf. *Ecl.* 8, 82: *sparge molam*; based on *Theocr.* 2, 18), but in this few have followed him. The logical inconcinnity of *mola manibusque* in the same construction (*Hahn*, *Coordination of non-coordinate Elements in Vergil* (1930), 153) must be admitted, but offers no serious grammatical difficulty. The ablatives are probably modal; cf. *Plin. N. H.* 18, 7: *mola salsa supplicare*; *Val. Fl.* 1, 781–782: *Stygiasque supremo / obsecrat igne domos*.

*Schol. Dan.*: *mola, id est, farre et sale, quam molam salsam a molendo appellant*; *Val. Max.* 2, 5, 5: *in sacrificiis mola quae vocatur ex farre et sale constat*; *Paul. ex Fest.* p. 141 *M.* (= p. 125 *Lindsay*): *mola vocatur etiam far tostum et sale sparsum, quod eo molito hostiae asperguntur*. *Plin. N. H.* 31, 89 states: *maxime tamen in sacris intellegitur auctoritas (sc. salis), quando nulla conficiuntur sine mola salsa*; and the custom gives rise to the verb *immolare* (cf. *Schol. Dan. Aen.* 4, 57: *olim enim hostiae ‘immolatae’ dicebantur mola salsa tactae*; *Suet. Prat.* p. 314 *Roth*: *immolari dicitur hostia cum mola salsa in caput adiecta est*; other passages in *Pease* on *Cic. De Div.* 2, 37). For the cult importance of salt, especially when mixed with spelt

518. unum exuta pedem vinclis, in veste recincta,

uestae *F* (ueste *F*<sup>1</sup>).

518. unum . . . recincta: *Serv. Aen.* 2, 134 — uinctis *H*; retincta *H* —; 3, 370; *Anth. Lat. no.* 17, 326 (1, p. 74 Riese) — retincta *A* (recincta *A*<sup>1</sup>) —; *Mythogr. Vat.* III, 6, 30.  
518. exuta . . . vinclis: *Gl. Ansil.* 229, 1433. 518. vinclis: *Gl. Ansil.* 588, 193; q.v.  
518. in . . . recincta: *Gl. Ansil.* 315, 1958.

(*far*), cf. Gruppe, *Gr. Myth. u. Relig.* 2 (1906), 815; 850, n. 1; 889, n. 3; 893, n. 5; Eitrem, *Opferritus u. Voropfer der Gr. u. Römer* (1915), 261–275; 309–343; Hopfner, *Gr.-ägypt. Offenbarungszauber* (1921), 150–151; 242; Frazer on *Ov. F.* 1, 337; 2, 23; 5, 421; 6, 249; Koch in *P.-W.* 15 (1932), 2516–2517; Eitrem in *Symbolae Osloenses*, 12 (1933), 15, and n. 4.

Other typical passages on *mola* at sacrifices are: Plaut. *Amphitr.* 740; *Aen.* 2, 133: *salsae fruges*; 12, 173–174: *dant fruges manibus salsas . . . / . . . patrisque altaria libant*; Dion. Hal. 2, 25, 2: *Ῥωμαῖοι τιμωτάτων τε καρπὸν καὶ ἀρχαιότατον εἶναι νομίζοντες τὰς ξέας διὰ τούτων ἀπάσης ἐμπύρου θυσίας κατάρχονται*; Tib. 1, 5, 14; *Ov. F.* 2, 535–538; 3, 284; 4, 409; Hygin. *Fab.* 277: *inde primum inventum est super hostias molam salsam imponere*; Sen. *Oed.* 335: *sparge salsa colla taurorum mola*; Thy. 688: *tangensque salsa victimam culler mola*; Mart. 7, 54, 5; Plin. *N. H.* praef. 11: *mola tantum salsa libant qui non habent tura*; 18, 7: *Numa instituit deos fruge colere et mola salsa supplicare*; *Acta Fratr. Arv.* cxvi Henzen: *immolavitque vino mola cultroque*, etc.; Arnob. 3, 24; 5, 3; 6, 1; 7, 20; Dracont. *Romul.* 10, 194–195; *Serv. Aen.* 2, 133: *mola salsa qua et frons victimae et foci aspergebantur et cultri. fiebat autem de horna fruge et harno sale*; 3, 178; Schol. Dan. *Ecl.* 8, 82: *far enim pium, id est, mola casta, salsa . . . ita fit: virgines Vestales tres maximae ex nonis Maiis ad pridie idus Maias alternis diebus spicas adorea in corbibus mensuariis ponunt easque spicas ipsae virgines torrent, pinsunt, molunt atque ita molitum conduunt. ex eo farre virgines ter in anno molam faciunt . . . adiecto sale cocto et sale duro. igitur quod in sacris mola casta dicitur; ideo Vergilius in quinto Aeneidis (745) 'farre pio' enuntiavit; quid enim est pium nisi*

*castum*; etc.; Schol. Dan. *G.* 1, 31; Schol. *Pers.* 2, 71; *Mythogr. Vat.* III, 6, 32.

517. *piis*: *Serv.*: *piis manibus, id est, puris*; cf. *Aen.* 3, 42: *pias . . . manus*; 4, 637: *pia . . . villa*; 5, 745: *farre pio*; Hor. *C.* 3, 23, 20: *farre pio et saliente mica*; Tib. 3, 2, 16: *perfusaeque pias ante liquore manus*; 3, 4, 10: *farre pio placant et saliente sale*; Aug. *Conf.* 8, 27: *pias manus*; also Soph. *O. C.* 470: *οἱ δὲ ὁσίων χειρῶν θιγῶν* (and Jebb's n.); *Ps.* 24, 4; also Tib. 2, 1, 14: *manibus puris sumite fontis aquam*. On the ritual washing cf. 4, 635, *infra*.

517. *altaria iuxta*: cf. 4, 204, n. (*ante aras*); 4, 255, n. (*iuxta*); Tac. *Ann.* 2, 41, 1: *Tiberim iuxta*.

518. *unum*, etc.: Schol. Dan.: *solent enim et resolutoria sacrificia ab aruspiciibus fieri. et (ad) Iunonis Lucinae sacra non licet accedere nisi solutis nodis*. Three principles seem to underlie the frequent ritual prescription of bare feet: (1) that leather footgear (i.e., the skins of dead animals) was taboo in sacred rites (cf. Schol. Dan.: *flaminicae non licebat neque calceos neque soleas morticinas habere; morticinae autem dicuntur quae de pecudibus sua sponte mortuis fiebant* — the common prescription of linen and other vegetable substances is doubtless due to the same principle; Hier. *De Viris illustr.* 2: *huic soli licitum erat ingredi sancta sanctorum; siquidem vestibibus laneis non utebatur sed lineis*; Kretschmer in *Jahreshefte d. österr. arch. Inst.* 5 (1902), 145, publishing an inscription from Eresus which reads: *(μνη)δὲ εἰς τὸν ναὸν εἰσφέρειν σίδερον μνηδὲ χαλκὸν πλὰν νομίσματος μνηδὲ ὑπόδεσιν μνηδὲ ἄλλο δέσμα μνηδὲν*, and citing parallels at other shrines; Wächter, *Reinheits-Vorschriften im gr. Kult* (1910), 23; 55; 57–58; 61; Eitrem, *Opferritus u. Voropfer d. Gr. u. Römer* (1915), 392–394; Hopfner, *Gr.-ägypt. Offenbarungs-*

zauber (1921), 238-239; *id.*, in *P.-W.* 14 (1928), 362-363; Frazer on *Ov. F.* 1, 629; Burris, *Taboo, Magic, Spirits* (1931), 78-80), and hence might not be brought upon holy ground (e.g., *Eur. Ion.* 220-221: *θεῖμς γυάλων ὑπερ- / βῆραι λευκῶ ποδὶ βηλόν*; inscriptions of sacred spots at Ialysus, Andania, and Lycosura (Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscr. Gr.*, 2 ed., 2 (1900), nos. 560; 653; 939); Cook, *Zeus*, 2 (1925), 922 (and works there cited) for an inscription of the first century B.C. at a sanctuary on Mt. Cynthus bidding worshippers enter (*ἀνν*)/*ποδῆτους*; Varr. *L. L.* 7, 84: *in aliquot sacris ac sacellis scriptum habemus: 'ne quid scorteum adhibeatur,' ideo ne morticinum quid adsit* (cf. *C. I. L.* I, 2 ed., 1, p. 231, 12); *Menipp.* 439 Bücheler; Solin. 11, 8: *aedem numinis* (Diana Britomartis in Crete) *praeterquam nudus vestigia nullus licito ingreditur*; Philostr. *Vit. Apollon.* 8, 7, 4 (on Pythagoras wearing sandals of byblus); *Exod.* 3, 5 (cf. *Acts*, 7, 33); *Joshua*, 5, 15; 2 *Sam.* 15, 30 (Dittmar in *Zeitschr. f. neutest. Wiss.* 9 (1908), 344); Ambros. *De Isaac*, 16: *exula vinculis pedem*; Hier. *Comm. in Amos*, 1, p. 260 Vall.: *unde et apostoli absque calciamenti et ulla mortui animalis pellicula nudis pedibus iubentur incedere* (Matt. 10, 10); *Comm. in Mich.* 1, p. 439 Vall.: *deponentque de pedibus suis quiddam mortiferum habuerunt, et erunt discalciati, quia terra in qua staturi sunt locus est sanctus*; *Epist. Alex. ad Aristot.* p. 211 Kuebler; a Christian charm in Heim, *Incantamenta magica* (1892), 554; Raymond of Agiles, *Hist. Franc.* 15 (*Patr. Lat.* 155, 614); Koran, Sura 20, 12; cf. Eitrem, *op. cit.*, 91 and n. 6; MacCulloch in Hastings, *Encycl. of Relig. and Ethics*, 11 (1921), 474-476; Westermarck, *Ritual and Belief in Morocco*, 1 (1926), 241-242), or into sacred ceremonies; (2) to keep the performer of magic rites in touch with the earth and underworld powers (cf. the Antaeus myth (Oertel in Roscher, *Ausf. Lex.* 1 (1884), 362; also Amelung in *Diss. d. pontif. Accad. Rom. di Arch.*, 2 Ser., 9 (1905), 115-135 and pl. V; Penquitt, *De Didonis Vergilianae Exitu* (1910), 53; Hopfner, *Gr.-ägypt. Offenbarungszauber* (1921), 239-240), leather acting as a sort of magic insulation); and (3) that, as all magic and many religious rites must be kept free from the hampering influ-

ence of knots (Serv. *Aen.* 2, 134: *piaculum est in sacrificio aliquid esse religatum*; cf. Dedo, *De Antiquorum Superstitione amatoria* (1904), 13; Wächter, *op. cit.*, 23, n. 2; Heckenbach, *De Nuditate sacra sacrisque Vinculis* (1911), *passim*, especially 28; 48-49; Weinreich in *Hess. Blätter f. Volkskunde*, 10 (1911), 129-130 (additions to Heckenbach); 212-213 (modern Greek custom); Samter, *Geburt, Hochzeit, u. Tod* (1911), 121-130; Dilling in Hastings, *Encycl. of Relig. and Ethics*, 7 (1915), 747-751; Frazer, *Golden Bough*, 3 ed., 3 (1914), 293-317; Pease on Cic. *De Div.* 2, 84; Gruppe in *Burs. Jahresb.* 186 (1921), 177-178; Hopfner, *Gr.-ägypt. Offenbarungszauber* (1921), 239; Burris in *Cl. Philol.* 24 (1929), 157; Frazer on *Ov. F.* 3, 257; 5, 432-433; McCartney in *Cl. Philol.* 26 (1931), 166-171, especially 166, n. 2 (with bibliography); Burris, *Taboo, Magic, Spirits* (1931), 109-114) — a prescription which often entails complete nudity (Heckenbach, *op. cit.*, *passim*; Pearson on Soph. *Frag.* 534, 7) —, so many cases of bare feet may be explained, and this Virgil's use of the term *vinculis* indicates is his own explanation; cf. Callim. *Hymn.* 6, 124: *ἀπεδίλωτοι καὶ ἀνάμυκες ἄστυ πατέμεν*; Euphorion ap. Plut. *De sera Num. Vind.* 12 (*Collectanea Alexand.* (1925), 40, no. 53 Powell); Hor. *Serm.* 1, 8, 24: *Canidiam pedibus nudis passoque capillo*; *Ov. M.* 7, 182-183 (of Medea): *egreditur tectis vestes induta recinctas, / nuda pedem, nudis umeros infusa capillis*; *F.* 5, 432: *habent gemini vincula nulla pedes*; Strab. 7, 2, 3, of priestesses among the Cimbri who are *γυμνόποδες*; Sen. *Med.* 752-753: *vinculo solvens comam / secreta nudo nemora lustravi pede*; Petron. 44, 18: *stolatae ibant nudis pedibus in clivum, passis capillis, mentibus puris, et Iovem aquam exorabant* (for other references to the rain-making ceremony called *nudipedalia* cf. Sil. 3, 28; Tert. *De Ieiunio*, 16; *Apol.* 40 (and Mayor's n.); Hier. *Chron. Euseb.* ann. Abr. 1345; *Comm. in Gal.* 1, p. 407 Vall.; Eitrem, *op. cit.*, 93, n. 2; 399 and n. 1); Plin. *N. H.* 17, 266; 24, 103 (of selago): *legitur sine ferro dextra manu . . . candida veste vestito pureque lautis nudis pedibus eant, capillo cinctuque dissoluto*; Columell. 11, 3, 64; Suet. *Aug.* 100; Solin. 11,

## 519. testatur moritura deos et conscia fati

519. testatur . . . deos: *Anth. Lat. no. 15, 116* (1, p. 54 Riese) — deo — 519. conscia fati: *Gl. Ansil. 139, 1382*.

8 (see above); *Pythag. Symbol.* 3 (Boehm, *De Symbolis Pythagoreis* (1905), 9-10): *θεῶν χρη ἀνυπόδητον καὶ πρὸς τὰ ἱερὰ προσ-ἔναι*; Marinus, *Vita Procli*, 11; Pallad. 1, 35, 3; *Geopon.* 12, 8, 5; [Apul.] *Herbar. praecantatio*; Thorndike, *Hist. of Magic and Exper. Sci.*, 2 ed., 1 (1929), 729; also Sartori in *Zeitschr. des Vereins f. Volkskunde*, 4 (1894), 178-180; Dedo, *De Antiquorum Superstitione amatoria* (1904), 13, and n. 3; Frazer, *Golden Bough*, 3 ed., 3 (1911), 312, n. 3. The explanation of Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, 1 ed. (1889), 434, that shoes were put off the feet in holy places because they could not, like the rest of one's clothing, be purified by washing and hence were unclean, seems less likely than the reasons above given.

Previous examples have illustrated chiefly the baring of both feet. For 'one shoe off and one shoe on' cf. the reasonable explanation of Servius: *quia id agitur ut et ista solvatur et implicetur Aeneas*. That the bare foot was the left may be judged from Hesych. s. v. *Δὼς κώδιον*; cf. Frazer on Paus. 2, 31, 8; Penquitt, *op. cit.*, 53-54, and Henry's explanation (*Aeneidea*, 3 (1889), 604) of *Aen.* 7, 689-690: *vestigia nuda sinistri / instituere pedis* (though Fowler, *Virgil's Gathering of the Clans* (1918), 60-61, thinks the reason not magical but practical, to get a firmer hold upon the ground, comparing Macrobian *Sat.* 5, 18, 13-21; to which add Thuc. 3, 22, to which Rauchenstein in *Philologus*, 35 (1876), 578 cites a parallel from Swiss history); Clem. Alex. *Paedag.* 2, 11: *καὶ γὰρ πῶς ἑγγὺς τὸ ὑποδέεσθαι τῷ δεδέεσθαι*; cf. Sannazaro, *Ecl.* 5, 26: *ipsa comas effusa, pedemque exula sinistrum*. Of persons wearing but one sandal the most famous case was that of Jason, whose left foot was accidentally bare (Pind. *Pyth.* 4, 75; 4, 95; Pherecyd. *Frag.* 60 (*Frag. Hist. Gr.* 1, 87); Apoll. Rh. 1, 5-11; Lycophr. *Alex.* 1310; Hygin. *Fab.* 12; 13; Apollod. *Bibl.* 1, 9, 16 (cf. Zenob. 4, 92 in *Paroemiogr. Gr.* 1, 111); Schol. Dan. *Ecl.* 4, 34; Lact. *Plac. in Stat. Theb.* 3, 516; 5, 336;

*Mythogr. Vat.* II, 135; Eitrem, *Hermes u. d. Toten* (1909), 44-45, who discusses the aphrodisiac character of the shoe); for Hermes and Perseus cf. Artemid. *Onirocr.* 4, 63. At times the loss of a sandal is due to accident, excitement (*App. Planud.* 127, 1), or drunkenness (*id.*, 306, 5-6; 307, 3-4; 308, 5-6); at other times there is probably a magical significance (e.g., in addition to some passages already cited, Luc. *Philopseud.* 27; *Papyr. Gr. mag.* 1, 142; 1, 144; 1, 150 Preisendanz: *ἐγὼ ἴδον τὴν μεγίστην θεὸν* (Selene) *καταλιπούσαν τὸν πόλον τὸν οὐράνιον ἐπὶ γῆς γυμνοσάνδαλον, κτλ.*; Tasso, *Ger. lib.* 13, 6, 1: *e scinto e nudo un piè*; Frazer, *Golden Bough*, 3 ed., 3 (1914), 312-313; Eckstein in Hoffmann-Krayer, *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens*, 1 (1927), 922; Bächtold-Stäubli in the same work, 3 (1931), 229). For examples in art cf. Lenormant in *Contemp. Rev.* 38 (1880), 137, followed by De Witte in *Gaz. arch.* 9 (1884), 352-353 and pl. 44-46; Frazer on Paus. 2, 31, 8 (these on a hydria of Theseus undergoing purification; yet cf. Beazley, *Gr. Vases in Poland* (1928), 40-41); Reinach, *Bronzes figurés de la Gaule romaine* (1894), 64-66 and fig. 48 (a statuette of Mercury in the museum of S. Germain-en-Laye, with left foot shod and right bare); Amelung, *op. cit.*, 123-135; Reinach, *Rép. de la Statuaire gr. et rom.*, 2 ed., 1 (1906), 506; Esdaile in *Journ. of Hellen. Stud.* 29 (1909), 2 and pl. 1 b; Helbig-Amelung, *Führer durch d. öffentl. Sammlungen kl. Alt. in Rom*, 3 ed., 1 (1912), 514-515 (a statue in the Palazzo dei Conservatori); Helbig-Amelung, *op. cit.*, 2 (1913), 393-395; Hauser in *Jahresh. d. österr. arch. Inst. in Wien*, 16 (1913), 57-77 (a seated female statue in the Palazzo Barberini formerly identified with Dido); Helbig-Amelung, *op. cit.*, 1 (1912), 129; Hauser, *op. cit.*, 63-66, for an Athenian relief of a figure seated on an *omphalos*; Dieterich-Fehrle, *Mutter Erde*, 2 ed. (1925), 81, n. 2 (the Augustus of Prima-porta); Hauser in *Röm. Mittheilungen*, 25

## 520. sidera; tum, si quod non aequo foedere amantis

siquod (*corr. in siquoi*) *M*, siquid *p*, *cod. Leid. m. pr.* fodoere *π.* amantes *p*.

520-521. tum . . . precatur: *Prisc. Inst.* 7, 32 (*G. L. K.* 2, 314) — equo *G*; federe *RL*; amantes; praecatur *RB* —; *Aug. Reg.* (*G. L. K.* 5, 503) — tum sit quod non equos edere amantes cure nomen *F* —. 520. non . . . foedere: *Gl. Ansil.* 394, 147 — aequo —; *Gl. Abol.* 150, 23.

(1910), 273-292, and pl. 2 (a seated Heracles from Torre Nova with the right foot bare, the left shod).

With the beginning of the line cf. 11, 649: *unum exserta latus*; with the syntax Löfstedt, *Syntactica*, 2 (1933), 421.

518. *vinclis*: of sandals in Tib. 1, 5, 66; *Ov. M.* 3, 168; *F.* 5, 432 (quoted above).

518. in *veste*: Buscaroli (*ad loc.*) compares 5, 179; 7, 167; 12, 169; etc.

518. *recincta*: Serv.: *quia . . . in sacris nihil solet esse religatum, praecipue eius quae amore vult solvi*; cf. 4, 509, n. (*crinis effusa*); the same taboo upon knots which applied to the sandal extended to the girdle (e.g., *Ov. Am.* 1, 5, 9; 3, 1, 51; *H.* 2, 116; *M.* 1, 382: *cinctasque resolvite vestes*; 1, 398; 7, 182: *vestes induta recinctas*; *Val. Fl.* 8, 115: *cum veste recincta*; *Plin. N. H.* 17, 266: *muliere . . . nudis pedibus, recincta*; *Colum.* 10, 361: *sed resoluta sinus, resoluta maesta capillo*; *Molsa, Eleg. ad Sodalem*, 47: *et veste recincta*; *Penquitt, op. cit.*, 54; *Hopfner, Gr.-ägypt. Offenbarungszauber*, 1 (1921), 239) and to bindings of the hair (*Sommer in P.-W.* 7 (1912), 2109). This is the earliest occurrence of the verb. Our passage was perhaps in the mind of *Ambros. De Isaaco et Anima*, 16: *exi quasi exuta vinculis pedem et nudo exserta vestigio*.

519. *testatur*: cf. 12, 581: *testaturque deos*.

519. *moritura*: cf. 4, 308, n. (*nec, etc.*).

519. *conscia fati*: Serv.: *id est, planetas, in quibus fatorum ratio continetur*. So *DeWitt* (*in Cl. Journ.* 26 (1930), 22) would detect an astrological allusion here. It may be, however, that the stars are here invoked as the sun is in 4, 607 (*Penquitt, op. cit.*, 54, n. 5); cf. 4, 167, n. (*consciis aether*); and for swearing by the stars, as the eyes of heaven, cf. 2, 154-155: *vos aeterni ignes et non violabile*

*vestrum / testor numen*; 3, 599: *per sidera testor*; 6, 458: *per sidera iuro*; 9, 429: *caelum hoc et conscia sidera testor*; 12, 197: *terram, mare, sidera iuro*; *Stat. Theb.* 12, 393: *per socios manes et conscia sidera iuro*. Similar phrases without the idea of swearing are *Stat. Theb.* 6, 240-241: *nec conscia fallit / sidera*; 8, 206; *Manil.* 1, 1-2: *et conscia fati / sidera*; *Claud. De Rapt. Pros.* 2, 7: *conscia fati*; *Auson. Parent.* 4, 17: *conscia sidera fati*; *Pascoli, Le Ciaramelle*, 27-28: *le stelle . . . / conscie del nostro breve mistero*. *Dietsch (Theologum. Vergilian. Particula* (1853), 27) questions whether the stars can be properly called *conscia fati*, i.e., aware that Dido is near her death, when in 4, 696 she is said to die *nec fato*, etc. But the latter passage expresses the thought of the author, who is, for literary purposes, omniscient, while the present line may well be interpreted as showing Dido's own feeling; she knows herself about to die and addresses the stars which she believes observe her actions, just as the next day her appeal is to the sun (4, 607).

520. *si quod*: Serv.: '*si quod*' autem bene dubitat utrum res malae habeant praepositas potestates (cf. 4, 382: *si quid pia numina possunt*). *sensus autem hic est*: 'Ἀντίερωτα invocat, contrarium Cupidini, qui amores resolvit, aut certe cui curae est iniquus amor, scilicet ut implicet non amantem; *Schol. Dan.: amatoribus praeesse dicuntur* Ἐρως, Ἀντίερωτα, Δυσέρωτα; cf. *Furtwängler in Roscher, Aufsl. Lex.* 1 (1890), 1343; *Wernicke in P.-W.* 1 (1894), 2354-2355; also the inscription in *Inscr. Lat. sel.* 8754 Dessau (= *Audollent, Defix. Tabell.* (1904), no. 270).

520. *aequo foedere*: cf. 11, 321-322: *foederis aequas / dicamus leges*; *Theocr.* 12, 15-16: ἀλλήλους δ' ἐφίλησαν ἰσὺ ζυγῶ. ἡ ῥα τὸτ' ἦσαν / χρύσειοι πάλαι ἄνδρες, δὲ ἀντεφίλησ' ὁ φιληθεὶς; *Ov. Ep.* 15, 163-164: *non*

## 521. curae numen habet iustumque memorque, precatur.

[520\*] 521. curae habet: *Gl. Ansil.* 158, 293.

*ignibus aequis / ureris*; *Tr.* 2, 535-536: *nec legitur pars ulla* (sc. of the *Aeneid*) *magis de corpore toto / quam non legitimo foedere iunctus amor*; *Mart.* 4, 13, 8: *tamque pari semper sit Venus aequa iugo*. For the phrase cf. *Manil.* 3, 310: *aequo stat foedere tempus*; *Digest.* 49, 15, 7 (of a people): *sive aequo foedere in amicitium venit*; Pichon, *De Sermone amatorio* (1902), 152.

521. curae . . . habet: for the syntax cf. *Caelius ap. Cic. Ad Fam.* 8, 8, 10; *Sall. Cat.* 21, 5; *Suet. Aug.* 48.

521. numen: cf. 4, 382, n. (*pia numina*).

521. memor: *Schol. Dan.*: *'iustum' ad iudicandum . . . 'memor' ad vindicandum*; 1, 543: *at sperale deos memores fandi atque nefandi*; cf. Jackson in *Harv. Stud. in cl. Philol.* 24 (1913), 49-50.

521. precatur: the object of the prayer is doubtless divine vengeance upon Aeneas; cf. 4, 607-629; also Penquitt, *op. cit.*, 55, who cites similar prayers from *defixiones*, etc. *Schueler (Quaestiones Vergilianae)* (1883), 28) queries why Dido breaks off the sacrifices at this point, for if she wishes to be freed from her cares she might set the pyre afire at once. But, as already intimated, Virgil seems psychologically correct in making her waver in her intention, especially when any step leading toward suicide was irrevocable; cf. Penquitt, *l. c.*; also 4, 531, n. (*ingeminant*).

522. nox erat, etc.: *Serv.*: *prolenditur ista descriptio ad exaggerationem vigiliarum Didonis*. This passage belongs in a large class of descriptions of the calmness of night (frequently introduced by *nox erat*, or *nox erat, et*; cf. *Stearns, Studies of the Dream as a technical Device in Latin Epic and Drama* (1927), 21-22, n. 65), often contrasted, as here, with the sleepless anxiety of lovers, soldiers, and others; cf. *Il.* 2, 1-2: *ἄλλοι μὲν ῥα θεοὶ τε καὶ ἄνδρες ἱπποκορυσταὶ / εἶδον παννύχιοι, Δία δ' οὐκ ἔχε ἥδυμος ὕπνος*; 10, 1-4 (similarly, of Agamemnon); *Od.* 20, 54-58: *Alcman*, 65, 1-7: *εὐδουσιν δ' ὄρεων κορυφαὶ τε καὶ φάραγγες, / πρῶνόνες τε καὶ χαράδραι, / φύλα θ' ἐρεπταὶ τόσσα τρέφει μέ-*

*λαινα γαῖα. / θήρῃς τ' ὄρεσκόφῳ καὶ γένος μελισσῶν / καὶ κνώδαλ' ἐν βένθεσι πορφυρίας ἄλός / εὐδουσιν δ' οἰωνῶν / φύλα τανυπτερίγων*; *Sapph.* 50, 1-4: *δέδυκε μὲν ἂ σελάννα / καὶ Πληγάδες, μέσαι δὲ / νύκτες, παρὰ δ' ἔρχεται ὥρα, / ἐγὼ δὲ μόνα καθέδω*; *Anacreontea*, 31, 1-7: *μεσονυκτίοις ποθ' ὥραις, / στρέφεται ὁ ἥμος* "Ἄρκτος ἦδη / κατὰ χεῖρα τὴν Βοώτου, / μερόπων δὲ φύλα πάντα / κέαται κόπῳ δαμέντα, / τότε Ἔρως ἐπισταθεῖς μευ / θυρέων ἔκοπτο ὄχῃας, κτλ.; *Eur. I. A.* 9-12: *ΑΓ.* οὐκ οὐκ φθόγγος γ' οὐτ' ὀρνίθων / οὔτε θαλάσσης· σιγαὶ δ' ἀνέμων / τόνδε κατ' Εὐρίπον ἔχουσιν. / ΠΡ. τί δὲ σὺ σκηνῆς ἐκτός ἀίσσεις; κτλ.; *Ar. Thesmoph.* 46-48: *πτηνῶν τε γένη κατακοιμάσθω / θηρῶν τ' ἀγρίων πόδες ὑλοδρόμων / μὴ λυέσθων*; *Theocr.* 2, 38-39: *ἠνίδε σιγῇ μὲν πόντος, σιγῶντι δ' ἄῃται / ἂ δ' ἐμὰ οὐ σιγῇ στέρων ἔντοσθεν ἀνία, κτλ.; Apollon. Rh.* 3, 744-753: *νῦξ μὲν ἔπειτ' ἐπὶ γαῖαν ἀγεν κρέφας· οἱ δ' ἐνὶ πόντῳ / ναῦται εἰς Ἑλλήν τε καὶ ἀστέρας Ὀρίωνος / ἔδρακον ἐκ νηῶν ὑπνοιο δὲ καὶ τις ὁδότης / ἦδη καὶ πυλαῶρς ἔλδεται . . . / οὐδὲ κινῶν ὑλακὴ ἔτ' ἀνὰ πτόλιν, οὐ θρόος ἦεν / ἡχῆς· σιγῇ δὲ μελαινομένην ἔχεν ὄρφυνη. / ἀλλὰ μάλ' οὐ Μῆδειαν ἐπὶ γλυκερὸς λάβεν ὕπνος. / πολλὰ γὰρ Αἰσονίδαο πόθῳ μελεδήματ' ἔγειρεν / δειδυῖαν ταύρων κρατερὸν μένος, κτλ.; 4, 1058-1061: *στρευγομένοις δ' ἂν ὁμιλον ἐπήλυθεν ἐνήμερα. / Νῦξ ἔργων ἀνδρεσσιν, κατευκλήσθη δὲ πᾶσαν / γαῖαν ὁμῶς· τὴν δ' οὐτι μίνυνθά περ εὔνασεν ὕπνος, / ἀλλὰ οἱ ἐν στέρνοισι ἀχέων εἰλίσσεται θυμός* (cf. *Conrardy, De Vergilio Apollonii Rhodii Imitatore* (1904), 22-23; *DeWitt, The Dido Episode in the Aeneid of Virgil* (1907), 62-63, for an analysis of the treatment of the theme by the two poets); [*Orph.*] *Argon.* 1009-1014: *κοιμήσας δ' ὄγε φύλα πανημερίων ἀνθρώπων, / καὶ ζαμενεῖς ἀνέμων πνοιᾶς, καὶ κύματα πόντου, / πηγὰς τ' ἀεράων ὑδάτων, ποταμῶν τε ῥέεθρα, / θηρὰς τ' οἰωνοὺς τε, τὰ τε ζῶει τε καὶ ἔρπει, / εὐνάζων ἡμεῖς ὑπὸ χρυσέαις πτερίγεσσιν, κτλ.; Varr. Atac. Argon.* 3, 1-2 (*F. P. R.* 333 *Baehrens*): *desierant latrare canes utbesque silebant; / omnia noctis erant placida composita quiete; Aen.* 2, 268-269: *tempus erat**

## 522. Nox erat, et placidum carpebant fessa soporem

522-554: *MP.*

522-523. nox . . . corpora: *Serv. Aen.* 2, 268. 522. et . . . soporem: *Serv. Aen.* 1, 388 — membra quietem (cf. 1, 691; 7, 414; *Anth. Lat.* no. 17, 122 (1, p. 66 Riese); *Regel, Quaest. Verg. crit. Specimen* (1866), 16-17) — 522. nox erat: *Mar. Victor. Art. gram.* 1 (G. L. K. 6, 29); *Mall. Theod. De Metris*, 1 (G. L. K. 6, 587).

quo prima quies mortalibus aegris / incipit et dono divom gralissima serpit; 3, 147: nox erat, et terris animalia somnus habebat; 5, 835-836: iamque fere mediam caeli nox umida metam / contigerat, placida laxabant membra quiete, etc.; 8, 26-30: nox erat, et terras animalia fessa per omnis / alituum pecudumque genus sopor altius habebat, / cum pater . . . / Aeneas, tristi turbatus pectora bello, / procubuit seramque dedit per membra quietem; 9, 224-226: cetera per terras omnis animalia somno / laxabant curas et corda oblita laborum; / ducliores Teucrum primi, delecta iuventus, / consilium summis regni de rebus habebant; *Cir.* 231-233: qua causa ad patrium solam vigilare cubile, / tempore quo fessas mortalia pectora curas, / quo rapidos etiam requiescunt flumina cursus; *Ov. Am.* 3, 5, 1: nox erat, et somnus lassos submisit ocellos; *M.* 7, 180-188 (185-188: homines volucresque ferasque / solverat alta quies; nullo cum murmure saepes, / inmotae silent frondes; silet umidus aër; / sidera sola micant); 10, 368-370: noctis erat medium, curasque et corpora somnus / solverat. at virgo Cinyreia pervigil igni / carpitur indomito; 10, 446-448: tempus erat quo cuncta silent . . . / . . . / ad facinus venit illa suum; *Tr.* 1, 3, 27-28; *Ex Pont.* 3, 3, 5: nox erat, et bifores intrabat luna fenestras; *F.* 1, 421-422: nox erat, et viro somnum faciente iacebant / corpora diversis victa sopore locis; 2, 792-793: nox erat, et tota lumina nulla domo; / surgit, et auratum vagina liberal ense; 3, 639; 4, 549-550; 5, 429-430: nox ubi iam media est, somnoque silentia praebet / et canis et variae conticuistis aves, etc.; 6, 673; *Sen. Controv.* 7, 1, 27; *Val. Fl.* 3, 32-33: nox erat, et leni caneabant aequora sulco, / et iam prona leves spargebant sidera somnos; 3, 417-418; *Stat. Theb.* 1, 336-341 (339-341: iam pecudes volucresque lacent, iam somnus avaris / inrepsit curis pronusque ex

aethere nulat, / grata laboratae referens obliviae vitae; 2, 337 (and *Lact. Plac. in loc.*); 3, 415-418: nox subit curasque hominum motusque ferarum / composuit nigroque polos involvit amictu, / illa quidem cunctis, sed non tibi militis, Adraste, Labdacioque duci; *Silv.* 5, 4, 1-6: crimine quo merui, iuvenis placidissime divum, / quove errore miser, donis ut solus egerem, / Somne, tuis? tacet omne pecus volucresque feraeque / et simulant fessos curvata cacumina somnos, / nec trucibus fluviis idem sonus; occidit horror / aequoris, et terris maria addinata quiescunt; *Sil.* 7, 282-287: cuncta per et terras et lati stagna profundum / condiderat somnus, positoque labore dierum / pacem nocte datam mortalibus orbis agebat. / at non Sidonium curis flagrantia corda / duclorem vigilesque metus haurire sinebant / dona soporiferae noctis, etc.; 8, 164-167: tacito nox atra sopore / cuncta per et terras et lati stagna profundum / condiderat, tristi cum Dido aegerrima vultu / has visa in somnis germanae effundere voces; 15, 612-613; *Il. Lat.* III-III2: nox erat, et toto fulgebant sidera mundo / humanumque genus requies divumque tenebat; *Quint. Smyrn.* 4, 62-64; 7, 672: νύξ, ἣ τ' ἀνθρώποισι λύσις καμάτοιο φέρουσα; *Claud. De VI Cons. Hon.* 453: nox erat, et, etc.; *Anth. Lat.* no. 83, 48-53 (1, p. 115 Riese); no. 808, 101-105 (2, p. 289 Riese): sed nox umbriferis per caelum roscida pinnis / presserat aërios fugientis solis honores / cunctaque per terras animalia pressa sopore; / solus ibi dulci numquam Perdica quieti / tradidit assiduus ardentia lumina flammis. Cf. the later parallels noted by Henry (*Aeneidea*, 2 (1878), 777-778), Patin (*Études sur les Trag. gr. Sophocle* (1896), 27), Smyth (*Gr. melic Poets* (1906), 199), and Spingarn (*Crit. Essays of the Seventeenth Century*, 2 (1908), 174-179), and add: *Paul. Diac. Carm.* 18, 1-5; *Heiricus, Vit. S. Germ.* 3, 173 (*Poet.*



## 523. corpora per terras, silvaeque et saeva quierant

quierunt a<sup>1</sup>.[522] 523. quierant: *Gl. Ansil.* 480, 131; *q.v.* — quieverant —.

*Aevi Carol.* 3, 466): *nox erat et plenum carpebant cuncta soporem*; Gualterus, *Alexandreis*, 1, 504-507; Kaltubek, *Lechias*, 10, 25 (cited by Pilch in *Eos*, 33 (1931), 16): *nox erat et*, etc.; Ariosto, *Orl. fur.* 8, 79, 1-6: *già in ogni parte gli animanti lassi / davan riposo ai travagliati spirti / . . . / tu le palpebre, Orlando, a pena abbassi, / punto da'tuoi pensieri acuti et irti*, etc.; Tasso, *Ger. lib.* 2, 96, 1-97, 2: *era la notte, allor ch'alto riposo / han l'onde e i venti, e pareo muto il mondo. / gli animai lassi . . . / e i pinti augelli . . . / sopian gli affanni e raddolciano i cori. / ma nè 'l campo fedel nè 'l franco Duca / si discioglie nel sonno*; etc.; Sannazaro, *De Partu Virg.* 2, 309-317; Fracastoro, *Syphilis*, 370-373: *interea dulces somnos noctisque soporem / omnia per terras animalia fessa trahebant; / illis nulla quies aderat, sopor omnis in auras / fugerat*; Castiglione, *Prosopopoeia*, 7: *nox erat, et*, etc.; Dryden, *Absalom and Achitophel*, 2, 1085-1088; *Indian Emperor*, Act 3, Sc. 2; *Annus mirabilis*, 861-869; Chateaubriand, *Les Natchez*, 3, 196 (cf. Naylor in *Johns Hopkins Stud. in Rom. Lit. and Lang.* 18 (1930), 131); Carducci, *La Chiesa di Polenta*, 121-128 (125 reads *taccion le fiere e gli uomini e le cose*).

On Virgil's fondness for descriptions of night cf. DeWitt, *op. cit.*, 63; Heinze, *Virgils epische Technik*, 3 ed. (1915), 25. For the present passage cf. also Shairp, *Poetic Interpr. of Nature* (1890), 163-164, who thinks that the contrast between Nature's repose and the tumult of the human heart, thus felt and expressed, belongs to a late and self-conscious age; Fairclough, *Attitude of the Gr. Tragedians toward Nature* (1897), 56-57; Geikie, *Love of Nature among the Romans* (1912), 224-228.

When night and sleep, the soothers of cares (cf. 4, 528, n. (*oblita*), below; also Soph. Fr. 197 Pearson: *ὑπνον λατρὸν νόσου*; Ov. *M.* 8, 81-82: *curarum maxima nutrix / nox*; 11, 623-625; Sen. *Ep.* 56, 6; etc.), not

only fail in their customary effect but seem to stand in unsympathetic harshness toward some hapless individual (cf. Pease in *Cl. Journ.* 22 (1927), 651-654, on the 'antipathetic' type of the 'pathetic fallacy' in Latin literature), we have a contrast especially dear to tragedy (e.g., Soph. *O. T.* 1088-1109; *Aias*, 693-717, where joyous hyporchemes precede the catastrophes of the plays).

522. *placidum . . . soporem*: cf. 4, 5, n. (*placidam . . . quietem*); 8, 405-406: *placidumque petil / . . . per membra soporem*; Enn. *Ann.* 5: *somno leni placidoque revinctus*; Ov. *Ep.* 15, 102: *placido victa sopore*; Angilbertus, *Carm.* 6, 325 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 1, 374): *membra solo exoptant placidum defessa soporem*; *Dialogus Agii*, 6, 325 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 3, 509): *placidum . . . soporem*.

522. *carpebant*: in addition to passages cited above cf. *G.* 3, 435: *sub divo carpere somnos*; *Aen.* 4, 555: *carpebat somnos*; 7, 414: *carpebat nocte quietem*; Petron. *Frag.* 38, 1-2 Bücheler: *lecto compositus vix prima silentia noctis / carpebam et somno lumina victa dabam*; Val. Fl. 5, 48: *carpere securas . . . noctes*; Sil. 16, 119: *carpentis somnos*; 17, 160: *carpit dum nocte quietem*; Stat. *Silv.* 2, 6, 98: *carpitque quietem*; Claud. *De Bell. Gild.* 1, 328: *carpebat teneros . . . somnos*; Auson. *Perioch.* 11, 2, 2 (p. 379 Peiper): *carpebant munera somni*; Sedul. *Pasch. Carm.* 3, 56: *ipse aulem placidum carpebat pectore somnum*; *Perioch.* Od. 6, 1 (p. 394 Peiper): *carpebat somnos*; *Anth. Lat.* no. 83, 83-84 (1, pp. 116-117 Riese): *nec somni pia dona placent nec munera lucis / carpit*; also the use of *ἀναΐν* (e.g., *Il.* 10, 159; *Od.* 10, 548).

523. *silvae*, etc.: with the slight personification cf. Serv.: *secundum eos qui dicunt omnia quae crescunt animalia esse*; *G.* 1, 476: *lucos . . . silentis*.

523. *saeva quierant*: cf. Sall. *Iug.* 17, 5: *mare saevom*. Val. Fl. 2, 404-405: *modo saeva quierant / aequora* seems to combine

524. *aequora, cum medio volvantur sidera lapsu;  
cum tacet omnis ager, pecudes pictaeque volucres,*

*uoluuntur codd.*

524. *cum . . . lapsu:* *Gl. Ansil.* 156, 132 — *uoluuntur* —. 524. *medio lapsu:* *Gl. Ansil.* 362, 96. 524. *volvantur:* *Gl. Ansil.* 596, 112; *q.v.* — *uoluuntur* —.

525. *cum . . . volucres:* *Lact. Plac. in Stat. Theb.* 1, 339. 525. *cum . . . ager:* *Non. p.* 463 *M.* (*p.* 742 *L.*); *Schol. Dan. Aen.* 2, 255; 9, 391. 525. *tacet:* *Gl. Ansil.* 550, 48; *q.v.* 525. *omnis ager:* *Gl. Ansil.* 411, 51.

this passage with 7, 6-7: *alta quierunt / aequora*; cf. also *Sen. Ep.* 107, 8: *turbantur maria, cum quieverunt*. On the tense of *quierant* ('had sunk to rest'; cf. *Claud. In Rufin.* 2, 237) and the use of the following historical presents cf. *Ley, Vergil. Quaest.* 1 (1877), 8. The quiet may result because leaves have ceased to rustle and waves to dash or because the denizens of woods and sea are silent in sleep; Servius apparently has the former view: *elementa etiam animalia esse voluerunt*. *Kvřčala (Neue Beitr. z. Erkl. d. Aeneis* (1881), 149-150) thinks all nature, both animate and inanimate, is at rest, and compares the dying down of winds at evening, noted by Virgil himself (3, 568) and by *Rut. Nam.* 1, 343. *Hes. Theog.* 762-763 says of Sleep: *τῶν ἕτερος γαῖαν τε καὶ εὐρέα νῶτα θαλάσσης / ἥσυχος ἀνστρέφεται καὶ μέλιχος ἀθρόποισι*. The juxtaposition of *saeva* and *quierant* brings out clearly the contrast between them; contrast also 4, 532: *saevit amor magnoque irarum fluctuat aestu*.

524. *medio:* Dido's wakefulness continues at midnight. *Schol. Dan.: noctem describit per sidera, hoc est, cum medium cursum tenent sidera, quae orta sunt*.

524. *volvantur:* cf. *Cic. De Rep.* 6, 17: *infixi sunt illi qui volvantur stellarum cursus sempiterni*, i.e., the fixed stars rather than the planets; in *De Div.* 1, 17, however, *lapsu spatiaque feruntur* is said of planets. *Sidera* may be either constellations or single stars. Cf. also *Quint. Smyrn.* 12, 104: *ἥμος δ' αἰγλήεντα περιστρέφει οὐρανὸν ἄστρο, κτλ.*

524. *lapsu:* cf. 4, 77, n. (*labente die*). The verb *labor* is frequently used of the noiseless motions of the heavenly bodies.

525. *tacet:* cf. *Stat. Theb.* 1, 339: *iam pecudes volucresque tacent*; *Haeckermann,*

*Comment. in Aeneidis Lib. alterum* (1863), 26-28, on nocturnal silence. With the phrase *tacet . . . ager* cf. *Ecl.* 9, 57: *et nunc omne tibi stratum silet aequor*, and with *omnis ager* cf. *Ecl.* 3, 56: *et nunc omnis ager*.

525. *pecudes:* if line 528 be deleted we must understand *tacent* as a verb with *pecudes* and *volucres*.

525. *pictaeque volucres:* *Schol. Dan.: uno verbo multos et varios colores avium demonstravit; pictura enim ex multis coloribus constat;* cf. *G.* 3, 243: *pecudes pictaeque volucres;* *Lucr.* 2, 342-346: *praeterea genus humanum mutaeque natantes / squamigerum pecudes et laeta armenta feraeque / et variae volucres* (cf. 1, 589), *laetantia quae loca aquarum / concelebrant circum ripas fontisque lacusque, / et quae pervolgant nemora avia pervolitant;* *Ov. M.* 2, 532: *pavonibus . . . pictis;* 2, 533; *Manil.* 2, 43: *pictas volucres;* *Opp. Cynege.* 2, 190: *ἀνθοκόμοις πεποελοῦσιν οἰωνοῖσι;* *Claud. Carm. min.* 31, 3: *ferae picturataeque volucres;* *Wandalbertus Prumiensis, De Creat. Mundi*, 119 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 2, 620): *pictae . . . volucres;* *De Mens. XII Nomin.* 14: *pictas . . . volucres;* *Sedulius, Carm.* 2, 49, 3 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 3, 211): *pictae volucres;* the phrase becoming frequent in the Renaissance, e.g., *Sannazaro, Eleg. ad Ioan. Pardum*, 19: *pictas . . . volucres;* *Vida, Poet.* 3, 42-43: *genus omne ferarum / atque hominum, pictae volucres, mutaeque natantes;* *Christias*, 1, 634: *pictae volucres;* *Fracastoro, Ver.* 4-5: *unde hominum genus et pecudum vitaeque natantum / et pictae volucres;* *Aonius Palearius, De Anim. Immortal.* 1, 450: *hac pecudes hominumque genus pictaeque volucres;* *Tasso, Ger. lib.* 2, 96, 6: *i pinti augelli;* *Ioan. Arnolletus, Ecl.* 4, 172: *pecudes pictaeque volucres;* *Milton, P. L.* 7, 434: "spread their

526. quaeque lacus late liquidos quaeque aspera dumis  
rura tenent, somno positae sub nocte silenti.

locus *M* (lacus *M*<sup>1</sup>). liquidus *M* (liquidus *M*<sup>2</sup>).

somnos *P* (somno *P*<sup>2</sup>). posite *γ*.

526-527. quaeque . . . silenti: [*Acro*] in *Hor. Epod.* 5, 55 — silua tenet *Ar*, silua te *V*, rura tenent *cp*; posita —. 526-527. aspera rura: *Gl. Ansil.* 68, 131.

[526\*] 527. somno . . . silenti: *Charis. Inst. gram.* 4 (*G. L. K.* 1, 269). 527. sub . . . silenti: *Gl. Ansil.* 543, 268.

painted wings"; Pope, *Windsor Forest*, 118: "his painted wings." Cf. also Hilar. Arelat. *In Genes.* 11-12 (*C. S. E. L.* 23, 231): *gens hominum pecudesque ferae milleque volucres, / et quae per liquidos discurrent agmina campos.*

526. quaeque . . . quaeque: with the dichotomy cf. 6, 612: *quique ob adulterium caesi quique arma secuti*; and examples cited by Kvřčala, *Neue Beitr. z. Erkl. d. Aeneis* (1881), 150-151; with the thought cf. *Cir.* 195-197: *gaude, o celeres, . . . / quae mare, quae viridis silvas lucosque sonantis / incolitis, gaude, vagi laris ante volucres.* That the division (as in *Lucr.* 2, 344-346) is into water birds (cf. 7, 32-34) and those of field and thicket is clear from *positae* in the next line; otherwise *quaeque . . . quaeque* might be construed as neuter and applied to indefinite animals.

526. lacus: note the alliteration — *latus late liquidos* — in a line designed to describe liquidity. La Cerda (*ad loc.*) makes the curious suggestion that lakes are naturally muddy but are at this time clear because the animals which in the daytime roil them are now asleep!

526. aspera dumis: cf. 2, 379: *aspris . . . sentibus*; 8, 348: *silvestribus horrida dumis*; 9, 381-382: *dumis . . . / horrida*; 11, 570: *in dumis interque horrentia lustra*; *Amm. Marc.* 27, 10, 12: *per hirta dumis et aspera.* The reference is doubtless to the shrubby thickets so common in some Mediterranean lands; cf. the Italian *macchia*.

527. tenent: cf. *G.* 4, 321-322: *gurgitis huius / ima tenes*; *Aen.* 6, 434: *tenent maesti loca*; *Ermoldus, In Hon. Hludowici*, 4, 34 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 2, 59): *quicquid rura tenent*.

527. somno positae: cf. 2, 644: *sic*

*positum . . . corpus*; 11, 30; *Ov. Am.* 1, 4, 53: *si bene conpositus somno vinoque iacebit*; *Aug. C. D.* 13, 11, 2: *in somno positos.* *Somno* is doubtless here the ablative of place; cf. *Ecl.* 6, 14: *somno . . . iacentem* (= *G.* 4, 404); *Varr. Atac. Argon.* 3, 2 (*F. P. R.* 333 *Baehrens*): *placida composta quiete*; Kvřčala, *Neue Beitr. z. Erkl. d. Aeneis* (1881), 151.

527. sub nocte silenti: = 7, 87; *Stat. Theb.* 9, 793; 10, 202; *Claud. De VI Cons. Hon.*, praef. 11; *Dracont. Romul.* 5, 193; 10, 360; cf. *Aen.* 7, 102-103: *monitusque silenti / nocte datos*; *Tib.* 1, 5, 16: *nocte silente*; *Ov. M.* 4, 84: *nocte silenti* (= *Andrelinus, Ecl.* 11, 70); *Petron.* 89, 32: *silenti nocte*; *Paul. Nol. Carm.* 15, 238: *iam nocte silenti*; similar expressions are collected by Kvřčala, *op. cit.*, 152. *Sub*, as *Ladewig-Deuticke (ad loc.)* note, means 'under the protection of'; cf. 8, 369: *nox ruit et fuscis tellurem amplexitur alis*; also 6, 268: *sola sub nocte per umbram.*

528. lenibant, etc.: cf. 9, 224-225: *cetera per terras omnis animalia somno / laxabant curas et corda oblita laborum.* The nearly complete equivalence of our line to the second of these (*laxabant* being changed to *lenibant* through recollection of 4, 393, according to Belling, *Stud. ū. d. Compositions-kunst Vergils in der Aeneide* (1899), 201), added to the fact that here it has no first-rate manuscript support, led Wagner, Ribbeck, and many other editors to delete it; cf. the Heyne-Wagner ed. *ad loc.*; Wagner, *Lectionum Vergil. Libellus* (1859), 36-37; Kvřčala, *op. cit.*, 152-153; Sparrow, *Half-lines and Repetitions in Virgil* (1931), 130; also 4, 273, n. (*nec, etc.*), above. On the other hand, Henry (*Aeneidea*, 2 (1878), 778), Forbiger (*ad loc.*), and Ladewig-Deuticke (*ad loc.*) defend it as enhancing the contrast

528. [lenibant curas et corda oblita laborum.]  
at non infelix animi Phoenissa neque umquam

Versum 528 om. *MP* γ<sup>1</sup> α<sup>1</sup> c<sup>1</sup> m, ignorat *Serv.*, m. rec. add. in marg. γc, inter lineas a, add. infra dein del. *M*<sup>1</sup>, del. m. rec. b; cf. 9, 225.

animis b<sup>1</sup>. foenissa γ<sup>1</sup>, poenissa (corr. in phoenissa) γ<sup>2</sup>. neque *P* (nec *P*<sup>2</sup>), naeque *M* (nec *M*<sup>1</sup>), nec *γ* α β c π.

528. corda . . . laborum: *Anth. Lat. no. 17, 108* (1, p. 65 *Riese*) — oblita tuorum —.

529–530. neque . . . somnos: *Schol. Dan. Aen. 4, 486* — nec; in om. *F* —; [*Acro*] in *Hor. C. 3, 7, 8* — haud *ΑΓ* β, nec c —. 529. at . . . Phoenissa: [*Iul. Rufin.*] p. 55 *Halm*; *Serv. Aen. 9, 121*. 529. infelix animi: *Gl. Ansil. 300, 677*.

introduced by *at non* in the next line, resuming the tense of *carpebant* in 522. It may be said that the interpolation, if such, as I believe, it is, may be of an early date in some part of the Virgilian tradition, if we may assume — as is not at all certain — that our lines were in the minds of Statius (*Theb. 1, 339–341*: iam pecudes volucresque latent, iam Somnus avaris / inrepsit curis pronusque ex aethere nulat, / grata laboratae referens obliuia vitae) and Seneca (*Dial. 4, 33, 6*: propinantibus senem crebris, ut cura leniretur, admonens lacescebat; contra ille se laetum et oblitum quid eo actum esset die praestitit; cf. *Wirth, De Vergili apud Senecam Philosophum Usu* (1900), 27, and n. 1 for the occasional divergence of Seneca's text of Virgil from ours).

Those who retain the line usually change the punctuation; e.g., *Forbiger*, in line 525, begins a new sentence with *pecudes*, places a comma after 527, and a colon after 528; others use other combinations.

On the form *lenibant* (for *leniebant*) cf. *Kühner-Holzweissig, Ausf. Gram. d. lat. Spr.* 2 ed., 1 (1912), 724–725. It has been objected that this form is too rare to have been coined by an interpolator. Yet Virgil uses *lenibat* (6, 468), and comparable cases are found in 7, 485; 7, 790; 8, 160; 8, 436; 10, 538; 11, 572.

528. corda: cf. 4, 4, n. (*pectore*). Some editors think *curas* and *laborum* too dignified words for the interests of *pecudes* and *volucres*, yet in 9, 225 they are used of *animalia* in general, and for *labor* used of animals cf. *G. 4, 114*; 4, 156; 4, 184 — all of bees.

528. oblita: forgetfulness of cares in sleep is a commonplace; e.g., 4, 522, n. (*nox erat, etc.*); *Eur. Bacch. 282–283*: ὕπνον τε λήθην τῶν καθ' ἡμέραν κακῶν / δίδωσιν, οὐδ' ἔστ' ἄλλο φάρμακον πόνων; *Orest. 211–213*: ὦ φίλον ὕπνου θέλγητρον . . . / ὦ πότνια λήθην τῶν κακῶν; *Quint. Smyrn. 12, 104–105*: ἦμος δ' αἰγλήεντα περιστρέφετ' οὐρανὸν ἄστροι / πάντοθε μαρμαίροντα, πόνου δ' ἐπιλήθεται ἀνὴρ; *Shakesp. Macbeth, Act 2, Sc. 2*: "Sleepers that knits up the ravel'd sleeve of care."

529. at non, etc.: cf. 4, 1, n. (*at*); *G. 4, 530*: at non Cyrene; *Il. 2, 2*: Δία δ' οὐκ ἔχε ἦδυμος ὕπνος; 10, 1–4; 24, 677–679; *Apoll. Rh. 3, 751*: ἀλλὰ μάλ' οὐ Μῆδειαν, κτλ.; *Theocr. 2, 38–39* (quoted at 4, 522, n. (*nox erat, etc.*), above); *Sil. 7, 285* (quoted on 4, 522, n. (*nox erat, etc.*)): at non Sidonium, etc.; *Quint. Smyrn. 3, 661*: ἀλλ' οὐχ ὕπνος ἔμαρπτε, θεῶν Θέτιν, κτλ.; 7, 244: ἀλλ' οὐ Δηϊδάμειαν ἐπὶ ῥατος ὕπνος ἔμαρπτεν.

529. infelix animi: cf. 4, 68, n. (*infelix*); 4, 203, n. (*animi*).

529. Phoenissa: of Dido in 1, 670; 1, 714; 4, 348 (where cf. the n. on *Phoenissam*); 6, 450; *Ov. F. 3, 595*; cf. 4, 75, n. (*Sidonias*). The predicate must be supplied from *carpebant* . . . *soporem* in 522 or *quierant* in 523, unless we retain 529 and supply it from *lenibant*. With the ellipsis *Nettleship* (ap. *Conington, ad loc.*) compares *Liv. 32, 33, 11–12*: in bello non congredi aequo campo neque signis collatis dimicare . . . at non antiquos Macedonum reges, sed acie bellare solitos, etc.

529. neque: has the best MS support; yet cf. *Wagner's 4 ed., 4* (1832), 534.

530. solvitur in somnos oculisve aut pectore noctem  
accipit; ingeminant curae rursusque resurgens

ue add. P<sup>1</sup>, que a, dett., ue aut m. rec. in ras. π.  
russus c. resurgens P.

[529\*] 530-531. oculisve . . . accipit: *Macrob. Sat. 6, 6, 7* — oculisque; accipit P<sup>1</sup> —.

[530\*] 531. resurgens: *Gl. Ansil. 496, 1681; q.v.*

530. solvitur: λέλυται: cf. *Od. 20, 56*: ὕπνος . . . λύων μελεδήματα θυμοῦ; 23, 342-343: ὕπνος / λυσιμελής; *Ov. M. 2, 253*: in plenos resolutum carmine somnos; 7, 185-186: homines volucresque ferasque / solverat alta quies; *Volusianus (ap. Aug. Ep. 135, 2)*: in somnos resolvitur; *Aug. Ep. 137, 9*: in somnos solvitur; and, below, 4, 695: nexosque resolveret artus; 5, 836: placida laxabant membra quiele; 5, 857: quies laxaverat artus; 12, 951: solvuntur frigore membra; *Cul. 161*: dulcem capiebat corde quietem; also *G. 4, 198-199*: corpora . . . / in Venerem solvunt.

530. somnos: on the plural cf. 4, 81, n. (somnos).

530. oculisve, etc.: *Serv.*: quia potest aliud esse sine alio, ut si quis dormiens mente turbetur. Cf. 4, 80, n. (obscura) for Achill. *Tat. 1, 6, 3-4*, showing how the cares of the soul may be worse when the body is at rest; 9, 326: toto proflabat pectore somnum; *Henry, Aeneidea, 1 (1873), 810*; also *Tasso, Ger. lib. 8, 57, 7-8*: nè l'agitato sen nè gli occhi ponno / la quiele raccorre o 'l molle sonno.

530. noctem accipit: cf. *Stat. Theb. 9, 599-600*: dum gemit . . . / abrupte oculi noctem; 10, 219; *Sil. 3, 216*: promissa evoluit somni noctemque retractat; *Anth. Lat. no. 83, 69 (1, p. 116 Riese)*: noctem per vota capit; also an emendation proposed in *Carm. Lat. epigr. no. 943, 1* Bücheler, to read (nox) nulla est animi, non somnos claudit ocellos; *Tennyson, Marriage of Geraint, 531-532*: "She found no rest, and ever failed to draw / The quiet night into her blood"; *Rizpah, 16*: "But the night has crept into my heart." For this use of noctem cf. *Braumüller, Ueber Tropen u. Figuren in Vergil's Aeneis, 1 (1877), 2*, who cites as (not very convincing) parallels 7, 427; 8, 67. *Henry (Aeneidea, 2 (1878), 778)* compares *Theocr. 21, 4*: κἀν

ὀλίγον νυκτός τις ἐπιψάσῃσι, τὸν ὕπνον / αἰφνίδιον θορυβεῦσιν ἐφιστάμεναι μελεδῶναι.

531. ingeminant: the figure is that of a storm (cf. *Conington ad loc.*), as in *G. 1, 333*: ingeminant austri et densissimus imber; *Val. Fl. 7, 195*: ingeminant . . . aestus. On the recurrence of Dido's love for Aeneas cf. 4, 521, n. (precatur); *Heinze, Virgils epische Technik, 3 ed. (1915), 132, n. 2*.

531. curae: cf. 4, 1, n. (curae); also 1, 662: sub noctem cura recursat; *Vida, Christias, 5, 31*: curae ingeminant.

531. rursusque resurgens: an onomatopoeic alliteration, representing the rising of the surges of passion. As parallels to the apparent pleonasm *Henry (Aeneidea, 3 (1889), 404)* compares *G. 2, 78*: rursus . . . resecantur; 2, 231-232: repones rursus; 2, 480: rursusque in se ipsa residant (of billows); *Aen. 6, 750-751*: revisant, / rursus; 9, 391: rursus . . . revolvens; and some cases in other authors; cf. also *Soph. Philoct. 952*: αἰθῆς αὖ πάλιν; *Ov. M. 10, 63*: revolutaque rursus; *Luc. 1, 391*: rursus redeuntis; *Placek, Re in den Compositis in Vergils Aeneis (1882), 6*.

532. saevit amor: = 7, 461; cf. 4, 307, n. (amor); *Sil. 8, 112-113*: cur . . . / incustodito saevire dedistis amori? With the figure cf. *Sall. Iug. 78, 3*: mare . . . saevire ventis coepit.

532. magnoque, etc.: cf. *Catull. 64, 62*: prospicit et magnis curarum fluctuat undis; 65, 4; *Lucr. 3, 298*: nec capere irarum fluctus in pectore possunt; 6, 34: volvere curarum tristis in pectore fluctus; 6, 74: magnos irarum volvere fluctus; *Aen. 4, 564*: variosque irarum concilat aestus; 8, 19: magno curarum fluctuat aestu; 9, 798: mens exaestuata ira; 10, 680: animo nunc huc, nunc fluctuat illuc; 10, 813-814: saevae iamque altius irae / Dardanio

532. saevit amor magnoque irarum fluctuat aestu.  
sic adeo insistit secumque ita corde volutat:

saeuiti *P* (saeuit *P*<sup>2</sup>). estu *P* (aestu *P*<sup>1</sup>).  
existit (*corr. in* existit) *p*.

532. magnoque . . . aestu: *Anth. Lat. no. 17, 149* (1, *p. 67* Riese) — fructuat *A* —.  
532. fluctuat: *Gl. Abba, 65, 65; q.v.*  
533. insistit: *Gl. Ansil. 310, 1550; q.v.* 533. secumque . . . volutat: *Anth. Lat. no. 8, 67* (1, *p. 36* Riese).

*surgunt ductori*; 12, 486: *vario nequiquam fluctuat aestu*; 12, 527: *fluctuat ira intus*; 12, 831: *irarum tantos volvis sub pectore fluctus*; Val. Max. 9, 3, init.: *ira quoque et odium in pectoribus humanis magnos fluctus excitant*; Sen. *De Benef. 5, 12, 6*; Sil. 8, 32: *insanos curarum compreme fluctus*; Val. Fl. 3, 637: *at pius ingenti Telamon iam fluctuat ira*; Cypr. *De Laps. 4: fluctuans vario mentis aestu*; Macrobi. *Sat. 4, 2, 3: inter aestus iracundiae fluctuare*; Prud. *Hamartig. 278: mens fragilis facili vitiolum fluctuat aestu*; Aug. *C. D. 9, 7: amatores . . . dixit Apuleius* (cf. *Apul. Apol. 31: aestus amorum*; *M. 11, 29: cogitationis aestu fluctuantem*) *solo mentis per omnes cogitationum aestus fluctuare*; and other cases in Vasold, *Aug. quae hauserit ex Vergilio*, 2 (1900), 36. For other writers cf. the numerous parallels in *Thes. Ling. Lat. 1* (1900), 1121, 45—1129, 9; 6 (1920), 943, 59—944, 15; also Pichon, *De Sermone amatorio* (1902), 81; Preston, *Studies in the Diction of the Sermo amatorius in Roman Comedy* (1916), 49. In Greek cf. Pind. *Frag. 100* (88), 3: *ὅς μὴ πόθῳ κνυαλνέται*; Aesch. *Eum. 832: κοῖμα κελαινοῦ κύματος πικρὸν μένος*; Apoll. *Rh. 4, 391: ὥς φάτ' ἀναξέλουσα βαρὺν χόλον*. Cf. also Tasso, *Ger. lib. 10, 3, 8: in gran tempesta di pensieri ondeggia*.

532. irarum: angry thoughts.

532. fluctuat: as in parallel instances (Catull. 64, 62; *Aen. 4, 564; 8, 19; 12, 486; 12, 831*; Val. Fl. 3, 637), the subject is probably personal (i.e., Dido) rather than amor; cf. Kvíčala, *Neue Beitr. z. Erkl. d. Aeneis* (1881), 157—159. Professor A. D. Nock calls my attention to a somewhat similar shift of subject in 12, 70: *illum turbat amor, figilque in virgine voltus*.

533. sic adeo: "thus, then"; cf. Sil. 12,

646: *sic adeo orantes*, etc.: Serv.: *scilicet furuit; ut in hoc proposito permaneret vitandae sine dubio lucis*.

533. insistit: cf. *G. 3, 164: viam . . . insiste (= incipe)*; *Aen. 12, 47* (in cod. *R* and Donatus): *sic institit ore*. Kvíčala (*Neue Beitr. z. Erkl. d. Aeneis* (1881), 159—161) proposes another, but I think less likely, explanation, namely, that Dido, who has been lying down, at this point rises up, comparing *Il. 10, 21*, where, after a passage similar to the present, Agamemnon *δορυβάτης δ' ἐνδύει περὶ στήθεσσι χιτῶνα*.

533. secumque, etc.: cf. 4, 30, n. (*sic effata*). Leo (*Der Monolog im Drama*, in *Abh. d. kgl. Ges. d. Wiss.* (Göttingen), *Phil.-hist. Kl.*, 10, 5 (1908), 4—5) observes that Virgil keeps a clear distinction between spoken and silent monologue, this being silent, as in 1, 37 (*haec secum*) and 1, 50 (*Italia flammato secum dea corde volutans*); cf. *Ecl. 9, 37: tacitus Lycida necum ipse voluto*; *Aen. 6, 157—158: caecosque volutat / eventus animo secum*; 6, 185: *haec ipse suo tristi cum corde volutat*; 10, 159—160: *secumque volutat / eventus belli varios*; 12, 843: *secum ipse volutat*; Lucil. 1017 Marx: *in corde volutas* (cf. Bolisani in *Atti e Mem. della r. Acc. d. Sc., Lett., ed Arti in Padova*, N.S., 49 (1933), 73); Lucr. 3, 240: *quae mente volutat*; Liv. 30, 14, 3: *haec secum volutanti*; 40, 8, 5: *multa secum animo volutans*; 42, 11, 5: *haec secum volutantem in animo* (and Weissenborn's n.); Juv. 1, 168: *tecum prius ergo voluta*; 4, 435: *corde volutat*; Sil. 8, 177: *sub corde volutat (= 12, 556)*; Sidon. *Carm. 7, 431: haec secum rigido Vesuvius dum corde volutat*; Angilbertus, *Carm. 6, 403* (*Poet. Aevi Carol. 1, 376*): *in corde volutas*; Smaragdus, *Carm. 1, 15, 11* (*Poet. Aevi Carol. 1,*

534. 'en, quid ago? rursusne procos inrisa priores  
experiar, Nomadamque petam conubia supplex,

heu quid *m.* agam *m.* *delt.* (cf. 4, 283). rursusne *in ras. c.*

experior *c<sup>l</sup>.* nomadam (*corr. in numadam*) γc, *Servii cod. N*, numadam *a<sup>1</sup>π*, *Servii cod. L*.

534-535. en . . . experiar: *Macrob. Sat.* 4, 6, 11; *Iul. Rufin. p.* 44 Halm — procos *om. B*; inrisa —. 534. en . . . ago: *Donat. in Ter. Eun.* 46 — hem (en *V*); agam —; [*Prob.*] *De ult. Syll.* 1 (G. L. K. 4, 219; 4, 220); *Serv. Aen.* 1, 37; *Anth. Lat. no.* 11, 81 (1, p. 44 Riese); no. 17, 148 (1, p. 67 Riese); *C. I. L. XII, add.*, p. 809, no. 5744, 3 (= *Carm. Lat. epigr.* 1762 Bücheler) — ag. —. 534. quid ago: *Gl. Ansil.* 479, 18.

[534] 535. Nomadamque . . . supplex: *Serv. Aen.* 1, 73 — *om. K* —.

615): *quid corde voluet*; Candidus, *De Vita Aegili*, 2, 7, 19 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 2, 100): *sub corde voluat*; Gualterus, *Alexandreis*, 9, 152: *tacito sub corde voluat*. Rütten (*De Verg. Studiis Apollonianis* (1912), 75) compares Apoll. Rh. 3, 771: ἐξομένη δ' ἔπειτα δοάσσατο φώνησέν τε, κτλ.

534. en: occasionally introducing excited questions or exclamations; e.g., *Ecl.* 1, 67; 1, 71; 8, 7; 8, 9; *Aen.* 6, 346; cf. *Serv.*: 'en' ecce; et quasi demonstrantis particula est, per quam intellegimus eam multa cogitasse et sic prorupisse 'ecce, quid actura sum?' est autem comicum principium, nec incongrue amatrici datum (citing *Ter. Eun.* 46).

534. quid ago: cf. 10, 675: *quid ago*; 12, 637: *nam quid ago*; *Cic. Ad Att.* 1, 16, 10: *sed quid ago*; *Pers.* 3, 5 (= 5, 154): *en, quid agis*; *Prud. Apoth.* 470: *en, quid ago?* Elsewhere the inquiry often is not "What am I doing?" but "What am I to do?" (*quid agam*); cf. *Macrob. Sat.* 4, 6, 11: *facit apud oratores pathos etiam addubitatio quam Graeci ἀπορήσιν vocant. est enim vel dolentis vel irascentis dubitare quid agas*, and he cites *G.* 4, 504; *Aen.* 4, 677; 9, 399; to which we may add *Ter. Eun.* 46 and the note of Donatus (which compares the Greek *τί ποιήσω*). Dido herself wonders at her own irresolution (cf. 4, 508, n. (*haud ignara futuri*), above), and Henry's attempt (*Aeneidea*, 2 (1878), 781) to make *quid ago* equivalent to *quid agam* overlooks the distinction between the two moods (in 3, 88 *quem sequimur*, which is sometimes cited as a parallel, means "Whom have we as our leader?" as in 2, 322); cf. Kvíčala, *Neue Beitr.* 2. *Erkl. d. Aeneis* (1881), 166, n., who

points out (p. 167) Virgil's fondness for abrupt beginnings of speeches (e.g., 1, 37; 2, 535; 3, 247; 4, 93; 4, 305; 4, 365). "What am I doing?", Dido asks herself, and goes on to reflect that such hesitation in her purpose of suicide can, if she yields to it, offer only one of two alternatives: (a) to reopen relations with her former suitors, or (b) to go with Aeneas, since he will not tarry at Carthage. To the former of these possibilities line 536 suggests the obvious answer, to the latter lines 538-546.

For such ἀπορήσεις or διαπορήσεις cf. *Soph. Aias*, 457-460: καὶ νῦν τί χρὴ δρᾶν; ὅστις ἐμφανῶς θεοῖς / ἐχθαίρωμαι, μισεῖ δὲ μ' Ἑλ- λήνων στρατός, / ἐχθεὶ δὲ Τροία πᾶσα καὶ πῶδ' αὖτε. / πότ' ἄρα πρὸς οἴκους, κτλ.; *Eur. Med.* 502-505: νῦν ποῖ τράπωμαι; πότ' ἄρα πρὸς πατρός δόμους, / οὓς σοὶ προδοῦσα καὶ πάτραν ἀφικόμην; / ἢ πρὸς ταλαίνας Πελοπιδας; καλῶς γ' ἂν οὖν / δέξαιτό μ' οἴκοις ὧν πατέρα κατέ- κτανον; *Apoll. Rh.* 3, 772-801; *Enn. Sc.* 276-277: *quo nunc me voriam, quod iter incipiam ingredi?* / *domum paternamne anne ad Peliae filias?* *Catull.* 64, 177-201 (177-180: *nam quo me referam? quali spe perdita nitior?* / *Idaeosne petam montis?* . . . / . . . / *an patris auxilium sperem*; etc.; *Gracch. ap. Cic. De Or.* 3, 214: *quo me miser conferam? quo vertam?* / *in Capitoliumne? at fratris sanguine redundat. an domum? matremne ut miseram lamentantem videam et abiectam?* *Cic. Pro Mur.* 88-89; *Liv.* 40, 10, 3-7; *Cicatus, Panegyry. Theod.* 38, 2-3 (*Panegyry. Lat.*, 2 ed., 122 Baehrens); *Heinze, Virgils epische Technik*, 3 ed. (1915), 136, n. 1; *Duckworth, Fore-shadowing and Suspense in the Epics of Homer, Apollonius, and Vergil* (1933), 22-

536. quos ego sim totiens iam dedignata maritos?  
Iliacas igitur classes atque ultima Teucrum

sim (*corr. in sum*) γπ.

agitur M (igitur M<sup>1</sup>). atque (*at add. sup.*) b.

536. quos . . . maritos: *Serv. Ecl.* 8, 18 — quod L —; *Aen.* 2, 344; 4, 399; 7, 190 — *om. LHM* —. 536. dedignata: *Gl. Ansil.* 163, 258; *Gl. Abol.* 118, 90; q.v.

537. Iliacas . . . classes: [*Prob.*] *De ult. Syll.* 10 (G. L. K. 4, 251); *Cledon. Ars* (G. L. K. 5, 74).

23, who compares Apoll. Rh. 3, 766–824. The long series of questions in a monologue is unusual; cf. Kvíčala, *Neue Beitr. z. Erkl. d. Aeneis* (1881), 168.

534. *rursus*: *Serv.*: duo significat: frequenter 'ilerum,' raro 'vicissim,' id est, 'mutuo,' ut hoc loco; *Schol. Dan.*: alii hoc loco 'rursus' pro 'similiter' accipiunt, ut sil: ergo ego similiter rogabo eos, sicut me illi antea rogaverunt. The second and third of these explanations seem here nearly identical. Cf. *Sen. Med.* 218–219: pelebant nunc meos thalamos proci / qui nunc petuntur. *Peerkamp* (*ad loc.*) joined *rursus* with *inrisa*, but it seems better taken with *experiar*.

534. *procos*: *Henselmans* (*Die Widerprüche in Vergils Aeneis* (1914), 119) objects that, while here Dido's suitors are plural, in 4, 196 and 4, 326 only Iarbas is mentioned. But he overlooks 4, 35–38; 4, 320–321; Iarbas is merely selected by Virgil as the outstanding representative of a group.

534. *inrisa*: with this fear of mockery cf. 4, 591 and n. (*inluserit*); *Aesch. Prom. V.* 158–159: νῦν δ' αἰθέριον κίνυγμ' ὁ τάλας / ἐχθροῖς ἐπίχαρτα πέπονθα; *Eur. Med.* 381–383: εἰ ληφθῆσομαι / . . . / θανούσα θήσω τοῖς ἐμοῖς ἐχθροῖς γέλω; *Hor. C.* 1, 37, 30–32 (of Cleopatra): saevis Liburnis scilicet invidens / privata deduci superbo / non humilis mulier triumpho; *Ps.* 80, 6; *Is.* 50, 7; etc. Whether Dido expects to be mocked by Aeneas (cf. 4, 591), by her former suitors, or by the general public has been disputed; cf. Kvíčala, *Neue Beitr. z. Erkl. d. Aeneis* (1881), 161–162; *Knorr, Beiträge z. Erkl. einiger Stellen d. Aen.* (1898), 24. But Aeneas has shown no disposition to ridicule her, and the position of *inrisa* between *procos* and *priores* suggests the answer: Dido in voluntarily reopening

negotiations with her former suitors (and that she should continue as a celibate now seems as impossible to her as it did to Anna in 4, 31–44) would become the object of ridicule to them (for she had been jilted by Aeneas as they had been by her) and also to the public at large.

535. *Nomadum*: cf. 4, 41; 4, 320.

535. *petam*: *Serv.*: invidia a personis; *petam* mulier et regina *Nomadas*, id est, vagos; cf. *Sall. Cat.* 25: libido sic accensa ut saepius peteret viros quam peteretur.

535. *conubia*: cf. 4, 35–38; 4, 172, n. (*coniugium* vocat); for the plural cf. 4, 213, n. (*conubia*); *Spitta, Quaest. Vergilianae* (1867), 23; *Norden* on *Aen.* 6, 623, who thinks it is frequently used for metrical reasons.

536. *quos, etc.*: cf. *Ov. F.* 3, 553–554 (of Iarbas): seque memor spretum, 'thalamis tamen,' inquit, 'Elissae / en ego, quem totiens reppulit illa, fruor.'

536. *sim*: subjunctive in a relative clause with concessive notion; cf. 2, 248.

536. *dedignata*: first here. Cf. *Ov. H.* 12, 83; *Ep.* 15, 195: da modo te facilem nec dedignare maritum; *Ex Pont.* 1, 7, 33; *Curt.* 6, 10, 28: qui regem nostrum dignatus est filium.

536. *maritos*: *Serv.*: futuros scilicet; cf. 4, 35, n. (*mariti*).

537. *Iliacas . . . classes*: singular in 5, 607: *Iliacam ad classem*; but cf. *Auson.* p. 420 *Peiper*, no. 2, 6: *classibus Iliacis*; also (for *classes = naves*) 4, 313, n. (*classibus*). With Dido's momentary doubt whether to accompany the Trojan fleet compare the bolder request of Medea that Jason take her with him (*Apoll. Rh.* 4, 83–91, lines 85–86 reading: ἀλλ' ἐπὶ νηὶ / φεύγωμεν, πρὶν τόνδε



538. iussa sequar? quiane auxilio iuvat ante levatos  
et bene apud memores veteris stat gratia facti?

*Versum 538 om., in marg. m. anl. add. c.* se quiane *M* (sequar *M*<sup>1</sup>).  
aut *bcm.* apud *P.* sat *P* (stat *P*<sup>2</sup>).

538. quiane: *Gl. Ansil.* 479, 3.

539. et . . . stat: [*Prob.*] *De ult. Syll.* 9 (*G. L. K.* 4, 249). 539. memores: *Gl. Ansil.* 364, 278; *q.v.* 539. veteris . . . facti: *C. I. L. VIII*, 591 (= *Carm. Lat. epigr.* 817 Bücheler) — fact(i) —. 539. veteris facti: *Gl. Ansil.* 586, 566. 539. stat . . . facti: *Anth. Lat. no.* 17, 153 (1, p. 67 Riese).

θῶν ἐπιβήμεναι ἵππων). Boissier (*Roman Africa*, Engl. tr. (1899), 69, n.) observes that Dido does no more than suggest to herself that she might go, this being more in keeping with the dignity of the epic and that of a queen, though Sil. 8, 83–88 makes her go beyond this restraint: *ora videre / postquam est ereptum miserae tua, liore sedit / interdum, stetit interdum; ventosque secuta / infelix oculis, magno clamore vocabat / Aenean comitemque tuae se imponere solam / orabat paterere rati*. Dion. Hal. 1, 59, 3, following another tradition, says of Launa, daughter of the king of Delos, συμπλεῦσαι δ' αὐτὴν τοῖς Τρωσὶ λέγεται δοθεῖσαν ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς Αἰνεία δεσφέντι μαρτυκὴν οὔσαν καὶ σοφὴν.

537. igitur: for she has already answered in the negative the previous question.

537. ultima, etc.: Serv.: *aut intellegimus Aeneam ei obtulisse navigandi facultatem aut 'Teucrum iussa' non quae ipsi iusserant sed quae eis a Iove iussa sunt*; Schol. Dan.: '*ultima*' *delerrima, an superba . . . alii κέλνυμα: unde iubere κελεβεῖν dicitur Graece*. The first explanation of the Scholia Danielis, despite Henry's objections (*op. cit.*, 2, 783–785) seems probable; cf. Catull. 64, 160–161 (of Ariadne): *at tamen in vestras potuisti ducere sedes / quae tibi iucundo famularer serva labore, etc.*; Ov. *H.* 7, 168: *dum tua sit Dido quidlibet esse feret*; Terzaghi, *Virgilio ed Enea* (1928), 25. *Ultima* (cf. Ov. *M.* 14, 483; *Tr.* 3, 2, 11; etc.) may mean her reduction to the position of a handmaid (cf. Alciph. *Ep.* 43, 4: *ὡς ἔσχατον ἀνδράποδον*), with loss of both station and character; cf. *τὸ ἔσχατον* (*τὰ ἔσχατα*). Dido raises this possibility only in a moment of frantic despair and almost as quickly dismisses it.

538. iussa sequar: cf. 4, 396, n. (*iussa*). For the zeugma in the use of *sequar* with both *classes* and *iussa* cf. Bell, *The Latin Dual* (1923), 309; 335. In 4, 384 Dido had predicted that she would follow Aeneas, but in another sense.

538. quiane: this second question, like the first, is itself answered by a rhetorical one. The particle *-ne* implies a question not formulated in words; cf. Plaut. *Pers.* 851; Catull. 64, 180: *an patris auxilium sperem? quemne ipsa reliqui* (and Merrill's n.); Stat. *Theb.* 10, 592; Warren in *Am. Journ. of Philol.* 2 (1881), 50–82; Knapp in *Cl. Weekly*, 18 (1925), 161, n. 2. The passage is, of course, bitterly ironical.

538. auxilio . . . levatos: cf. 2, 452: *auxilioque levare viros*; Ov. *Tr.* 1, 3, 102: *auxilio sublevet*; Justin, 5, 2, 12: *auxilio levandos*. The event mentioned is described in 1, 571: *auxilio tulos dimittam opibusque iuvabo*.

538. iuvat: surely we are to supply *eos* as the object, rather than *me* (as is done by Kvičala, *Neue Beitr. z. Erkl. d. Aeneis* (1881), 162–164).

539. bene: this may modify *memores* or *stat* or *facti*, most appropriately the last, with perhaps a diffused influence upon the other two words as well, though Damsté (in *Mnemosyne*, 26 (1898), 179) thinks *bene . . . facti* a case of tmesis.

539. apud memores: cf. Liv. 5, 44, 3: *nec enim exprobanda apud memores sunt*.

539. stat: Serv.: *permanet*; probably correctly (cf. Bell, *The Latin Dual* (1923), 152), despite the attempt of Henry (*Aeneidea*, 3 (1889), 528), on the strength of 1, 646; 7, 291; 10, 494, to make it little more than a

540. quis me autem, fac velle, sinet ratibusve superbis  
invisam accipiet? nescis heu, perdita, necdum  
Laomedontae sentis periuria gentis?

sinat *P* (sinet *P*<sup>2</sup>). ratibusque (corr. in ratibusue) *b*, ratibusque π, *dett*.

inuisam *M* (inrisam *M*<sup>3</sup>), inuisam (ui in ras.) *b*, inrisam (r m. 2 in ras.) γ, irrisam π; *Schol.*

*Dan.*: irrisam alii inuisam; cf. 4, 534.

laumedontae *b*<sup>1</sup>.

541-542. nescis . . . gentis: *Donat. in Ter. Eun.* 50 — perdita n. d. l. s. p. g. (necdum *T*; s. i. g. *BCV*, s. e. g. *T*) — 541-542. necdum . . . gentis: [*Acro*] in *Hor. C.* 3, 3, 22; *Serv. Aen.* 1, 468. 541. nescis . . . necdum: *Anth. Lat. no.* 17, 44 (1, p. 63 *Riese*) — eu *A* (corr. a) — 541. nescis . . . perdita: *Anth. Lat. no.* 17, 199 (1, p. 69 *Riese*). 541. heu . . . necdum: *Cento Probae*, 265 — perdita nescis —

[541\*]

synonym of *est*; cf. 2, 56: *Troiaque nunc staret*; *Sil.* 15, 466: *sed stant nulla diu deceptis gaudia divis*.

539. gratia facti: with the phrase cf. 7, 232: *tantique abolescet gratia facti*; *Manil.* 2, 618: *nec longa est gratia facti*; with the thought *Od.* 4, 695: οὐδὲ τίς ἐστὶ χάρις μετόπισθ' ἐυεργέων; *Pind. Isthm.* 6, 16-17: ἀλλὰ παλαιά γάρ / εὐδαι χάρις, ἀμνάμωνες δὲ βροτοί.

540. quis, etc.: *Schol. Dan.*: *ordo est: fac me autem velle, quis sinet?*

540. fac: 'suppose'; cf. *Cic. Tusc.* 1, 70; 1, 82; *Ad Fam.* 7, 23, 1: *fac, quaeso, qui ego sum esse te*; *Phil.* 2, 5: *fac potuisse*.

540. ratibusve: as remarked by *Conington* (*ad loc.*), in this context the distinction between -ve and -que becomes negligible.

540. superbis: *Schol. Dan.*: *vel magnis et altis, vel in quibus superbi navigaturi sunt, hoc est, qui me tanto contemptu deserunt*; the second explanation seems more probable.

541. invisam: the Trojans hated Dido because she had caused the delay of their expedition in sailing, for which they were eager (cf. 4, 294-295; 4, 400; 4, 418; 4, 581), and perhaps also because they felt that they had not repaid her hospitality (*Wagner, Lectio. Vergil.* (1859), 37: *invisus autem nobis esse coepit cui provocati beneficiis male fecimus*).

541. heu: cf. 4, 13, n. (*heu*).

541. perdita: cf. *Ecl.* 2, 59: *perditus*; 8, 87; *Catull.* 64, 177: *quali spe perdita nilor*. With the apostrophe of one's self *Kvčala* (*Vergil-Studien* (1878), 132-133) compares

4, 547; 4, 596-597; perhaps 1, 463; also *Ov. M.* 7, 11; 7, 17-18; 7, 21-23; 7, 47-50; *Buscaroli* (*ad loc.*) cites *Ov. Am.* 3, 6, 80; *Ex Pont.* 1, 3, 90.

542. Laomedontae: *Schol. Dan.*: *nunc fraudulentae*. The deception of Neptune and Apollo by Laomedon is described in *Il.* 21, 441-460; *Ov. M.* 11, 199-206; *Serv.* and the *Schol. Dan.* on *Aen.* 1, 550; etc. Though Virgil does not in 1, 25-30 mention it as a cause of the exile of Aeneas, yet in *G.* 1, 501-502 he recognizes it as still a potent force (*satis iam pridem sanguine nostro / Laomedontae luimus periuria Troiae*), and elsewhere the mention of Laomedon implies deception; e.g., 3, 248 (where *Donatus* remarks: *Laomedontiadas, quod nomen pro convicio posuit*); *Hor. C.* 3, 3, 22-24; *Sil.* 8, 171-172: *ac nondum nostro infaustos generique soloque / Laomedontae noscis telluris alumnos*; *Aug. C. D.* 3, 2: 'Priamo,' *inquunt, sunt reddita Laomedontea paterna periuria*; *Schol. Dan. Aen.* 1, 273: *ex aliis rebus alia dat nomina, ut pios Aeneadas appellavit, ut timidos Phrygas, ut nobiles Dardanidas, ut periuros Laomedontiadas*. Cf. also Virgil's allusion in 5, 811: *periurac moenia Troiae*.

542. periuria: cf. 4, 305, n. (*perfidie*). So *Ariadne* complains of the *periuria* of Theseus (*Catull.* 64, 135; 64, 148). *DeWitt* (*The Dido Episode in the Aeneid of Virgil* (1907), 21) observes that the conduct of Aeneas had been sufficiently discreet so that Dido could not directly charge him with *periuria*, and

543. quid tum? sola fuga nautas comitabor ovariantis,  
 an Tyriis omnique manu stipata meorum  
 inferar et quos Sidonia vix urbe revelli

quit *MP.* ouantes *cp.*

manus *P* (manu *P*<sup>2</sup>).

infern *M* (inferrar *M*<sup>2</sup>; cf. Fairclough in *Trans. Am. philol. Assoc.* 63 (1932), 220; vid. *Schol. Dan.*: insequare alii inferat). quo *P*, quod *P*<sup>2</sup>γ<sup>1</sup>, quos (uo in *ras.*) *M*<sup>1</sup>.

543. comitabor: *Gl. Ansil.* 129, 452; q.v.

544. omni manu: *Gl. Ansil.* 411, 37.

545. inferar . . . urbe: [*Prob.*] *De ult. Syll.* 7 (*G. L. K.* 4, 236) — uix u. (uix ū. ū. *B*) —  
 545. et . . . revelli: *Serv. Aen.* 1, 361.

so lays the charge against his race; its reputation had not been improved by Paris (cf. 4, 215). With the ending of the verse cf. Politian, *Manto*, 219: *vanæ periuria gentis*.

543. *quid tum*: introducing a new aspect of the case: she could not go alone nor could she persuade her Carthaginian subjects to accompany her again in a migration. On the phrase cf. Ter. *Eun.* 389; 604; *Phorm.* 541; Hor. *S.* 2, 3, 230.

543. *sola*: cf. 4, 467, nn. (*sola*; *longam . . . viam*). She thinks of the indignities to which an unprotected woman would be exposed among the rude soldiers and sailors of Aeneas; cf. Kvičala, *Neue Beitr. z. Erkl. d. Aeneis* (1881), 168, n.; Rébelliau, *De Verg. in inform. muliebr. quae sunt in Aen. Personis Inventore* (1892), 79, n. 2.

543. *nautas*: suggesting rough, unfeeling men, among whom there was no place for a woman; cf. Kvičala, *op. cit.*, 168, n., who compares Hor. *S.* 1, 5, 4; Juv. 8, 174.

543. *ovantis*: doubtless suggesting to the Roman reader not only the joy of the Trojan sailors (4, 541, n. (*invisam*), above), but also, as Servius recognizes, the *ovatio*, or *minor triumphus*, of a Roman victor. Dido, in her *fuga*, would then be, as it were, attending the triumph of the Roman, the thing which Horace (*C.* 1, 37, 30–32) described Cleopatra as too proud to do; cf. Carcopino, *Virgile et les Origines d'Ostie* (1919), 658, n.

544. *stipata*: cf. 4, 136: *magna stipante caterva*.

545. *inferar*: some editors explain as 'attack' (cf. Rébelliau, *De Verg. in inform.*

*muliebr. quae sunt in Aen. Personis Inventore* (1892), 79, n. 3, and works there cited; Knorr, *Beitr. z. Erkl. einiger Stellen der Aeneide* (1898), 23–25), others as 'proceed' (cf. Stat. *Theb.* 5, 240–241; etc.) or 'introduce myself among' (Kvičala, *Neue Beitr. z. Erkl. d. Aeneis* (1881), 170; Mackail, *ad loc.*). Virgil nowhere else uses a middle construction with this verb, but a reflexive with *inferre* is found in each of these senses (e.g., 'attack': 9, 401; 10, 66; 10, 575; 11, 742; 'proceed': *G.* 2, 145; *Aen.* 1, 439; 4, 142; 5, 622; 11, 36). The sense, however, seems to support the second meaning; Dido queries whether her attending the Trojan sailors should be unescorted or with her entire Tyrian force, and recognizes the difficulty she would find in persuading them to a second migration; for the conflict between her interests and theirs cf. 4, 295, n. (*laeti*); Ogle in *Cl. Journ.* 20 (1925), 261. Though that difficulty might not apply in the case of an attack made by them on the enemies of their queen, such as she for a moment considers at 4, 590–594, yet a war against the Trojans would not have been treated as lightly as line 546 mentions the dangers of wind and wave.

545. *Sidonia . . . urbe*: cf. 4, 75, n. (*Sidonias*); but contrast 1, 340: *imperium Dido Tyria regis urbe profecta*.

545. *vix*: *Serv.*: *aut mox, id est, paulo ante . . . aut re vera vix . . . nam nulla ratione dimitterent patriam nisi eos aut odium Pygmalionis coegisset, aut timor*. Despite the recent foundation of Carthage and the fact that in 1, 361–362 there is no mention of compulsion

546. *rursus agam pelago et ventis dare vela iubebo?*  
*quin morere, ut merita es, ferroque averte dolorem.*  
*tu lacrimis evicta meis, tu prima furentem*

uella c<sup>1</sup>. iuuebo M.

es add. sup. b. auertere (m. 2 in ras.) π.

Versum 548 add. m. 2 (?) in π. tum lacrimis p.

547. *quin . . . dolorem*: Victorin. *De Metr. et de Hex.* (G. L. K. 6, 211). 547. *quin . . . es*: Cento Probae, 267 — *nunc morere* (morare L) —. 547. *ut . . . es*: Gl. Ansil. 598, 49. 547. *merita es*: Gl. Abol. 145, 23 — *merit* —. 547. *ferroque . . . dolorem*: Anth. Lat. no. 17, 51 (1, p. 63 Riese); [Acro] in *Hor. C.* 3, 27, 38.

548–552. *tu . . . Sychaeo*: Hier. Ep. 123, 13, 1 — *onera N*; *abiciis Ψ*; *talami B*; *tales; feraetrales* (corr. m. 2 ex *feraetrales*) II, *fera et alis N*; *sycheo KΠ*, *sicheo cell.* —. 548–549. *tu prima . . . malis*: Schol. Dan. Aen. 4, 418. 548. *tu . . . meis*: Anth. Lat. no. 15, 141 (1, p. 55 Riese). 548. *lacrimis . . . meis*: Gl. Ansil. 327, 177.

of the emigrants, the second meaning seems somewhat more effective in the present context.

545. *urbe revelli*: for Virgilian cases of the ablative of separation with verbs compounded with *re-* cf. Forbiger on Aen. 1, 358.

546. *agam pelago*: cf. 10, 540: *quem congressus agil campo*; 12, 501–502: *quos aequore toto / . . . Turnus agit*. It is possible, however, that *pelago* is neither ablative of place nor an ablative of the way by which, but a dative; cf. 1, 181; 2, 36; 2, 85; 2, 398; 2, 688; 5, 451; etc.

546. *ventis dare vela*: cf. 3, 9: *dare fatis vela iubebat*; 8, 707–708: *ipsa videbatur ventis regina vocatis / vela dare*; Ov. Rem. Am. 58: *vento vela dedisse*; M. 1, 132: *vela dabant ventis*; Nep. Hann. 8; also 4, 417, n. (*vocat*).

547. *quin morere*: cf. 2, 550 (= 10, 743): *nunc morere* (so Vida, *Christias*, 5, 53); Apoll. Rh. 3, 798–801: ἡ τ' ἂν πολὺ κέρδιον εἶη / τῇδ' αὐτῇ ἐν νυκτὶ λιπεῖν βίον ἐν θαλάμοισιν / πότμῳ ἀνοίστω, κακ' ἐλέγχεα πάντα φυγοῦσαν, / πρὶν τὰδε λωβήεντα καὶ οὐκ ὀνομαστὰ τελέσσαι; Serv.: '*quin*' immo. et bene omnis eius intentio tendit ad mortem; nam si procos rogare turpe est, solam sequi impossibile et inhonestum, Tyrios trahere difficile, sola mors superest. For *quin* with the imperative cf. Ecl. 3, 52 (= G. 4, 329); Aen. 5, 635; 6, 824.

547. *ut merita es*: cf. 4, 541, n. (*perdita*). Verse 552 justifies her decision to die.

547. *averte dolorem*: cf. Marc. Empir. 8, 25; 8, 45: *omnem dolorem . . . avertent*; 9,

119; also 4, 394, above: *avertere curas*; Lucr. 2, 363: *avertere curam*; Schol. Dan.: *hoc secundum eos dixit qui cum aliquid impulsu animi constituerint voluntatis suae rationem adhibere conantur. ergo et haec quasi rationem adprobat quod furore paulo ante decreverat*.

548. *tu, etc.*: this verse and the next Ribbeck placed after 418, because they interrupt Dido's reproaches upon Anna in the midst of those upon herself and hence seem to interrupt the sense (cf. Kvřtala, *Vergil-Studien* (1878), 256–257; Schueler, *Quaest. Vergilianae* (1883), 26–27). But this, as Ribbeck realized, necessitated the assumption of a lacuna after them and before verse 419, and since nothing was gained thereby Janell has restored the order of the MSS, which is further attested by Servius and Jerome. To expect a rigidly logical sequence in Dido's thought at this time we should have to overlook the excited mental state in which she is. Further, though Dido may seem to blame Anna she really excuses her in the words *lacrimis evicta meis*, which imply that Anna's better judgment was overborne by the desires of Dido (cf. Serv.: *bene totum ei inputat, sed cum excusatione; quae Aeneae nuptias suasit, sed 'victa lacrimis,'* etc.; Regel, *Quaest. Vergil. crit. Specimen* (1866), 21–23; especially 22, defending the order of lines in the MSS. (Against the view that Dido is here excusing Anna cf. Rébelliau, *De Verg. in inform. muliebr. quae sunt in Aen. Personis Inventore* (1892), 60, n. 1, who cites an un-

549. his, germana, malis oneras atque obicis hosti.  
non licuit thalami expertem sine crimine vitam

honeras γ.

talami (corr. in thalami) α.

[548\*] 549. his . . . hosti: [Prob.] *De ult. Syll.* 7 (G. L. K. 4, 236).

[548\*] 550-551. non . . . ferae: *Quintil. Inst.* 9, 2, 64; *Schol. Dan. Aen.* 4, 458; *Comm. Cruq. in Hor. C. I.* 31, 18. 550-551. sine . . . degere: *Arus. Ex. Eloc.* (G. L. K. 7, 467) — degerit *cod. Parrh.* — 550-551. vitam degere: *Gl. Ansil.* 591, 416. 550. non licuit: *Gl. Ansil.* 394, 158. 550. thalami expertem: *Gl. Ansil.* 550, 85 — talami — (cf. 224, 896: expertem talami).

convincing parallel from Ov. *H.* 7, 191: *soror Anna meae male conscia culpa*. Important also is the treatment by Ogle in *Trans. Am. philol. Assoc.* 56 (1925), 26.)

Virgil makes comparatively little use of the stock motive of the reproach, so frequent in tragic monodies (cf. Heinze, *Virgils epische Technik*, 3 ed. (1915), 139, n. 2), e.g., Eur. *Hippol.* 311: ἀπώλεσάς με, μαῖα, κτλ. With the present passage cf. Racine, *Phèdre*, 1309-1312.

With the anaphora *tu . . . tu* cf. 1, 78; 6, 834; 7, 41; 7, 335-337; 8, 293-294; 9, 404; 10, 254; 12, 57-59.

548. lacrimis evicta: cf. 4, 30: *sinum lacrimis implevit obortis*.

548. *tu prima*: cf. Val. Fl. 7, 37-38: *tu prima malorum / causa mihi, tu, Phrixie gener*. Serv.: *Urbanus hoc dividit, licet alii iungant, et vult hunc esse sensum: tu persuasisti ut nuberem, victa lacrimis meis, tu etiam nunc me his oneras malis: nam me olim occidisset, nisi te deserere formidarem*.

549. *his*, etc.: as Aeneas had passed from a *coniunx* or a *hospes* to a *hostis* (4, 424, n. (hostem), above), so Anna, in Dido's thought, had changed from being sympathetic (4, 8: *unanimam*) to being held, in part at least, responsible for her present situation, through the advice she had given. Kvíčala (*Neue Beitr. z. Erkl. d. Aeneis* (1881), 171), however, explains otherwise: Dido is here expressing her regret that it should, through the ordering of fate, have to be her sister who is the one who exposes her to misfortune.

549. *oneras*: cf. 4, 54-55; *Octavia*, 5: *tot tantis onerata malis*.

549. *obicis*: Serv.: 'ob' *naturaliter brevis est, sicut et 're-' et 'ad'*; *sed plerumque producuntur hac ratione: obicio, reicio, adicio 'i' habent vocalem sequentem, quae per declinationem potest in consonantis formam transire, ut obiei, reiei. ergo etiam ante quam transeat interdum fungitur officio consonantis et praecedentem longam facit*.

549. *hosti*: cf. 4, 424.

550. *non licuit*: = 5, 82; *Cir.* 446. This line and the next are well discussed by Ogle in *Trans. Am. philol. Assoc.* 56 (1925), 26-37. In *non licuit* two doubts arise: (a) have we here (1) a question without an interrogative word introducing it, or (2) an exclamation ("to think that it was not permitted me" = "why was I not permitted"), or (3) a statement of fact; and (b) does the inhibition arise from (a) Anna, or (β) fate and the gods, or (γ) from Dido's loyalty to the memory of Sychaeus? The numerous combinations of these possible elements are summarized by Ogle, whose treatment, in the main, I accept.

(1) Against considering this a question is the fact that parallel cases are made clearly and unambiguously such (e.g., 4, 39: *nec venit in mentem*, etc.; 4, 600: *non potui*, etc.) and that the anaphora *non . . . non* (552) suggests some coordination of construction, which, since line 552 is clearly declarative, can be found only by considering *non licuit* as the same. (2) Virgil is careful to indicate exclamatory clauses as such, by *heu*, *o*, *ut*, *utinam*, an interrogative, or the accusative and infinitive, with or without *-ne* (cf., in this book, lines 47; 267; 597). These considerations make for supposing (3) that *non licuit*

551. *degere more ferae, talis nec tangere curas.*

[548\*, 550\*] 551. *degere . . . ferae*: [Acro] in *Hor. C.* 3, 29, 42 — *fere A* — 551. *nec tangere*: *Gl. Ansil.* 387, 130.

is a statement of fact, now regretfully realized to have been true, and with this view the words of Quintilian (9, 2, 64; used by scholars in support of every one of these possibilities!) seem not inconsistent: *est emphasis etiam inter figuras cum ex aliquo dicto latens aliquid eruitur, ut apud Vergilium: 'non licuit . . . more ferae.' quamquam enim de matrimonio queritur Dido, tamen huc erumpit eius affectus ut sine thalamis vitam non hominum putet sed ferarum*, or, as Ogle (*op. cit.*, 33) renders: "although Dido is complaining about marriage, still her feeling breaks through to this extent that she considers life without lawful wedlock characteristic not of human beings but of wild beasts." Dido, then, is not longing for the free love of beasts, simple and innocent though they may appear, but recognizes that such love was not permissible for her and that she should not have indulged in it.

In the second place, the check upon Dido, expressed by *non licuit*, was imposed (a) not by Anna, who had been persuaded by Dido's tears to abet her plans for union with Aeneas, nor (β), probably, by fate or the gods (though in 4, 371-372 she emphasizes their apparently arbitrary injustice), but rather, (γ) as line 552 clearly states, by her marriage with Sychaeus (cf. Ogle, *op. cit.*, 35) and that loyalty to his memory which in 4, 25-29 she had recognized as for her fundamental and essential.

550. *thalami expertem*: cf. Eur. *Med.* 672: δάμαρτος οὐσης, ἣ λέχους ἀπειρος ὤν; Schol. Dan.: *non omnino, sed post Sychaeum*. I should follow Henry (*Aeneidea*, 2 (1878), 796-797) and Ogle (*op. cit.*, 35) in translating this phrase 'unjoined in lawful wedlock,' rather than 'unmarried' or 'virgin,' and in supposing *expertem* to modify *me* (understood) rather than *vitam*. DeWitt (*The Dido Episode in the Aen. of Virgil* (1907), 53) perhaps goes too far in comparing the purity of the widow Dido with that of the virgin Camilla; Conington (*ad loc.*) and Mac-

kail (*ad loc.*) are on surer ground in comparing the woodland life of Camilla (11, 570-584) with the life here longingly idealized by Dido.

On the figurative use of *thalami* cf. 4, 18, n. (*thalami taedaeque*); Braumüller, *Ueber Tropen u. Figuren in Vergil's Aeneis*, 1 (1877), 5. The use of *conubii* or *nuptiarum* is metrically more difficult (cf. Norden on 6, 623), though Stat. *Theb.* 10, 62 reads *expers conubii*, and Horace, in a different metre, can say (*C.* 3, 11, 11): *nuptiarum expers*. With our phrase cf. Stat. *Theb.* 7, 298: *expertem thalami*; Claud. *Laus Seren.* 119: *expertes thalami*.

550. *sine crimine*: cf. the *culpa* of 4, 19; 4, 172. With the phrase cf. *Hor. Ep.* 1, 7, 56; *Ov. Am.* 1, 3, 13; 3, 4, 39; *H.* 4, 31; 9, 137; *Nux.* 1: *sine crimine vitae*; etc.; *C. I. L.* II, 391, 4 (= *Carm. Lat. epigr.* 485): *sine crimine vitae* (cf. *Carm. Lat. epigr.* 803, n.; 1004, 1; 1088, 6); *Aug. C. D.* 11, 12: *vitam ducere sine crimine*; Paul. Nol. *Carm.* 6, 67: *sine labe et crimine vitam*; Venant. Fort. *Poem.* 3, 8, 31: *sine crimine vitam*; Sext. Amarcus, *Serm.* 3, 802: *sinceram ducunt sine crimine vitam*; and other cases in *Thes. Ling. Lat.* 4 (1909), 1192, 8-19, to which add many inscriptional instances, in which it is a frequent attribute of a deceased spouse; e.g., *Carm. Lat. epigr.* 486, 2; 552, 1; 618, 7; 1104, 1; 1105, 1; 1203, 3; 1238, 27: *discite mortales sine crimine degere vitam*; 1433, 5; cf. Tolman, *Study of the sepulchral Inscr. in Bücheler's Carm. Lat. epigr.* (1910), 43; Hrabanus Maurus, *Carm.* 81, 39 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 2, 235): *vitam sine crimine ducens*; Walafridus Strabo, *De Vita Mammar.* 2, 18 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 2, 278): *vitam sine crimine duxit*. The expression seems to mean 'blamelessly.'

551. *degere, etc.*: cf. Ermoldus, *In Hon. Hludowici*, 3, 52 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 2, 42): *degere more ferae*.

551. *more ferae*: Serv.: *Plinius in naturali historia dicit lyncas post amissos coniuges*

## 552. non servata fides cineri promissa Sychaeo.'

*Hunc vers. in ras. m. rec. b.* sychaeies (*i.e.*, sychaei est) *P*, sychaeo *P*<sup>2</sup>, sychaei *M*, sycheo *p*, sicheo *ac*, suchaeo *codd.* Pieriani, sychaeo 'pro sychaeio' *Serv.*

[548\*] 552. non . . . Sychaeo: *Serv. Aen.* 4, 34; 4, 50 — non seruata f. c. p. s. *LHM*; cineri *om. FN* —; *Schol. Dan. Aen.* 4, 458 — sycheeo *F*, sicheio *T* —.

*aliis non iungi. multi 'fere' adverbium volunt, ut sit sensus: more scilicet quo iam viduitatem ferre consueverat.* The statement here ascribed to Pliny is lacking in the *Natural History* (Thomas, *Essai sur Servius* (1880), 192), though 8, 43 speaks of a popular belief about the lynx that *semel . . . edi partum* (cf. *Isid. Etym.* 12, 2, 20: *lynxes dicit Plinius Secundus extra unum non admittere fetum*). The *Schol. Dan.* on *Aen.* 4, 458, explain *ferae* as = *lupae*. The monogamy of animals was not, however, so proverbial that we are justified in accepting the explanation of Servius; in fact the brutes are more often the types of free love, as I shall show.

Such phrases as *more (modo, ritu, instar, etc.) ferae (ferarum), pecudis (pecudum), pecoris (pecorum), bestiarum, brutorum, etc.*, appear in great abundance in Latin literature, and as applied to human beings, whose characteristics are thus compared with those of animals, imply a wide range of concepts, e.g., the use of rude, vegetable food, the eating of which keeps the eyes on the ground, as opposed to the notion of the ἀνθρωπος (cf. Pease on *Cic. De Div.* 1, 15) or 'up-looker' (as in *Xen. Hell.* 4, 1, 33; *Isoc. Panegy.* 28; *Sall. Cat.* 1, 1; *Iug.* 18, 1; *Diod.* 14, 111; *Luc.* 4, 313; *Plut. Inst. Traiani*, 2, p. 185 Bernardakis; *Lact. De Ira Dei*, 20, 10; *Avien.* 3, 1146-1147; *Mamertin. Grat. Act.* 23, 5; *Amm. Marc.* 22, 8, 42; *Hier. Ep.* 100, 2, 3; *Comm. in Is.* 5, p. 176 Vall.; *Comm. in Dan.* p. 645 Vall. (of Nebuchadnezzar; cf. *Dan.* 4, 25-33); *Schol. Pers.* 2, 61; [Ambros.] *De Morib. Brachm. (Patr. Lat.* 17, 1171 B); 2 *Resp. Alexandri*, p. 186 Kuebler; *Isid. Etym.* 11, 1, 5), or of raw or revolting animal food (*Val. Max.* 5, 4, Ext. 5; *Plin. N. H.* 7, 18; *Justin.* 27, 2, 8), and consequent blood-thirsty characteristics (*Il. Lat.* 990; *Amm. Marc.* 27, 6, 1; *Hier. Comm. in Tit.* p. 709 Vall.), quarrelsomeness (*Lact. Inst.* 3, 23, 10)

and anger (*Liv.* 35, 18, 6), unsocial qualities (*Lact. Inst.* 6, 10, 25), silence (*Sall. Cat.* 1, 1), lack of initiative (*Lact. Inst.* 2, 7, 4) and cowardice (*Liv.* 40, 27, 12; *Curt.* 8, 14, 30), which lead to their falling an easy prey to capture or slaughter (*Sall. Cat.* 58, 21; [*Sall. De Rep.* 1, 4, 1; *Liv.* 25, 16, 19; 30, 13, 7; *Vell. Pat.* 2, 119, 2; *Curt.* 5, 3, 19; 5, 9, 6; *Sen. N. Q.* 5, 18, 9; *Agam.* 974; *Flor.* 1, 5, 11, 13; 1, 43, 8, 6; 2, 9, 21, 26; 2, 33, 12, 48; *Suet. Calig.* 27; 2 *Peter*, 2, 12; *Dict. Cret.* 5, 13; *Amm. Marc.* 14, 2, 7; 19, 8, 4; *Claud. De Bell. Goth.* 44; *Veget. Epit.* 1, 21; 3, 21; *Gualterus, Alexandreis*, 6, 412; cf. 7, 232). Again, comparison is made to the brutes' defective intelligence, as seen in various forms (*Liv.* 5, 44, 6; *Tac. Ann.* 4, 25; *Epict.* 2, 9, 2; 2, 10, 2; *Hilar. Tract. in 118 Ps. (Patr. Lat.* 9, 543 B); *Lact. De Ira Dei*, 12, 3; *Zacchaeus, Consultat.* 3, 7 (*Patr. Lat.* 20, 1160 B); *Hier. Ep.* 82, 9, 1; 98, 3, 5; 131, 17, 1; *Comm. in Is.* 5, p. 170 Vall.; *Claud. In Eutrop.* 2, 499; *C. I. L.* IX, 1164, 1; *Paul. Diac. Carm.* 22, 21), and their lack of religion (*Lact. Inst.* 1, 21, 18; 3, 10, 14) and of moral distinctions (*Amm. Marc.* 31, 2, 11). Men who resemble the brutes are the slaves of their appetites (*Cic. De Am.* 20; 32; *Parad.* 14; *De Off.* 1, 105; *Sall. Cat.* 1, 1; *Gell.* 19, 2, 3; *Lact. Inst.* 3, 8, 6; 7, 7, 11; *De Ira Dei*, 7, 2; *Ambros. Hexaem.* 6, 10; *Isid. Etym.* 11, 1, 5; 12, 2, 2; cf. *Reid* on *Cic. De Fin.* 2, 18; 2, 32; 2, 33), incontinent (*Amob.* 3, 10; *Hier. Adv. Iovin.* 1, 38; *Salvian. De Gub. Dei*, 4, 28; 7, 18), and promiscuous in love (*Hdt.* 1, 203; 4, 180 (of the Libyans): κτηνηδὸν μισγόμενοι; *Cic. De Invent.* 1, 2 (of early man): *nemo legitimas viderat nuptias*; *Lucr.* 4, 1264; *Hor. Serm.* 1, 3, 109; *Ov. M.* 10, 324-334 (in 331-334 *Myrrha* says: *gentes lamen esse feruntur / in quibus et nato genetrix et nata parenti / iungitur, et pietas geminato crescit amore.* /

*me miseram, quod non nasci mihi contigit illic, etc.*); Liv. 3, 47, 7: *placet pecudum ferarumque ritu promisce in concubitus ruere*; 4, 2, 6: *ut ferarum prope ritu vulgentur concubitus plebis patrumque*; Dion. Hal. 2, 24, 4; Sen. *H. F.* 478; Luc. 8, 391-401; Lact. *Inst.* 3, 22, 9; Hier. *Adv. Iovin.* 2, 7; Claud. *De Rapt. Pros.* 3, 44-45; Ogle, in *Trans. Am. philol. Assoc.* 56 (1925), 26-36, who concludes (35): "no editor cites any evidence from a passage which deals, as this one does, with the relationship between the sexes to show that the phrase ever has any other meaning" than unlawful intercourse).

Such was the life of primitive or barbarous man (Aesch. *Frag.* 182a Sidgwick; Diod. 3, 49, 3; Cic. *De Invent.* 1, 2; Ov. *F.* 2, 291-292; Justin, 18, 6, 3; Hier. *Comm. in Is.* 12, p. 520 Vall.; Oros. 1, 1, 3; *Ep. Alex. ad Aristot.* p. 207 Kuebler; Eustath. ad Dionys. *Perieg.* 963 (*Geogr. Gr. min.* 2, 385); Mythog. *Vat.* III, 1, 10; cf. Venant. *Fort. Misc.* 3, 9, 103 (*Palr. Lat.* 88, 133)), in a wild or nomadic state (Cic. *De Invent.* 1, 2; Lucr. 5, 932; Curt. 6, 5, 17; Paul. Nol. *Carm.* 20, 416; Claud. *De Rapt. Pros.* 3, 42; Priscian. *Carm.* 2, 182; 2, 895; Vida, *Christias*, 4, 473), sometimes, though less often than in modern romantic literature, idealized as a life of innocence (Sen. *Phaedr.* 913-914: *ferae quoque ipsae Veneris evitant nefas, / generisque leges inscius servat pudor*; Dracont. *De Laud. Dei*, 1, 439-440: (*ibant*) *simpli-ciler pecudum ritu vel more ferarum, / corporibus nudis et nescia corda ruboris*; Henry, *Aeneidea*, 2 (1878), 800, who thinks that *ferae* in our line means a life of innocence impossible to Dido after Anna had precipitated her marriage with Aeneas; DeWitt, *The Dido Episode in the Aeneid of Virgil* (1907), 23-24, who interprets *ferae* as the frontier woman or huntress (cf. Camilla); *id.*, in *Am. Journ. of Philol.* 45 (1924), 176-178, where *fera* becomes a devotee of Diana in a wild, celibate life — a view rightly rejected by Ogle, *op. cit.*, 35-36, n. 6; cf. 4, 465, n. (*agil, etc.*), above). Lact. *Inst.* 3, 8, 21-22, sums up the essential qualities of the brute: *voluptates adpetunt, metunt, fallunt, insidiantur, occidunt, et . . . deum nesciunt. quid ergo me docet* (sc. Zeno) *ut vivam secundum naturam*, etc. The contrast of brutes and

men appears constantly (e.g., Xen. *Anab.* 5, 7, 32; Ernout in *Bull. de la Soc. de Linguistique de Paris*, 25 (1924), 77-78, n. 1 (for Lucretius); Virg. *G.* 3, 242; Lact. *De Ira Dei*, 7, 1; etc.). Guillemin (*L'Originalité de Virgile* (1931), 70) suggests that *more ferae* here has some relation to Justin, 18, 6, 3 (of the Dido story): *barbaros et ferarum more viventes*.

To sum up, Dido now sees that she should not have tried to have any marital relations with Aeneas, in view of her faith pledged to Sychaeus, for by so doing she has degenerated from the self-restraint of a civilized human being to the lower (because less intelligent and less morally controlled) level of the brute.

551. *talis . . . curas*: cf. Ov. *Ex Pont.* 1, 5, 11: *in talis animum contendere curas*; Val. Fl. 2, 398-399: *thalamos excussaue vincla quod ausae / induere, atque iterum tales admittere curas*. Ogle (*op. cit.*, 36) explains: "I was not free (as you conceived), unjoined in lawful wedlock, without a stain to live my life after the fashion of a wild beast, nor to indulge such thoughts of love (as you suggested): I have failed to keep the vow I made to the ashes of Sychaeus."

551. *nec*: on its deferred position cf. 4, 33, n. (*Veneris nec*).

551. *curas*: cf. 4, 1, n. (*cura*), though *curas* here also includes the woes arising from her love. *Tangere curas* is a different phrase from that in 12, 932-933: *te si qua parentis / tangere cura potest*; cf. rather Prop. 3, 34, 9-10: *Lyncen, tunc meam potuisti, perfide, curam / tangere?* Henry (*Aeneidea*, 2 (1878), 801) compares 4, 531: *ingemnant curae*.

552. *non servata*: for Dido's feeling that she has been false to a pledge cf. Terzaghi, *Virgilio ed Enea* (1928), 13, and n. 2, who thinks this the only element which Virgil clearly derived from Timaeus, who (*Frag.* 23 in *Frag. Hist. Gr.* 1, 197 Müller) implies that Dido before leaving Phoenicia had taken some kind of oath (cf. 4, 15, above: *fixum innotumque, etc.*), for he says σκηφαμένη τελετήν πρὸς ἀνάλυσιν τῶν ὄρκων ἐπιτελέσειν. The breaking of such a vow of chastity well explains her *culpa*. Cf. Ov. *H.* 7, 97: *exige, laese pudor, poenas! violate Sychaei. . .*



553. tantos illa suo rumpebat pectore questus.  
Aeneas celsa in puppi, iam certus eundi,

suos a. rumpebat (ru m. rec. in ras.) π.

553. tantos . . . questus: *Non. p. 196 M. (p. 287 L.)*. 553. rumpebat: *Gl. Ansil. 502, 135*.

554. celsa . . . puppi: *Gl. Ansil. 108, 249*. 554. certus eundi: *Gl. Ansil. 111, 520; Gl. Arma, 10, 172*.

552. cineri: singular, as in 4, 34; 4, 427; 4, 623; cf. Spitta, *Quaest. Vergilianae* (1867), 44.

552. promissa: in 4, 15-19; 4, 24-29; cf. 6, 346: *en haec promissa fides est?*

552. Sychaeo: an adjective (Serv.: *pro 'Sychaeio'*); cf. 4, 58, n. (*patrique Lyaeo*); 4, 207, n. (*Lenaëum*); though the Schol. Dan. (improbably) suggest: *vel 'promissa Sychaeo, non servata cineri,'* and Henry (*Aeneidea*, 2 (1878), 801), following Brunck (*ad loc.*), awkwardly explains cineri and Sychaeo as nouns in apposition, comparing Ov. *Am. 2*, 6, 42; *Octavia*, 169, in each of which, however, cinis, though in apposition with a proper noun, is modified by iam or nunc. The reading of P<sup>1</sup> (*Sychaeies*) shows, perhaps, a final est added by someone to complete servata (the t having disappeared by haplography before tantos in the next line). Henry's notion that faith pledged to the ashes of Sychaeus is an "absurd sense" I cannot share; such a vow by Dido after the murder of her husband would have been very natural; cf. Dante, *Inf. 5*, 61-62: *colei che s'ancise amorosa, / E ruppe fede al cener di Sicheo*. The abrupt conclusion of the speech, perhaps due to the lack of final revision, is remarked by Mackail (ed. of *Aeneid* (1930), 130); more likely it is Virgil's skillful representation of the excited and partly incoherent thought of Dido (cf. Mackail's n. on this line).

553. tantos, etc.: cf. 4, 30, n. (*sic effata*). Similar expressions collected by Preuss, *Die metaphor. Kunst Vergils in d. Aeneis* (1894), 16-17, include: 1, 228; 1, 371; 1, 465; 1, 485: *ingentem gemitum dat pectore ab imo*; 2, 288: *graviter gemitus imo de pectore ducens*; 5, 780: *talisque effundit pectore questus*; 9, 480. Note the interlocked symmetry of the line, tantos modifying questus, suo modifying

pectore, and illa being the subject of rumpebat.

553. rumpebat: cf. 2, 129: *rupit vocem*; 3, 246: *rumpitque hanc pectore vocem*; 11, 377: *rumpitque has imo pectore voces*; Val. Fl. 1, 508 (= 4, 42): *rumpere questus*; Sil. 1, 95-96: *rumpit . . . / sibila*; 3, 558: *rumpit querelas*; 4, 456: *gemitumque ad sidera rupit*; 8, 299: *vocem hanc e pectore rumpam*; Tac. *Ann. 6*, 20, 1: *non exitio fratrum rupta voce*; Sidon. *Carm. 5*, 142-143: *vocemque furem / his rumpit*; Andrelinus, *Bucol. 9*, 5: *rupit de pectore questus*. Kvíčala (*Neue Beitr. z. Erkl. d. Aeneis* (1881), 172-173) compares also Greek parallels, in which, as in Latin, the verb *ῥήγνυμι* expresses the release of feelings long pent up; cf. Lohmann, *De Graecismorum Usu Vergiliano* (1915), 27.

554. Aeneas: contrast the deep sleep of Aeneas with the restlessness of Dido (cf. Kvíčala, *Neue Beitr. z. Erkl. d. Aeneis* (1881), 173-174; Ritter, *Die Quellen Vergils*, etc. (1909), 21-22; Cartault, *L'Art de Virgile dans l'Énéide*, 1 (1926), 330); the position of the name in the verse and the lack of a connective emphasize the contrast. For a good defence of Aeneas against the charge of heartlessness cf. Rand, *The magical Art of Virgil* (1931), 362, who remarks: "after the anguish of his own struggle and the pain of his sympathy with Dido's grief, he gains that peace which succeeds a bitter fight, and yields to his exhaustion when all has been done that he can do," and compares Prop. 1, 3, 1; Luc. 3, 4-9. Masera (*ad loc.*) explains his serenity as due to his compliance with the divine will, but this would better befit an eventual state of mind, to which he might come after reflection and inward struggle, than one so suddenly attained. Heinze (*Virgils epische Technik*, 3 ed. (1915), 320;

555. carpebat somnos rebus iam rite paratis.  
huic se forma dei voltu redeuntis eodem

555-583: *FMP*. rebusque *p*. rete *F* (rite *F*).  
uultu *MPp*.

555. carpebat . . . paratis: [*Prob.*] *De ult. Syll.* 9 (*G. L. K.* 4, 240). 555. carpebat somnos: *Auson. Perioch. Od.* 6, 1, *p.* 394 *Peiper*; *Gl. Ansil.* 92, 282 — capebat —; *Gl. Aa.* 191, 95 — carpiebat —. 555. rebus . . . paratis: *Anth. Lat.* no. 16, 51 (1, *p.* 58 *Riese*) — peractis —; no. 17, 246 (1, *p.* 70 *Riese*).

556. huic . . . dei: *Anth. Lat.* no. 719, 15 (2, *p.* 185 *Riese*). 556. forma dei: *Serv. Aen.* 4, 571; *Gl. Ansil.* 250, 128.

329) observes that the departure would have occurred the next morning had it not been hastened by the second theophany of Mercury, which precipitated matters as the prayer of Iarbas had earlier done.

554. *celsa in puppi*: cf. 4, 397, n. (*celsas*), above; also 1, 183: *celsis in puppibus*; 2, 375: *celsis . . . a navibus*; 3, 527 (= 8, 680; 10, 261): *stans celsa in puppi*; 5, 12 (= 5, 175): *puppi . . . ab alta*; 5, 841: *puppique deus consedit in alta*; 8, 107: *celsas videre rates*; 8, 115: *Aeneas puppi sic fatur ab alta*; 8, 693 (of the ships of Cleopatra): *turritis puppibus instant*; 10, 287: *de puppibus altis*; *Cir.* 389: *de navibus altis*; *Hor. Epod.* 1, 1-2: *inter alta navium / . . . propugnacula*; *Luc.* 3, 535: *celsior at cunctis Bruti praeloria puppis*; 8, 564; *Val. Fl.* 1, 719: *celsis . . . puppibus*; 5, 9: *e celsa . . . rate*; 5, 215: *celsa . . . puppi*; *Sil.* 3, 153: *celsa de puppe*; 11, 486; 14, 379; *Stat. Silv.* 3, 2, 19. Whether *puppi* is here literally the stern or the whole ship is uncertain, nor is it clear whether Aeneas regularly slept on shipboard or beside the ships drawn up on shore. Cf., however, *Prop.* 2, 26, 34: *prora cubile mihi seu mihi puppis erit*; Segebadé, *Vergil als Seefahrer* (1895), 8.

554. *iam*: to avoid the repetition of *iam* in the same position in the next line Bothe (*Virgilius Virgilianus* (1821), 16) proposed *puppi* (*nam certus eundi*). The *nam*-clause without a verb may be matched in 3, 374-375, but Virgil elsewhere carelessly repeats, which justifies retaining here the MS reading.

554. *certus eundi*: cf. *Ov. M.* 11, 440: *nimumque es certus eundi*; *Tac. Ann.* 4, 34: *relinquendae vitae certus*; *Hist.* 4, 14: *desce-*

*scendi certus*; contrast below 4, 564: *certa mori*; *Ov. H.* 7, 7: *certus es ire tamen, miseramque relinquere Didon*; cf. 5, 1-2: *Aeneas iam classe tenebat / certus iter*; 12, 268. As remarked by *Buscaroli (ad loc.)*, *certus eundi* makes a sad contrast to the *certa mori* of 4, 564.

555. *carpebat*: cf. 4, 522, n. (*carpebant*); *Juvenc.* 2, 33: *interea in puppi somnum carpebat Iesus*. *Servius* remarks: *hoc est quod et paulo post culpā Mercurius* (4, 560-570), *sed excusatur his rebus; nam et certus eundi fuerat et rite cuncta praeparaverat; aut certe proeconomia est, ut possit videre Mercurium*. Aeneas himself at times lay awake in worry; cf. 1, 305; 8, 26-30.

555. *somnos*: cf. 4, 81, n. (*somnos*); *Ladewig-Deuticke (ad loc.)* note that with *carpere* Virgil always uses the plural of *somnus*, never the singular.

555. *rite paratis*: cf. 4, 638: *quae rite incepta paravi*; *Schol. Dan.*: *diligenter virum strenuum non ante facit requiescere quam rite omnia paravisset*.

556. *forma dei*: cf. 3, 591: *forma viri*; 6, 289: *forma tricorporis umbrae*. Here the word is not a mere periphrasis (as in *Soph. El.* 1177: ἡ σὸν τὸ κλεινὸν εἶδος Ἡλέκτρας τῶδε); cf. *Serv.*: *bene non 'deus' sed 'forma'; raro enim numina sicut sunt possunt videri, unde et sequitur 'vultu redeuntis eodem'; nam licet 'redeuntis' dicat, id est, eius qui possit agnosci, tamen non 'faciem' dicit sed 'vultum,' qui potest saepe mutari*. Had the earlier appearance of Mercury been a dream rather than a day-time apparition we might consider this a case of the repeated dream, a frequent phenomenon (cf. *Pease on Cic. De*

557. obtulit in somnis rursusque ita visa monere est,  
omnia Mercurio similis, vocemque coloremque

(ο)ptulit P. rursus F (rursus F<sup>1</sup>). ita add. sup. F<sup>1</sup>. iussa (i.e., uissa) Franc. monerest P<sub>γ</sub>, monere est FM pabc.

(ο)mnia P. coloremque p.

557. visa . . . est: Serv. Aen. 4, 577.

558-559. omnia . . . iuventa: Isid. Etym. 1, 37, 32 — crines —; 2, 21, 40 — crines; iuventae C<sup>2</sup> —; Anecd. Paris. 19, 13 Eckstein — crines —. 558-559. omnia . . . decora: Iulian. Tolet. De Vitiis et Figuris, 6, 107 — mercuria; crines —. 558-559. omnia . . . flavos: Serv. Aen. 1, 332 — crines —. 558. omnia . . . coloremque: Donat. in Ter. Ad. 263 — uocemque c. —; Mar. Victor. Art. gram. 4 (G. L. K. 6, 164); Sacerd. Art. gram. 3 (G. L. K. 6, 501). 558. omnia . . . similis: Serv. Aen. 4, 577; Charis. Inst. gram. 1 (G. L. K. 1, 108); Diomed. Art. gram. 1 (G. L. K. 1, 463). 558. omnia Mercurio: Sacerd. Art. gram. 3 (G. L. K. 6, 508). 558. Mercurio similis: cf. Prob. Append. (G. L. K. 4, 196) — similis Mercurio —.

Div. 1, 54; 1, 55; Stearns, *Stud. of the Dream as a technical Device in Lat. Epic and Drama* (1927), 15, n. 54), the effect of which for warning purposes is much greater than that of a single dream which might be more casually interpreted; cf. 1 Kings, 19, 7; Dan. 10, 18; Zech. 4, 1 (for repeated warnings from the 'angel of the Lord'). Here, for dramatic results, the effect is much as if the dream had been repeated. Psychologically the dream appears plausible, for Aeneas had had many cares on his mind and would naturally have reconstructed in sleep the former appearance of Mercury, which he perhaps realized, while still awake, that he had not obeyed with sufficient alacrity. Jupiter is not mentioned as the sender of this dream; hence Virgil is perhaps here trying to describe and distinguish (by the expression *forma dei*) two types of phenomenon, the theophany and the dream-vision (Schueler, *Quaest. Vergil.* (1883), 30, n. 1 fails to understand the motivation of the second appearance of Mercury; but cf. Stearns, *op. cit.*, 15-16; Rapaport in *Eos*, 33 (1931), 167). The expression *quisquis es* (4, 577) shows that Aeneas is not completely sure of the identification of the dream-phantom with Mercury in the theophany, though of its divine character he has no doubt (4, 574: *deus aethere missus ab alto*). So Agamemnon uses qualifications in describing his dream of Nestor (Il. 2, 57-58), and Achilles's dream of

Patroclus (Il. 23, 65-67) is similarly described.

556. redeuntis: = *iterum euntis*; cf. Placek, *Re in den Compositis in Vergils Aeneis* (1882), 31.

557. obtulit: cf. 2, 589-590: *se non ante oculis tam clara videndam / obtulit*; 8, 611; 10, 552.

557. in somnis: cf. 4, 81, n. (somnos). For the importance of dreams in the legends of Aeneas cf. 3, 147-171; Cic. *De Div.* 1, 43 (and Pease ad loc.); Dion. Hal. 1, 56; Diod. 7, 5, 4-5; M. H. N. in *Musée belge*, 25 (1921), 197-208; Stearns, *Stud. of the Dream as a technical Device in Lat. Epic and Drama* (1927), 16, n. 55; Rapaport in *Eos*, 33 (1931), 163-170. On Mercury and dreams cf. Artemid. *Onirocr.* 2, 37: 'Ερμῆς ἀγαθὸς τοῖς ἐπὶ λόγους ὀρμωμένοις καὶ ἀθληταῖς καὶ παιδοτρόβαις καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ἐμπορικὸν τὸν βίον ἔχουσιν καὶ . . . τοῖς ἀποδημεῖν βουλομένοις' πτηνὸν γὰρ ὑπελήφαμεν εἶναι τὸν θεόν. τοῖς δὲ λοιποῖς ἀκαταστασίας καὶ θορύβους προαγορεύει. νοσοῦντας δὲ ἀναίρει διὰ τὸ ψυχοπομπὸς νενομίσθαι; Amm. Marc. 15, 3, 5: *Mercurius (vero) somniorum appellatus (est) comes*, etc.; Dares, 7; also Amm. Marc. 16, 5, 5: *Mercurio supplicabat, quem mundi velociorem sensum esse motum mentium suscitante thelogicae prodidere doctrinae*.

557. ita, etc.: cf. 4, 30, n. (*sic effata*).

558. omnia, etc.: cf. 9, 650-651: *omnia longuevo similis, vocemque coloremque / et*

## 559. et crinis flavos et membra decora iuventa:

(e)t P. membra π. iuventa F (iuuenta F<sup>1</sup>), iuuentae Pγa, Serv., iuuenta Mc, iuuenta. b.

[558\*] 559. et . . . iuventa: *Comm. Crug. in Hor. C. 1, 10, 3* — crineis; iuuentae —. 559. et . . . flavos: *Non. p. 202 M. (p. 298 L.)* — crines —. 559. et membra . . . iuventa: *Anth. Lat. no. 9, 11 (1, p. 39 Riese)* — iuventae —.

*crinis albos (flavos cod. R; cf. Sparrow, Half-lines and Repetitions in Virgil (1931), 122).* The passage suggests *Il. 2, 57-58* (Agamemnon's dream of Nestor): *μάλιστα δὲ Νέστορι δῖω / εἰδὲς τε μέγῃος τε φύην τ' ἀγχιόστα τοῖκε;* 23, 66-67 (Patroclus as seen by Achilles in a dream): *πάντ' αὐτῷ μέγῃος τε καὶ ὄμματα κάλ' εἰκνύα / καὶ φωνήν, κτλ.; cf. Od. 4, 796-798; 10, 277-279: ἔθα μοι Ἑρμείας . . . ἀντεβόλησεν / . . . νερὴν ἀνδρὶ τοῖκός, / κτλ.* Eichhoff (*Études grecques sur Virgile*, 1 (1825), 284) notes parallels to this incident in Tasso, *Ger. lib. 1, 13, 8* (with reference to *il biondo crine*); Milton, *Parad. lost*, 3, 624; 3, 636; Klopstock, *Messias*, 9, 485. On the use of *omnia* cf. Liv. 21, 34, 5: *sollicitusque omnia*; Trebell. Poll. *Trig. Tyranni*, 33, 4: *felix omnia*; Amm. Marc. 31, 16, 6: *nudus omnia*; Kühner-Stegmann, *Ausf. Gram. d. lat. Spr.* 2, 1, 2 ed. (1912), 286-287; Baehrens in *Glotta*, 5 (1914), 85-86, who compares the adverbial use of *πάντα*; also 3, 594: *cetera Graius*.

558. *Mercurio similis*: cf. Prob. *Append. p. 442 V. (G. L. K. 4, 196)*: *similis Mercurio*. Ihm (*Virgilstudien*, 1 (1902), 8) suggests that Virgil was here imitating plastic representations of Hermes in existence at his time.

558. *vocem*: Serv.: *quia orationis est deus*. Horatius (*Carm. 1, 10, 1*): *Mercuri facunde*.

558. *coloremque*: Serv.: *ideo et perustus et flavus Mercurius introducitur, quia satis vicinus est soli praeter ceteras stellis*. Conington (*ad loc.*) takes *colorem* of youthful beauty of complexion, and compares *Ecl. 2, 17: nimium ne crede colori*.

On hypermetric verses (perhaps occurring in hexameters as early as Ennius (cf. Gell. 12, 2, 10; note also Callim. *Ep. 41, 1*), and found in Lucilius (547 Marx), Lucretius (5, 849), Catullus (64, 298; 115, 3), Horace

(*Serm. 1, 4, 96; 1, 6, 102*), Ovid (*M. 4, 11; 4, 780; 6, 507*), Valerius Flaccus (4, 293), Dracontius (*De Laud. Dei, 1, 273*), and an anonymous writer ap. Capitol. *Macrin. 11, 4*) cf. Serv. *Aen. 1, 332: ὑπέρμετρος versus, unam enim plus habet syllabam; qui quotiens fit debet sequens versus a vocali incipere . . . nisi forte synzesis fiat in fine*, etc.; Lachmann on *Lucr. 2, 118*; Christ, *Metrik d. Gr. u. Römer*, 2 ed. (1879), 190-191; Franzen, *Über den Unterschied des Hexameters bei Vergil u. Horaz* (1881), 14; Müller, *Metrik d. Gr. u. Römer*, 2 ed. (1885), 50; Papillon and Haigh, ed. of *Virgil*, 1 (1892), lv-lvi; Quicherat in *Rev. de Philol.* 14 (1890), 51-55; Norden on *Aen. 6, 602*; Carpenter in *Philol. Quart.* 9 (1930), 351-362 (who on pp. 356-359 lists the Virgilian cases, the only other in this book being 4, 629, where cf. n. on *nepotesque*); Marouzeau in *Rev. des Études lat.* 11 (1933), 336-337. Of the Virgilian instances 18 end in *-que*, 13 (Carpenter, *op. cit.*, 358) being, as here, the second member of a correlation of *-que . . . -que* (cf. Hor. *Serm. 1, 6, 102: -ve . . . -ve*).

559. *crinis flavos*: cf. 4, 590, n. (*flaventis . . . comas*); these details, as noted by Masera (*ad loc.*), are not described at Mercury's first appearance, for that would have involved unnecessary repetition here.

559. *membra, etc.*: Serv.: *quia palaestrae deus est*. Horatius (*C. 1, 10, 3-4*): *calus et decora / more palaestrae*. 'iuventae' autem 'aetatis,' a iuventa. sane figura est 'similis membra, vocem, colorem.'

559. *iuventa*: when both MSS and testimonia are considered the evidence for *iuventa* and *iuventae* is not very unevenly balanced. The genitive may be due to a recollection of 1, 590: *lumenque iuventae*, or to a theory of grammarians which condemned homoeoteleuta; cf. Unterharnscheidt, *De Veterum in Aen. Coniecturis* (1911), 12. With the abla-

560. 'nate dea, potes hoc sub casu ducere somnos,  
nec quae te circum stent deinde pericula cernis,

(n)ate P. potes . . . somnos in ras. b. poten oc ut uid. c<sup>1</sup> (corr. in potes. hoc c<sup>2</sup>). hoc (o m. 2) γ. cassu (?) F (casu F<sup>1</sup>).  
(n)ec P, ne (corr. in nec) γ. te quae cm.

560. nate . . . somnos: *Non. p. 283 M. (p. 436 L.)*; *Schol. Dan. Aen. 4, 555*. 560. hoc . . . casu: *Gl. Ansil. 282, 8*. 560. ducere somnos: *Gl. Ansil. 189, 33*.

561. nec . . . cernis: *Cento Probae, 266*.

tive, on the other hand, we may compare G. 3, 437 (= *Aen. 2, 473*): *nitidus . . . iuventa*; 4, 565: *audax iuventa*; *Aen. 5, 295*: *forma insignis viridique iuventa*; *Tac. H. 1, 53*: *Caecina, decorus iuventa*; while for *decorus* with an ablative we may compare 9, 375: *cristisque decorus*. In *Il. 24, 348* (= *Od. 80, 279*) *Hermes* appears as a youth, τοῦ περ χαριεστάτη ἦβη, and this was a common conception in ancient works of art; cf. Scherer in *Roscher, Ausf. Lex. 1* (1890), 2390-2431; Eitrem in *P.-W. 8* (1913), 764-773. Further, the beings seen in dreams often combine youth and beauty; cf. *Deubner, De Incubatione* (1900), 12-13.

560. nate dea: cf. 1, 582; 1, 615; 2, 289; 3, 311; 3, 374; 3, 435; 5, 383; 5, 474; 5, 709; 8, 59; *Sil. 8, 81* (of *Aeneas*); also *Ov. M. 12, 86*; 13, 168; 14, 246; 15, 439; *Prud. Apoth. 418*: *nate Deo*; *Braumüller, Über Tropen u. Figuren in Vergils Aeneis, 2* (1882), 2, who collects similar expressions. The corollary of the term is seen in the emphasis in the Augustan Age on *Venus Genetrix*; cf. *Moseley, Characters and Epithets* (1926), 95-96. The *Scholia Danielis* remark: *modo generis commemoratio non ad laudem pertinet sed oburgatio cessantis est*.

560. potes, etc.: on the character of this dream cf. 4, 235, n. (*inimica*); 4, 465, n. (*agil, etc.*); and with the admonition to the sleeper cf. *Il. 2, 23* (= 2, 60): εὔδεις, Ἀτρεὺς υἱέ, κτλ.; 18, 178: ἀλλ' ἄνα, μηδ' ἔτι κείσο; 23, 69: εὔδεις, αὐτὰρ ἐμείο λελασμένος ἔπλεε', Ἀχιλλεύ; 24, 683-684: ὦ γέρον, οὐ νύ τί σοί γε μέλει κακόν, οἷον ἔθ' εὔδεις / ἀνδράσιν ἐν δῆλοιαν; *Od. 4, 804*: εὔδεις, Πηνελόπεια, κτλ.; *Callin. 1, 1*: μέχρις τεῦ κατάκεισθε; *Aesch. Eum. 94*: εὔδοιτ' ἄν, ὡή, καὶ καθευδον-

σῶν τί δέ; *Luc. 10, 353-355*: *tu mollibus, inquit, / nunc incumbere toris et pinguis exige somnos; / invasit Cleopatra domum*; *Sil. 8, 168-170*: *his, soror, in lectis longae indulgere quieti, / heu, nimium securo, potes? nec quae tibi fraudes / tendantur, quae circumstent discrimina cernis?* *Plut. Mul. Virtut. p. 252 F*: τί πέπονθας, ὦ πάτερ, καθευδων; ἀπριον δέ σε δεῖ τῆς πόλεως στρατηγεῖν; *Milton, P. L. 5, 673-674*: "Sleeps't thou, companion dear? What sleep can close / Thy eyelids?" *Aen. 10, 228-229* may also be compared: *vigilante, deum gens, / Aenea?* An interesting imitation is that by *Sil. 3, 170-182*, where *Mercury* stirs the sleeping *Hannibal*, beginning *turpe duci totam somno consumere noctem, / o rector Libya*.

560. hoc sub casu: 'beneath such hazard' (*Page ad loc.*).

560. ducere somnos: cf. *Prop. 1, 11, 5*: *memores, ah, ducere noctes*; 1, 14, 9: *mecum trahit illa quietem*; *Sil. 11, 403*: *sub hiberno somnos educere caelo*; *Plin. Ep. 6, 31, 13*: *sermonibus nox ducebatur*. The word implies a lengthening out of sleep; cf. *Suét. Aug. 78*: *somnum . . . producebat*.

561. te circum: on the position of *circum* cf. 2, 564: *quae sit me circum copia lustris*; 4, 145, n. (*altaria circum*); *Od. 14, 270*: περί γάρ κακὰ πάντοθεν ἔσται; *Sil. 8, 170* (quoted above).

561. deinde: *Conington (ad loc.)* suggests that it means *quae te circum stent pericula, deinde eruptura*; cf. 6, 756; 6, 890; 9, 781; 12, 889. But in some of these cases, as noted by *Buscaroli (ad loc.)*, *deinde* merely strengthens the interrogative with which it is joined, like *iam* or *tandem*, and this may well be the meaning here, *Heyne* and others

562. demens, nec zephyros audis spirare secundos?  
illa dolos dirumque nefas in pectore versat,  
certa mori, variosque irarum concitat aestus.

zephyros (yros *m. 2 in ras.*) γ, zaephiros *c.* sperare *Fa*<sup>1</sup> (spirare *F*<sup>1</sup>). secundos (*os ex corr.*) *F*<sup>1</sup>.

illas *M* (illa *M*<sup>1</sup>). uersat (*at in ras.*) *a.*

suario *M* (uario *M*<sup>1</sup>), uario *ab*<sup>1</sup>π, uarios *FPγb<sup>2</sup>cm.* fluctuat *Mabπ*, *Schol. Dan.*, concitat *FPcmp*, concitat (*fluctuat add. sup.*) γ. aestu *FMab*, *Schol. Dan.*, estu π; *cf. Hoffmann in Zeitschr. f. ö. Gymn.* 16 (1865), 141-148; *Ribbeck, Prolegom. crit.* (1866), 326-327.

562. nec . . . secundos: *Serv. Aen.* 4, 223; *Schol. Dan. Aen.* 5, 2; *Donat. Aen.* 5, *init.* — nociferos *R*, nociferus *L*, nec zefyros *r* — 562. secundos: *Donat. Aen.* 3, 680.

563. illa . . . versat: *Consent. Ars* (*G. L. K.* 5, 352); *Cento Probae*, 238 — dolos *ex* dolus *Lb*; sub (*in π*<sup>2</sup>) pectore uersans (*uersat π*) — 563. illa . . . nefas: *Cento Probae*, 360.

563. dirum nefas: *Gl. Ansil.* 180, 617 — efas —; *Gl. Arma*, 14, 73.

564. certa mori: *Serv. Aen.* 4, 563; 6, 456.

explaining it as = *εἶρα* (*cum haec sint*; *cf. Kvčala, Neue Beitr. z. Erkl. d. Aeneis* (1881), 182).

562. demens: *Schol. Dan.*: *inprobat eius sensum qui nec videat nec audiat*. For the 'run-over' position *cf.* 4, 23, n. (*impulsi*); 6, 172; 6, 590; 9, 728; and *νήπιος* in *Il.* 2, 38; 2, 873; 5, 406; *Od.* 1, 8.

562. zephyros: the contradiction to 4, 310 (*mediis properas aquilonibus ire per altum*) and 5, 2 (*fluctusque atros aquilone secabat*) noted by Holdsworth (*Remarks and Dissertations on Virgil* (1768), 254), Roiron (*Étude sur l'Imagination auditive de Virgile* (1908), 229-230, and works there cited), and Gercke (*Die Entstehung der Aeneis* (1913), 24, n. 2) need not be stressed (*cf.* 4, 223, n. (*zephyros*), above), for the ancients were often vague in designating winds (*Segebadé, Vergil als Seefahrer* (1895), 12, n. 1), as is recognized by Servius (*ventos; de Africa enim zephyro navigare non poterat*), and Virgil perhaps here simply implies that the end of winter (*cf.* 4, 52, n. (*hiems*), above) had already arrived, bringing softer breezes (*cf.* 3, 120: *zephyris felicibus*), more favorable for navigation. With the phrase *cf.* Val. Fl. 2, 372: *zephyrosque audire vocantes*.

562. audis: perhaps *cf.* 3, 514: *auribus aëra captat* (yet for that passage *cf.* Mitchell in *Cl. Weekly*, 7 (1914), 168).

562. spirare: *cf.* G. 2, 316: *borea . . .*

*spirante*; 3, 356: *spirantes frigora cauri*; *Aen.* 3, 529: (*di*) *spirare secundi*; 5, 844: *aequatae spirant aerae*; 9, 645: *spirantis . . . auras*; 12, 365: *boreae . . . spiritus*; *Lucr.* 6, 428: *spirantibus incita flabris*; *Ov. M.* 7, 532: *spirarunt flatibus austri*; *Cypr. De Bono Patient.* 4: *spirare ventos*.

562. secundos: favorable or 'following' (*sequor*); *cf.* 5, 32-33: *secundi / intendunt zephyri*.

563. dolos: *cf.* Sil. 8, 176-177: *fraudes / molitur dirumque nefas sub corde volutat*; Val. Fl. 2, 568-569: *tacitusque dolos dirumque volutat / corde nefas*. Schueler (*Quaest. Vergilianae* (1883), 30; *cf.* Vivona (*in Riv. di Filol.* 26 (1898), 435)) cannot understand this statement of Dido's plans against the Trojans, yet the spirit already shown in 4, 384-386, and, still more, the rage soon to burst out at 4, 590-606 and 5, 6 (*furens quid femina possit*) go far to explain it; *cf.* *Schol. Dan.*: *et est dubitatio quos dolos vel quod nefas: an sibi nefas, quia sua manu peritura erat, an sorori dolos, quibus eam fallebat; utrumque in Aeneam . . . nam omnia, sicut dictum est, sequens versus confirmat 'certa mori,' ut sibi mortem excogitet, in Aeneam iras molitur*. With *dolos . . . versat* *cf.* 2, 62: *versare dolos*; 11, 704; *Sen. Agam.* 632: *dolos versare*.

563. dirumque nefas: *cf.* *Prud. Peristeph.* 5, 394: *at dirum nefas*.

563. pectore versat: = 1, 657; *cf.* G. 4,

565. non fugis hinc praeceps, dum praecipitare potestas?  
iam mare turbare trabibus saevasque videbis

fugis (u in ras.) *Fa.* hic *M* (hinc *M*<sup>1</sup>), in *F* (hinc *F*<sup>1</sup>). potes *p.*  
turbare *F* (turbare *F*<sup>1</sup>). fratribus *M* (trabibus *M*<sup>1</sup>).

565. non . . . potestas: *Non. p.* 307 *M.* (*p.* 479 *L.*); *Anth. Lat. no.* 11, 52 (1, *p.* 43 *Riese*)  
—poetas *A* —; *no.* 17, 198 (1, *p.* 69 *Riese*). 565. non . . . praeceps: *Serv. Aen.* 4, 573 —  
hic *F* —.

566. turbare trabibus: *cf. Gl. Ansil.* 575, 159: turbare ratibus.

83: in pectore versant; *Aen.* 10, 286: secum versat; *Paul. et Petr. Carm.* 27, 43 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 1, 63): in pectore versans; *Candidus, De Vita Aegili,* 2, 7, 13 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 2, 100): sub pectore versat.

564. certa mori: *cf.* 4, 475: decrevitque mori; *Ov. M.* 10, 428: certa mori tamen est; *Val. Fl.* 8, 316: non aliud quam certa mori; *Prud. Psychom.* 585–586: haesit / certa mori; also, for certus with the infinitive, *Krause De Vergilii Usurpatione Infinitivi* (1878), 80; *Kühner-Stegmann, Ausf. Gram. d. lat. Spr.* 2, 1, 2 ed. (1912), 684. Dido's desperate resolve adds to the danger to Aeneas.

564. variosque, etc.: the variants in *M* and other MSS are due to the influence of 4, 532: magnoque irarum fluctuat aestu (where see my n. on magnoque, etc.); *cf.* Sparrow, *Half-lines and Repetitions in Virgil* (1931), 120; *Vivona (in Riv. di Filol.* 26 (1898), 435) thinks the repetition of phraseology so soon after line 532 is objectionable.

564. concitat: *cf.* *Sidon. Carm.* 7, 348: famulas in proelia concitat iras.

565. non fugis: for such vivid uses of the present in excited questions (*interrogant ut non tam deliberent quam ut necessarium iudicium significent*, says *Madvig, Opusc.* 2 (1842), 40), *Ley (Vergilianae Quaest.* 1 (1877), 6) compares 2, 678: cui . . . relinquo; 3, 88: quem sequimur; 3, 367: quae prima pericula vito; 3, 480–481: quid ultra / provehor; 12, 37–39: quo referor totiens, etc.; *Kühner-Stegmann, Ausf. Gram. d. lat. Spr.* 2, 1, 2 ed. (1912), 120.

565. praeceps: *cf.* 4, 573, where the command is executed by Aeneas.

565. dum: with ellipsis of the verb; *cf.* 4, 53, n. (*dum, etc.*).

565. praecipitare: *cf.* 2, 8–9: nox umida

caelo / praecipitat; 11, 617; 12, 699: praecipitatque moras omnis, opera omnia rumpit; on the infinitive dependent upon potestas (*est*) *cf.* 3, 670; 7, 591; 9, 739; 9, 813; *Krause, De Vergilii Usurpatione Infinitivi* (1878), 70; *Kühner-Stegmann, op. cit.*, 2, 1, 2 ed. (1912), 744. The verb is here, as often, intransitive. The excitement in these lines appears in the alliterations: praeceps . . . praecipitare potestas . . . turbare trabis saevasque videbis . . . faces . . . fervere . . . flammis . . . attingit terras Aurora morantem.

566. iam, etc.: *cf.* *Lucr.* 2, 1: turbantibus aequora ventis; *G.* 3, 259–260: turbata procellis / . . . freta; *Hor. Epod.* 15, 7–8: Orion / turbaret hibernum mare; *Sil.* 3, 174: iam maria effusas cernes turbare carinas (on various parallels between Silius and the present passage *cf.* *Kvčičala, Neue Beitr. z. Erkl. d. Aeneis* (1881), 184–185); *Sen. N. Q.* 6, 32, 4: securus videbit maria turbare; similarly *Od.* 5, 291: ἐτάραξε δὲ πόντον; *Eur. Troad.* 88: ταραξω πέλαγος; and, better, *Pind. Ol.* 2, 63–64: οὐ χθόνα ταρασσόντες . . . / οὐδὲ πόντον ὄδωρ.

566. trabibus: *Schol. Dan.: vel navibus vel remis, ut* (3, 191) 'vastumque cava trabe currimus aequor.' The former view is surely correct. These seem the only two Virgilian cases of this word in the sense of 'ships,' but *cf.* *Enn. Ann.* 616: trabes remis rostrata per altum; *Sc.* 246–249: ulinam ne in nemore Pelio securibus / coesa accedisset abiegnata ad terram trabes, / neve inde navis inchoandi exordium / coepisset; *Catull.* 4, 3–4: neque ullius natantis impetum trabis / nequisset praeterire; *Hor. C.* 1, 1, 13–14: ut trabe Cypria / Myrtoum pavidus nauta secel mare; *Ov. Ex Pont.* 1, 3, 76: trabs Colcha sacra cucurrit aqua; *Pers.* 1, 89; 5, 141; 6, 27;

567. conlucere faces, iam fervere litora flammis,  
si te his attigerit terris Aurora morantem.  
heia age, rumpe moras. varium et mutabile semper

littora *b*<sup>1</sup>. flammās *c*<sup>1</sup>.

sith. is (*corr. in si te his*) *a*. attigerit *a*<sup>1</sup>.

eia π. rompe (*corr. in rumpe*) *c*.

567. iam . . . flammis: *Non. p. 503 M. (p. 808 L.)* — litora feruere —.

568. si . . . morantem: *Anth. Lat. no. 17, 102 (1, p. 65 Riese)* — adtiggerit —. 568. adtiggerit: *Gl. Ansil. 32, 803; q.v.*

569–570. heia . . . femina: *Prisc. Inst. 18, 73 (G. L. K. 3, 238)* — eia; femina *om. P* —; 18, 172 (*G. L. K. 3, 286*) — eia *OD* —; [*Serg.*] *Explic. in Donat. 2 (G. L. K. 4, 559)*. 569–570. varium . . . femina: *Donat. in Ter. Hec. 214* — mobile *V* —; *Hier. Comm. in Eccl. p. 448 Vall.*; *Comm. in Mich. 2, p. 518 Vall.*; *Serv. Aen. 1, 661; 4, 563*; [*Acro*] *in Hor. C. 1, 5, 6–7*; *Eugraph. in Ter. Hec. 214* — se (*esse F*) *uarium Fa, seruauit G* —; *Anth. Lat. no. 11, 159–160 (1, p. 47 Riese)*; *Cassiod. De Art. et Disc. lib. Litt. 3 (Patr. Lat. 70, 1191)*; *Isid. Etym. 18, 15, 9*; *Hrab. Maur. De Univ. 20, 15*; *Ioan. de Alta Silva, Hist. sept. Sap. p. 39 Hülka*; *Helinandus, Sermon. 20 (Patr. Lat. 212, 648)*; *id., Ep. ad Galterum (Patr. Lat. 212, 755)*; *cf. Mart. Cap. 5, 485*: *uarium et mutabile quiddam est femina*. 569. heia . . . moras: *Charis. Inst. gram. 2 (G. L. K. 1, 191)*; [*Prob.*] *De ult. Syll. 13 (G. L. K. 4, 256)*; *Cledon. Ars (G. L. K. 5, 66)*; *Sacerd. Art. gram. 1 (G. L. K. 6, 442; 6, 447)*; *Anth. Lat. no. 17, 89 (1, p. 65 Riese)* — eia —. 569. heia age: [*Prob.*] *De ult. Syll. 9 (G. L. K. 4, 247)*; *Anth. Lat. no. 244, 22 (1, p. 200 Riese)*. 569. rumpe moras: *Gl. Ansil. 502, 136*. 569. varium . . . semper: *Anth. Lat. no. 8, 8 (1, p. 34 Riese)*; *no. 17, 59 (1, p. 63 Riese)*. 569. varium . . . mutabile: *Isid. Etym. 2, 30, 6*. 569. mutabile: *Gl. Ansil. 382, 367; q.v.*

*Sen. Agam. 120: Phasiaca fugiens regna Thessalica trabe*; *Juv. 14, 276: plenum magnis trabibus mare*; 14, 296; also δόρυ (*Aesch. Pers. 411*; *Agam. 1618*; *Eur. Hel. 1611*; *Androm. 793*); *Steiner, Das Bedeutungslehnnwort in Vergils Aeneis (1921), 22*. *Gossrau's view (ad loc.)* that *trabibus* means *fragmina navium Teucrorum*, followed by *Mackail (ad loc.)*: “a welter of timbers,” “the Carthaginians having attacked the ships at their moorings and broken up or fired them,” seems less likely than to explain the word in the sense of *navibus*, i.e., the Carthaginian ships issuing out in pursuit before the Trojans have had a sufficient start in escaping; *cf. 4, 593: diripientque rates alii navalibus*, where the reference must be to the Punic ships, since those of the Trojans have left the harbor (4, 587–588). The imitation by *Silius* cited above points to the same interpretation; *cf. Kvičala, l. c.*

566. saevas . . . faces: *cf. 4, 594: ferte cili flammās*; also 1, 525; *prohibe infandos a navibus ignis*.

567. conlucere faces: *cf. Lucr. 6, 881–882: taeda . . . accensa per undas / conlucet*; *Curt. 3, 8, 22: conlucentibus facibus*; *Tac. Ann. 3, 4*. *Servius* correctly relates this clause to 4, 594; the *Schol. Dan.* give an unlikely alternative (*vel propter funus*) doubtless suggested by 5, 3–4: *moenia respiciens quae iam infelicitis Elissae / conlucent flammis*. For the verb see 9, 166; 11, 209: *conlucent ignibus agri*; *Cul. 216–217*. The *faces* are those likely to be hurled by the Carthaginians upon the Trojan ships.

567. fervere litora: *cf. 4, 409–410: cum litora fervere late / prospiceres*, and the note on *fervere*.

568. si, etc.: *cf. Il. 1, 26–27: μή σε, γέρον, κοίλησιν ἐγὼ παρὰ νηυσὶ κίχῃω / ἢ νῦν δηθύνοντ' ἢ ὕστερον αὖτις ἰόντα*; 18, 268–269: εἰ δ' ἄμμε κίχῃσεται ἐνθάδ' ἑόντας / αὐρίον δρυμθῆϊς σὺν τεύχεσιν, κτλ.; *Eur. Med. 352–353: εἰ σ' ἢ πνοῦσα λαμπὰς ὄψεται θεοῦ / καὶ παῖδας ἐντὸς τῆσδε τερμόνων χθονός*; *Enn. Sc. 264–265: si te secunda lumine hic offendero / moriere*; *Sen. Med. 297–299: capite suppli-*



570. femina.' sic fatus nocti se immiscuit atrae.

fatis γ. iammiscuit *F* (immiscuit *F*<sup>1</sup>), immiscuit *Pp*, immiscuit *M*.

[569\*] 570. nocti immiscuit: *Gl. Ansil.* 393, 47 — nocte conmiscuit —.

*cium lues, / clarum priusquam Phoebus attollat diem / nisi cedis Isthmo*; Quint. Smyrn. 13, 360–361: οὐδὲ σε διὰ κίχθηται 'Ηριγέ-  
veia / ζῶν ἔτ' ἐν Τρώεσσι.

**569. heia age**: Schol. Dan.: *hoc loco per αὔξησιν figuram adhortationem implevit; nam eandem rem secundo dixit 'heia age,' cum 'heia' saepe 'age' significet.* Cf. εἰ δ' ἄγε (*Il.* 1, 302; 22, 381; etc.), also εἰα (not in Homer but found in tragedy, sometimes followed by an imperative; e.g., Eur. *Med.* 820: ἀλλ' εἰα χάρεαι). *Heia* occurs in Virgil in 9, 38; for *heia age* cf. *Copa*, 31; Val. Fl. 8, 110–111; Sil. 8, 214–215: *eia age, segnis / rumpe moras*; Stat. *Silv.* 1, 2, 266; Nemes. *Cyneg.* 87. *Age* is also used by Virgil with an imperative (cf. 4, 223, n. (*vade age*), above) or introduced by *quin* (*Ecl.* 3, 52; 4, 329), *immo* (1, 753), *ergo* (*G.* 1, 63; *Aen.* 2, 707), *quare* (7, 429), *nunc* (*G.* 4, 149; *Aen.* 6, 756; 7, 37; *Cir.* 98), *iam* (6, 629), *verum* (11, 587; 12, 832), or *en* (*G.* 3, 42–43: *en age, segnis / rumpe moras*); cf. Mart. 2, 64, 6: *heia age, rumpe moras*; Cypr. *Hept. Iudic.* 271: *heia age, rumpe moras*; Claud. *Carm. min.* 40, 19: *quin age, rumpe moras*; Paul. Nol. *Ep.* 8, 3, 1: *quare age, rumpe moras*; Alcuin, *Carm.* 4, 64 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 1, 222): *heia age*; Smaragdus, *Carm.* 1, 9, 27 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 1, 613): *eia age, nauta*; Ermoldus, *In Hon. Hludowici*, 3, 159 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 2, 45): *eia age, rumpe moras*; Walahfridus Strabo, *De Vita . . . Mammae*, 16, 20 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 2, 287): *heia age*; Salom. et WalDRAM. *Carm.* 1, 255 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 4, 304): *eia age, rumpe moras*; Andreas Capellanus, *De Amore*, p. 346 ed. Trojel: *age enim, rumpe moram, quia varium et mutabile semper femina*.

**569. rumpe moras**: the opposite of *innecte moras*; cf. 4, 51, n. (*innecte*). The phrase first occurs in *G.* 3, 43 (quoted above); also in *Aen.* 9, 13: *rumpe moras omnis* (cf. *Anih. Lat.* no. 198, 10 (1, p. 162 Riese)); and is imitated in Ov. *M.* 15, 583; Calp. 1, 31; Sen. *Tr.* 681; 939; *Med.* 54; Luc. 1, 264; 2,

525; Val. Fl. 1, 306: *age, rumpe moras*; 7, 33; 4, 627; 6, 127; Plin. *Ep.* 5, 10, 2; Stat. *Achill.* 1, 872: *heia, abrumpe moras*; Theb. 11, 201; Mart. 2, 64, 9 (see above); Novat. *Tract.* 8; Amm. Marc. 15, 1, 1; 17, 13, 8; Hier. *Ep.* 130, 5, 3; Paul. Nol. *Ep.* 8, 3, eleg. 1: *quare age, rumpe moras*; id., *Carm.* 14, 51–52; Claud. *De Bell. Goth.* 546; Venant. Fort. *Vil. S. Mart.* 1, 314: *nunc age, rumpe moras*; Alcuin, *Carm.* 4, 70 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 1, 223): *sed fuge, rumpe moras*; Modus Olinck, 24 (Harrington, *Mediaeval Latin* (1925), 265); Sannazaro, *Ecl.* 4, 11; Vida, *Christias*, 2, 109; 3, 104; 3, 808: *surge, age, rumpe moras*; 4, 143; *Poet.* 3, 521; Fracastoro, *Syphilis*, 2, 88; Milton, *Eleg.* 4, 3; Kroll, *Studien z. Verständnis d. röm. Lit.* (1924), 154, n. 34. For the plural see Spitta, *Quaestiones Vergil.* (1867), 37 (who compares *otia* and *desidia*); Norden, 2 ed. of Book VI (1916), 408.

**569. varium, etc.**: the neuter (cf. *Ecl.* 3, 80: *triste lupus stabulis*; *Aen.* 4, 174: *Fama malum* (but cf. my n.); Ov. *Am.* 1, 9, 4: *turpe senex miles*) is here clearly contemptuous: woman is viewed less as a person than as a physical phenomenon. Cf. also Lohmann, *De Graecismorum Usu Vergiliano* (1915), 96–97. Dryden, *Dedication of the Aeneis* (14, 178 of 1889 ed.), calls this “the sharpest satire, in the fewest words, ever made on womankind,” remarking that both adjectives are neuter and that *animal* must be understood. If a god had not spoken these words Virgil would not have dared to write them nor he to translate them. Heinze (*Virgils epische Technik*, 3 ed. (1915), 268–269; cf. Prescott, *Development of Virgil's Art* (1927), 468–469) traces the extent to which this generalization is illustrated by Virgil's other feminine characters, while Rand (*Ovid and his Influence* (1925), 25–26) finds Ovid ascribing the same characteristics to the male sex in the person of Jason — *mobilis Aesonide vernaque incertior aura* (Ov.

## 571. Tum vero Aeneas subitis exterritus umbris

tum de uero c<sup>1</sup>.

H. 6, 109). For the thought cf. *Od.* 11, 456: *ἐπεὶ οὐκέτι πιστὰ γυναιξίν*; Aesch. *Agam.* 485-486: *πιθανὸς ἄγαν ὁ θῆλος ὄρος ἐπινέμεται / ταχύπορος· ἀλλὰ ταχύμορον / γυναικογῆρυτον ὀλλυται κλέος*; Eur. *I. T.* 1298: *ὄρατ' ἄπιστον ὡς γυναικείον γένος*; Hor. *C.* 1, 5, 5-12; Fest. p. 165 M. (p. 160 Lindsay): *nec mulieri nec gremio credi oportere; proverbium est, quod et illa incerti et levis animi est*, etc.; Calp. 3, 10: *mobiliior ventis, o femina*; Sen. *De Remed. Fortuit.* 16, 3: *nihil est tam mobile quam feminarum voluntas, nihil tam vagum*; Anselmus, *Gest. Episc. Leod.* 59 (*Mon. Germ. hist.*, *Scriptores*, 7, 224): *varium enim est et mutabile animal femina*; Hermann of Reichenau, *De VIII Vitiis principalibus*, 105 (cited by Manitius, *Gesch. d. lat. Lit. d. Mittelalters*, 2 (1923), 768, n. 4): *mentem femineam mobile quoddam* (other cases in Manitius, *op. cit.*, 3 (1931), 286; 656, n. 2); Scott, *Marmion*, 6, 30, 1-4: "O woman! in our hours of ease, / Uncertain, coy, and hard to please, / And variable as the shade / By the light quivering aspen made"; Tennyson, *Queen Mary*, Act 3, Sc. 6: "You know what Virgil sings, / Woman is various and most mutable"; Lowell, *Fable for Critics*, 276: "All women he damns with *mutabile semper*"; and other instances cited by Henry, *Aeneidea*, 2 (1878), 803, who defends Dido against the charge of inconstancy in her relations to Aeneas. With the present line may be compared the quatrain in *Anth. Lat.* no. 268 (1, p. 215 Riese), beginning *crede ratem ventis, animum ne crede puellis*.

For the collocation of *varius* and *mutabilis* cf. 11, 425: *varique labor mutabilis aevi*; Sen. *N. Q.* 2, 11, 1; Firm. *Math.* 1, 7, 42; Aug. *Conf.* 3, 13; [Aug.] *Quaest. vel. et novi Test. CXXXVII*, 46, 3 (*C. S. E. L.* 50, 85); Tract. Orig. (Novatian) *De Libris sacr. Script.* 1 (p. 9, 8 Batifol). On such pairs of adjectives cf. Haflter, *Untersuch. z. alllat. Dichtersprache* (= *Problemata*, 10 (1934)), 78-79. The gnomic character of the present phrase resembles the style of tragedy (especially Euripides); cf. Kroll in *Neue Jahrb.*

21 (1908), 525. The omission of the copula is somewhat characteristic of such expressions; cf. Winter, *De Ellipsi Verbi Esse apud Catullum, Vergilium*, etc. (1907), 29.

570. *femina*: the 'run-over' word (cf. 1, 23, n. (*impulit*), above; Murley in *Am. Journ. of Philol.* 49 (1928), 355, n. 6; 358, n. 39) emphasizes the contemptuous notion which Virgil gives to *femina* (as in the modern use of 'female?'); cf. 4, 95, n. (*femina*).

570. *sic fatus*: cf. 4, 30, n. (*sic effata*).

570. *nocti*: cf. 10, 664: *nubi se immiscuit atrae*; Schol. Dan.: *hoc ad visum somniantis referendum est, id est, in noctem se immiscuit. et 'noctem' pro tenebris posuit, per quod apparet eum in claro lumine fuisse cum loqueretur*. At 4, 278 the theophany of Mercury had vanished without awaiting a reply; cf. the disappearance of other figures in dreams as noted by Deubner, *De Incubatione* (1900), 13.

570. *se immiscuit*: cf. *G.* 4, 245; *Aen.* 10, 796; 11, 815; *Carm. Lat. epigr.* 398, 2 Bücheler: *tenebris se miscuit atris*; Vida, *Christias*, 2, 112: *nocti ablatus se immiscuit atrae*.

570. *atrae*: a frequent attribute of night, as in 1, 89; 2, 360; 6, 272; etc.

571. *tum vero Aeneas*: cf. 10, 647: *tum vero Aeneam*; for similar introductions (*interea Aeneas, nec minus Aeneas, atque hic Aeneas, dixerat Aeneas, advolat Aeneas, substitit Aeneas, haud minus Aeneas, restitit Aeneas, constitit Aeneas*, etc.) see Terzaghi, *Virgilio ed Enea* (1928), 78. Aeneas had begun to prepare to leave at 4, 281, after Mercury's warning, but now becomes really in earnest.

571. *exterritus*: cf. 9, 424: *tum vero exterritus*; Val. Fl. 1, 778: *visaque exterritus umbra*; Justin, 1, 9, 5: *quo somnio exterritus*.

571. *umbris*: the plural used of a single apparition, rather than of darkness supervening after the vision had gone, as Heyne, Mackail, et al. suppose; cf. *G.* 4, 501: *prestantem nequiquam umbras* (of Eurydice); *Aen.* 5, 81: *animaeque umbraeque paternae* (of Anchises); 6, 510 (of Deiphobus); Sil. 2,

572. corripit e somno corpus sociosque fatigat:  
 'praecipites vigilate, viri, et considite transtris;  
 solvite vela citi. deus aethere missus ab alto

uri . . . transtris in ras. b. consedite FM (considite F<sup>1</sup>M<sup>2</sup>). trastris F (transtris F<sup>1</sup>).  
 city π.

572-573. socios . . . viri: Non. p. 304 M. (p. 472 L.) — praecipitis —. 572. corripit . . . fatigat: Cypr. Hept. Iesu Nave, 204 (C. S. E. L. 23, 164) — et somno L —. 572. corripit . . . corpus: Gl. Aa, 206, 966 — corrip(it) e somnia —.

[572\*] 573-574. praecipites . . . citi: Donat. Aen. 9, 35. 573. praecipites . . . viri: Serv. Aen. 5, 144; 5, 456; Cento Probae, 665 — corr. ex praecipitis P; uigilatae P —. 573. vigilate viri: Anth. Lat. no. 719, 67 (2, p. 187 Riese).

[573] 574. solvite . . . citi: Comm. Cruq. in Hor. C. 3, 2, 29; Epod. 10, 1. 574. solvite vela: Gl. Ansil. 530, 194. 574. deus . . . alto: Serv. Aen. 4, 577; Anth. Lat. no. 16, 16 (1, p. 56 Riese); no. 719, 9 (2, p. 185 Riese). 574. aethere ab alto: Gl. Ansil. 38, 366.

704: *Saguntinis somnos exterritus umbris*; Spitta, *Quaestiones Vergil.* (1867), 13; Löfstedt, *Syntactica*, 1 (1928), 41, and n. 1. To be sure, in these cases *umbra* is used of the appearance of the dead, yet it would not be inappropriate, as Servius (*ad loc.*) remarks, for the *forma dei* of 4, 556. Further, Aeneas's terror, as Kvíčala (*Neue Beitr. z. Erkl. d. Aeneis* (1881), 187) well remarks, must have been caused by the apparition rather than by the darkness which followed its departure.

572. corripit: cf. 3, 176: *corripio e stratis corpus*; Lucr. 3, 163: *corripere ex somno corpus*; 3, 925: *cum correptus homo ex somno se colligit ipse*; 4, 998: *corpus de terra corripere*; Cypr. Gall. Ios. 204: *corripit e somno corpus*; and, for similar phrases for awaking from a dream, Spitta, *Quaestiones Vergil.* (1867), 39; Stearns, *Studies of the Dream as a technical Device in Lat. Epic and Drama* (1927), 22, n. 65.

572. fatigat: Schol. Dan.: *cum clamore increpat*; cf. 1, 280; 6, 533; 7, 582 (and Hahn in *Cl. Weekly*, 22 (1929), 132, n. 8); Hor. C. 1, 2, 26-28: *prece qua fatigent / . . . Vestiam*; Sil. 12, 192: *socios nunc voce fatigat*; 16, 330; the Scholia Danielis further remark: *sane nonnulli ita distinguunt 'sociosque fatigat praecipites,' ut adlocutio hinc videatur incipere 'vigilate viri et considite transtris.' et est usitata figura 'fatigat et praecipites facit';* and this interpretation is followed by some editors (e.g. Hirtzel), but it is more usual to

begin a speech with a new line (statistics for and against this method in Kvíčala, *Neue Beitr. z. Erkl. d. Aeneis* (1881), 266-268, listing 255 speeches beginning a line (as always in Homer, Apollonius, et al.) and 81 starting in the middle of a line), and *vigilate* without *praecipites* closely connected with it, seems, as Mackail (*ad loc.*) observes, to furnish hardly the meaning here needed. It is scarcely necessary to explain *fatigat* of a definite physical action such as a kick, as Henry suggests (*Aeneidea*, 2 (1878), 804-805), citing as parallels *Il.* 10, 158; *Od.* 15, 45; *Sil.* 7, 303-304; the notion being a general one of rousing or stirring up. Cf. also 4, 30, n. (*sic effata*).

573. praecipites: this word, emphatically placed, carries out the spirit of Mercury's command in 4, 565. It applies more accurately to *considite* than to *vigilate* (cf. Wagner, *Quaest. Vergil.* no. 33, 10 (in his 4 ed., 4 (1892), 550), though it may be construed with the combined idea of both.

573. viri: Schol. Dan.: *habet haec commemoratio multum adhortationis, ut alibi* (2, 373) *'festinate viri.'*

573. considite transtris: Schol. Dan.: *pro 'in transtris';* cf. 3, 289: *linguere tum portus iubeo et considerare transtris* (cf. Val. Fl. 3, 459); 5, 136 (= Val. Fl. 2, 442): *considunt transtris*; Luc. 3, 542-543: *tunc caerula verunt / atque in transtra cadunt et remis pectora pulsant*; *Gesta Apollonii*, 349 (*Poet. Aevi*

575. *festinare fugam tortosque incidere funis*  
*ecce iterum instimulat. sequimur te, sancte deorum,*

funes *Fῥῑῥῑ*.

instimulat *F*, instimulat *FῑPῑῑc*, stimulat *Mab*, *Serv.* sanctae *ῑῑ*, sanctae (*corr. in sancte*) *a*.

575. *festinare . . . funis*: Schol. Dan. Aen. 3, 640 — funes —. 575. *festinare fugam*: Arus. Ex. Eloc. (G. L. K. 7, 474); Anon. Sodoma, 77 (C. S. E. L. 23, 216); Gl. Ansil. 242, 498.

576–577. *sequimur . . . es*: Charis. Inst. gram. 4 (G. L. K. 1, 267); Schol. Dan. Aen. 2, 351; Schol. Veron. Aen. 2, 632 — *quisqu(is es)* —. 576. *ecce . . . instimulat*: Anth. Lat. no. 15, 76 (1, p. 53 Riese) — *stimulat* —; Lact. Plac. in Stat. Theb. 10, 203 — *stimulat* —; 10, 216 — *stimulat* —. 576. *iterum instimulat*: Gl. Ansil. 320, 40 — *stimulat* —. 576. *instimulat*: Gl. Ansil. 311, 1620; q.v. 576. *sequimur . . . deorum*: Charis. Inst. gram. 4 (G. L. K. 1, 268). 576. *sequimur te*: Gl. Ansil. 519, 489.

Carol. 2, 494): *considunt ordine transtris*; Torr, *Anc. Ships* (1895), 46–47, and nn. 110–112.

574. *solvite vela*: cf. 5, 831: *dextros solvere sinus*; also 3, 268: *tendunt vela*; 3, 683: *intendere vela* (cf. 5, 32–33); the opposite of *vela legere* (e.g., G. 1, 373; Aen. 3, 532).

574. *citi*: instead of *cito*; cf. 1, 301; 4, 594; 9, 37; 12, 425; Plaut. *Amphil.* 244; Hor. *Serm.* 10, 92; Löfstedt, *Syntactica*, 2 (1933), 369–370.

574. *aethere, etc.*: cf. Anth. Lat. no. 719, 15 (2, p. 185 Riese): *caelo demissus ab alto*. La Cerda (*ad loc.*) notes the metrical swiftness of the line, which, like the abruptness of the sentence beginning with *deus*, befits the need of haste. The responsibility is put upon divine command, as in 4, 377: *interpres divom Iove missus ab ipso*.

575. *festinare fugam*: Schol. Dan.: *antique, ut* (6, 176–177) *‘tum iussa Sibyllae / haud mora festinant’*; cf. Sall. *Iug.* 77, 1: *ni id festinant*; 81, 4: *id modo festinabat*; Hist. 1, 81 Maurenbrecher: *profectionem festinantes*; Stat. *Theb.* 2, 478: *festinatque vias*; Sil. 1, 244: *festinat opus*; 8, 52: *festinat furibunda pyram*; also Aen. 1, 137: *maturate fugam*; 9, 378: *celerare fugam*. With the infinitive dependent upon *instimulat* cf. Lucr. 4, 190: *stimulatur fulgere fulgur*.

575. *tortos*: a stock epithet of ropes: Acc. 575 Ribb.: *tortas copulas*; Catull. 64, 235: *intorti . . . rudentes*; Hor. *Ep.* 1, 10, 48: *tortem . . . funem*; Ov. *M.* 3, 679: *intortos*

. . . *funes*; 15, 696: *torta retinacula*; Pers. 5, 146: *torta cannabe*; Sil. 6, 353: *intortas . . . rudentes*.

575. *incidere funis*: cf. 3, 639–640: *ab litore funem / rumpite*; 3, 667: *tacitque incidere funem*; 4, 580: *strictoque ferit retinacula ferro*; 10, 659: *rumpit Saturnia funem*. The action is more abrupt than in the usual departure and suggests the danger of going ashore to loosen the cables; cf. Schol. Dan.: *hoc ad significandam rem festinantis pertinet, id est, non ‘solvere’ sed ‘incidere’*; also the more normal expressions in G. 1, 457: *ab terra . . . convellere funem*; Aen. 3, 266–267: *litore funem / diripere . . . iubet*; 5, 773: *solvique ex ordine funem*. On phrases used by Virgil when ships leave the shore cf. Ribbeck, *Prolegom. crit.* (1866), 365; for the infinitive cf. Lohmann, *De Graecismorum Usu Vergiliano* (1915), 71.

576. *instimulat*: the first case of the word in Latin. *Serv.*: *phantasia est ad sociorum terrorem; sic in sexto* (46) *‘deus, ecce deus.’*

576. *sequimur, etc.*: present for the future; cf. 9, 21–22 (in a situation suggestive of the present): *sequor omina tanta, / quisquis in arma vocas*; Stat. *Theb.* 10, 680: *sequimur, divum quaecumque vocasti*; Val. Fl. 4, 674: *sequor o, quicumque deorum*; Claud. In Rufin. 1, 170–171: *sequimur, quocumque vocabis, / seu tu vir, seu numen*; Bell, *Latin Dual* (1923), 209. Aeneas sets sail hurriedly, apparently without the usual preliminary sacrifices (cf. 5, 772–776; Onasand. 10, 25), but the command of the god is his justifica-

477. quisquis es, imperioque iterum paremus ovantes.

tuo 'plerique' Pieriani (pro iterum). ouantis F.

[576\*]

tion. This prayer and Dido's imprecations (4, 607-629) and pyre (4, 661-662; 5, 3-7) furnish the omens for his voyage.

576. *sancte deorum*: Serv.: *aut distingue 'sancte' (i.e., sancte, deorum quisquis es) aut secundum Ennium dixit* (Ann. 64): '*respondit Iuno Saturnia sancta dearum*' (cf. Vahlen *ad loc.* for the comments of the Latin grammarians); cf. Ann. 18: *pulchra dearum*; 22 (by emendation): *dia dearum*; 491: *magna dearum*. Ennius imitates such Greek usage as *δία θεῶν* (Il. 6, 305; 18, 388; 19, 6; Od. 1, 14; Hes. Scut. 338; etc.), *δία γυναικῶν* (Il. 2, 714; Od. 4, 305; Epigrammata Gr. no. 343, 1 Kaibel; Lohmann, *De Graecismorum Usu Vergiliano* (1915), 40), *φίλα γυναικῶν* (Eur. Alc. 460), and *τάλαινα παρθένων* (Eur. Herac. 567), and the example of Ennius and Virgil of a partitive genitive dependent upon a positive adjective in the vocative singular is imitated in Anth. Lat. no. 15, 19 (1, p. 51 Riese): *sancte deum*, and C. I. L. IX, 3375, 1 (Dessau 3530): *magne deum*. Conington (on our line) remarks: "An ordinary partitive genitive individualizes some members of a class in order to distinguish them from others; here there is individualization where apparently no division is intended." More frequent is the dependence of a partitive genitive upon the neuter singular or plural of an adjective, as in 1, 422: *strala viarum*; 2, 725: *opaca locorum*; 5, 695: *ardua terrarum*; 6, 633: *opaca viarum*; 8, 221: *ardua montis* (= 11, 513); and many other examples cited by Kühner-Stegmann, *Ausf. Gram. d. lat. Spr.* 2, 1, 2 ed. (1912), 432-433; cf. Headlam on Herondas, 1, 67; Bell, *op. cit.*, 258. At other times the genitive depends on personal expressions, as in Stat. Theb. 2, 152: *egregii iuvenum*; Apul. Apol. 38: *antiquos philosophorum*; etc.

577. *quisquis es*: thus at the beginning of a verse in 1, 387; 2, 148; 6, 388; Tib. 1, 4, 60; Prop. 1, 9, 30; Ov. M. 3, 613; 8, 864; 11, 721; 12, 80; Val. Fl. 4, 240; Stat. Theb.

1, 462; 2, 697; 5, 664; Sil. 5, 562; Claud. *De Rapt. Pros.* 3, 304; Anth. Lat. no. 410, 1 (1, p. 317 Riese); no. 564, 1 (2, p. 74 Riese). In 4, 558 the vision was *omnia Mercurio similis*; in 4, 574 Aeneas recognized it as a *deus*. There was, then, as in 1, 327-330 and Ov. M. 14, 841-842, no uncertainty as to its sex (such as we find in the phrases *sive deus sive dea* or *sive mas sive femina*), but there remained doubts (a) as to the correctness of identification with Mercury (Serv.: *licet viderit non tamen re vera novit esse Mercurium*); (b) which of the three Mercuries listed by Servius or of the four noted by the Scholia Danielis is meant; (c) whether Mercury on this second occasion spoke for himself alone or as the messenger of Jupiter (cf. Serv.: *aut certe ad Iovem spectat, id est, 'quisquis es' qui praecipis; ut in nono* (22) '*quisquis in arma vocas, cum Irin vidisset, id est, quicumque Irin misisti. plane illud occurrit quod ait* (4, 574) '*deus aethere missus ab alto, ubi et Iovem complexitur et supernum Mercurium*); and (d) the correct designation by which to address this deity (Schol. Dan.: *secundum pontificum morem qui sic precantur: Iuppiter omnipotens, vel quo alio te nomine appellari volueris*; cf. 9, 22 (quoted above); 9, 209: *Iuppiter aut quicumque oculis haec adspicit aequis*; also Aesch. Agam. 160-161: Ζεὺς, ὅστις ποτ' ἐστίν, εἰ τόδ' αὖ/τῷ φίλον κεκλημένω; Eur. Tro. 885-886: ὅστις ποτ' εἰ σύ, δυστόπαστος εἶδέναι, / Ζεὺς, εἴτ' ἀνάγκη φύσεος εἶτε νοῦς βροτῶν, κτλ.; Plat. Crat. 400 E: ὥσπερ ἐν ταῖς εὐχαῖς νόμος ἐστὶν ἡμῖν εὐχεσθαι, οἰτινές τε καὶ ὁπόθεν χαίρουσιν ὀνομαζόμενοι, κτλ.; and many other cases collected by Appel, *De Romanorum Precationibus* (1909), 78-79; Norden, *Agnostos Theos* (1913), 143-147; to which add Jul. Val. 1, 30.

577. *iterum*: as the warning had been repeated (*iterum instimulat*, above) so the preparations for obeying it fall into two parts (4, 288-295; 4, 573-583). Kvřčala's attempt (*Neue Beitr. z. Erkl. d. Aeneis* (1881), 188-

578. *adsis o placidusque iuves et sidera caelo  
dextra feras.* dixit vaginaque eripit ensem

*iuves ex corr. F<sup>1</sup>(an iues F<sup>2</sup>?).*  
*eripit (corr. in eripit) γ.*

578-579. et . . . *feras: Porphy. in Hor. Serm. 2, 3, 38 — celo M —* 578. *adsis placidus: Gl. Ansil. 31, 727; Gl. Abstr. 5, 81; Gl. Affatim (C. G. L. 4, 481, 8) — placitus (placidus c) —*  
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189) to construe *iterum* with *imperio* (τῷ αἰδῷ κελεύσματι), citing other instances of adverbs closely associated with nouns, appears unsuccessful; cf. Zingerle, *Kl. philol. Abhand. 3* (1882), 22-23.

577. *paremus ovantes*: cf. 3, 189: *dicto paremus ovantes*; 4, 543: *naulas comitabor ovanlis*.

578. *adsis o*: this dislocation of *o* is frequent in Virgil (cf. *Ecl. 3, 3; 4, 48: adgredere o magnos*, etc.; 5, 65 (= Paul. Nol. *Carm. 13, 31*): *sis bonus o felixque*; *G. 1, 12; 2, 4; 2, 7; 2, 35; Aen. 2, 281; 2, 638; 6, 194; 6, 509; 8, 78: adsis o tantum et propius tua numina firmes*; 8, 122: *egredere o quicumque es*; 8, 579; 9, 234; 10, 631; 11, 415; 12, 646; cf. *Lydia, 77*), and is common in other poets, e.g., *Hor. C. 4, 5, 37; Prop. 2, 1, 48; Ov. M. 2, 279; 7, 797; 14, 372; Calp. 1, 36; Sen. H. F. 1068; 1072; 1226; Tr. 768; H. O. 1176; Luc. 1, 199; 3, 79; 4, 212; 8, 843; Val. Fl. 2, 274; 4, 327; 4, 630; 4, 674: sequor o, quicumque deorum*; 8, 264; *Stat. Silv. 1, 2, 169; 2, 7, 41; Theb. 1, 716-717: adsis o memor hospitii, Iunoniaque arva / dexter ames*; 3, 269; 3, 360; 3, 648; 8, 677; 9, 17; 9, 49; 9, 211; 9, 548: *ades o mihi*; 10, 662; *Mart. 1, 103, 3; 2, 47, 2; 5, 10, 11; 9, 20, 3; 9, 36, 7; Sil. 1, 653; 2, 372; 3, 69; 4, 127: adsis o firmesque tuae, pater, alitis omen*; 4, 673; 7, 737; 8, 211; 9, 159; 13, 8; 16, 87; *Flor. 1, 18, 2, 31; Nemes. 1, 64; Arnob. 5, 14; Juvenc. 1, 86; Auson. Parent. 11, 15; Epitaph. 2, 1; Ep. 5, 9; De III Cons. Hon. 33; De Cons. Stil. 2, 398; De Bell. Goth. 430; De Rapt. Pros. 2, 73; 2, 234: sis memor o longumque vale*; *Venant. Fort. Misc. 6, 7, 166: sis precor o felix*; *Prud. Peristeph. 10, 401; Sidon. Carm. 2, 438; Anth. Lat. no. 718, 2 (2, p. 183 Riese); Bell, Latin Dual (1923), 270 (who observes that such inver-*

sions are especially frequent in commands and appeals); *Housman in Cl. Quart. 27 (1933), 3*. With the thought cf. *G. 1, 18: adsis o Tegeae favens; Aen. 1, 734: adsit laetitia Bacchus dator*; 3, 395: *aderitque vocatus Apollo*; 8, 78 (quoted above); 10, 255: *adsis pede diva secundo*; 10, 461: *te precor, Alcide, coeptis ingentibus adsis*; 10, 773-774: *dextra mihi deus et telum . . . / nunc adsint*; *Paul. Pell. Eucharist. 4 (C. S. E. L. 16, 291): te, deus omnipotens, placidus mihi, deprecor, adsis*.

578. *placidus*: cf. 3, 266: (*di*) *placidi servate pios*; *Apoll. Rh. 3, 693: ἀλλ' ἄλῃ, ἀναξ, ἄλῃ φαεινῆς*; *Paul. Nol. Carm. 6, 159: sed mitis placidusque suis cultoribus adsit*; and, for the mild aspect of favoring divinities, *Deubner, De Incubatione (1900), 11-12*.

578. *iuves*: a liturgical term; cf. *Appel, De Romanorum Precationibus (1909), 127*.

578. *sidera*: *Serv.: hoc est, ventos, qui ex ortu siderum aut prosperi aut adversi sunt*; etc.

579. *dextra*: *Schol. Dan.: prospera*. The Greek rather than the native Roman orientation is here followed; cf. *Cic. De Div. 2, 82 (and the passages cited in my n.): ita nobis sinistra videntur, Gratiis et barbaris dextra meliora. quamquam haud ignoro quae bona sint sinistra nos dicere etiam si dextra sint, sed certe nostri sinistrum nominaverunt externique dextrum, quia plerumque id melius videbatur*. For *dexter* in the sense of 'propitious' or 'favorable' cf. 2, 388: *quaque ostendit se dextra (sc. futura), sequamur*; 4, 294: *quis rebus dexter modus (and n. on dexter)*; 8, 302: *tua dexter adi pede sacra secundo*; *Quintil. 4, proem. 5: numen . . . invocem ul . . . dexterque ac volens adsit*; also many cases cited in *Thes. Ling. Lat. 5 (1910), 924, 19-925, 34*. For the application of this adjective to *sidera*

580. fulmineum strictoque ferit retinacula ferro.  
idem omnis simul ardor habet, rapiuntque ruuntque;

omnes b.

580. stricto ferro: *Gl. Ansil.* 539, 339.

581. rapiuntque ruuntque: *Anth. Lat. no. 8, 11 (1, p. 34 Riese).*

cf. Stat. *Theb.* 4, 767-768: *sic hoc tibi sidere dextro / crescat onus*; *Silv.* 3, 4, 64-65: *o sidere dextro / edite*; Claud. *Carm. min. Append.* 2, 124-125: *dextro iam Siria cessent / sidere*.

579. dixit: cf. 4, 30, n. (*sic effata*).

579. vaginaque, etc.: cf. 6, 260: *vaginaque eripe ferrum*; 10, 475: *vaginaque cava fulgentem diripit ense*; 10, 806: *vaginaque eripit ense*; Stat. *Theb.* 10, 271-272: *sic fatus et exiit ense / fulmineum*; also *Il.* 1, 194: ἔλκετο δ' ἐκ κολεοῦ μέγα ξίφος; *Od.* 10, 126-127: τὸφρα δ' ἐγὼν ἄορ δὲ ἐρυσσάμενος παρὰ μῆρου / τῷ ἀπὸ πελσμάτ' ἔκοψα νεός; *Apoll. Rh.* 4, 206-208: ὡς φάτο . . . / . . . ὁ δὲ ξίφος ἐκ κολεοῦ / σπασσάμενος πρυμναῖα νεός ἀπὸ πελσμάτ' ἔκοψεν.

579. eripit: for the change in tense from *dixit* cf. Ley, *Vergil. Quaest.* 1 (1877), 23. The historical present and the verb used both emphasize the suddenness of the drawing of the sword; for the latter see Tac. *Ann.* 1, 35, 5: *ferrum a latere diripiit*.

580. fulmineum: Schol. Dan.: *quidam fulgentem accipiunt*; the notion combines brightness and speed, like our 'flashing,' and perhaps also irresistibility (cf. Bileŭchi in *Primitiae Czernovicienses* (1909), 19); cf. 9, 441-442: *rotat ense / fulmineum*; Hunziker, *Die Figur der Hyperbel in d. Ged. Vergils* (1896), 72, and nn. 108-110, who cites 9, 705-706: *contorta falarica venit, / fulminis acta modo*; Val. Fl. 6, 230: *fulmineum . . . ense*; Sil. 6, 249-250: *venit in adversam non vano turbine frontem / cuspis*; cf. Stat. *Theb.* 10, 271-272: *exiit ense / fulmineum*; Tasso, *Ger. lib.* 5, 29, 6: *la fulminea spada*; 7, 38, 7-8: *fulminando / spesso alla vista gli dirizza il brando*; Ossian, *Fingal*, 1, 521: "their circling swords like lightning flash"; Kleist, *Penthesilea*, 183-184: "Und senkt, wie aus dem Firmament geholt, / Das Schwert ihm wetterstrahlend

in den Hals"; id., *Hermannsschlacht*, 82-83: "Ihr Pfeil . . . / Warf mit der Macht des Donnerkeils ihn nieder." Cf. Ekkehard, *Waltharius*, 192: *fulmineos . . . enses*; and the *coruscum . . . ense* of Aen. 2, 552-553.

580. stricto . . . ferro: cf. 6, 291; 10, 577: *strictum . . . ense*; 10, 651-652; 10, 715: *stricto concurrere ferro*; Juvenc. 4, 531; etc.; Schol. Dan.: *videtur abundare 'stricto,' cum dixerit 'vaginaque eripit ense'*.

580. ferit, etc.: cf. 4, 575, n. (*incidere funis*); *Od.* 10, 126-127: τὸφρα δ' ἐγὼν ἄορ δὲ ἐρυσσάμενος παρὰ μῆρου / τῷ ἀπὸ πελσμάτ' ἔκοψα νεός κναυοπρώροιο; *Apoll. Rh.* 4, 207-208 (quoted above); Liv. 28, 36, 11: *ancoras, ne in moliendo mora esset, praecidunt*; Val. Fl. 1, 488-489: *ardenti Aesonides retinacula ferro / abscidit*. The *retinacula* stretched from the ship to the shore (cf. 3, 266; 3, 639; 10, 659), the ships being drawn up with the sterns toward the land; cf. 3, 277 (= 6, 901): *ancora de prora iacitur; stant litore puppes*; 6, 3-5: *obvertunt pelago proras, tum dente tenaci / ancora fundebat navis, et litora curvae / praelextunt puppes*; Kunz, *Realien in Vergils Aeneis*, 1 (1894), 16; Torr, *Anc. Ships* (1895), 74. Aeneas seldom executes things himself, acting rather through subordinates (cf. Serv. *Aen.* 1, 180), save in crises like the present. Usually the cables are loosed, but Irvine (*ad loc.*) remarks that they were similarly cut in the hasty escape from the Cyclops (3, 667), and that sailing at night was in itself sufficiently abnormal.

580. retinacula: cf. Ov. *M.* 8, 102-103: *classis retinacula solvi / iussit*; 11, 712: *hic retinacula solvit*; 14, 547: *stuppea praeuripit Phrygiae retinacula classis*; 15, 696; Stat. *Silv.* 3, 2, 32.

581. idem, etc.: cf. 7, 393: *idem omnis simul ardor agit nova quaerere lecta*; 12, 282: *sic omnis amor unus habet decernere ferro*. On their zeal for departure cf. 4, 193, n.

582. litora deseruere, latet sub classibus aequor.  
adnixa torquent spumas et caerula verrunt.

spumans *M* (spumas *M*<sup>1</sup>).

582. litora deseruere: *Gl. Ansil.* 343, 559. 582. latet . . . aequor: *Schol. Lucan.* 3, 47 — latet *om. C* —; 3, 566; 5, 708 — casibus *U* —; 9, 35; *Gl. Ansil.* 331, 434 — clasibus —.

583. ADNIXI . . . VERRUNT: *Non. p.* 420 *M.* (p. 677 *L.*) — ANNIXI —; p. 446 *M.* (p. 716 *L.*) — OBNI XI (obnixae *L.*), ADNIXI *cod.* 420 —.

(hiemem); also *Il.* 2, 149–150: τοὺς ἀλαλητῶ / νῆας ἐπ' ἐσσεύοντο, κτλ.; *Apoll. Rh.* 1, 911–914: λάζοντο δὲ χερσὶν ἑρετμὰ / ἐνσχερῶ ἐξό-  
μενοι· πρὸν νῆσια δὲ σφισιν Ἄργος / λῦσεν ὑπὲρ  
πέτρης ἀλμυρῆος. ἔνθ' ἄρα τοίγε / κόπτων ὕδωρ  
δολιχῆσιν ἐπικρατέως ἐλάττησιν; *Pacuv.* 409  
*Ribbeck* (ap. *Cic. De Div.* 1, 24): *profec-  
tione laeli.*

581. habet: 'possesses'; cf. 3, 147; 6, 521; 11, 357; *Ov. H.* 12, 170; *F.* 3, 288; *Stat. Theb.* 3, 549; etc.

581. rapiuntque ruuntque: one of those jingling pairs so common in many languages, like 'hither and thither,' 'hurry-scurry,' 'hustle and bustle,' 'helter-skelter,' etc., the doubling of -que adding to the effect of speed; cf. 4, 83, n. (*audilque videlque*); 9, 516: *voluntque ruuntque.* *Irvine* (*ad loc.*) remarks "how the rushing dactyls of 581–582 pass into steady swinging spondees as the rowers settle to their work." The object of *rapiunt* (if any; cf., however, *G.* 3, 68) may be the belongings still left on shore.

582. litora, etc.: the Scholia Danielis well call these lines *mira descriptio festinationis.*

582. deseruere: the tense shows the speed with which the act has already been accomplished; cf. 4, 164; 4, 167; etc.

582. latet: cf. 4, 566: *mare turbare  
tribibus . . . videbis*; *Sen. Agam.* 434: *splen-  
detque classe pelagus et pariter latet*; *Luc.* 3, 46–47: *ut . . . / absconditque fretum classes*; 9, 35: *quis* (sc. *credet*) *pelagus victas artasse  
carinas* (cf. *Sil.* 14, 370); *Manil.* 3, 20:  
*magna pontum sub classe latentem* (cf. 1, 776); *Oros.* 2, 10, 9 (of Xerxes): *exiguo contentum  
latere navigio, sub quo ipsum pelagus ante  
latuisset*; *Sidon. Carm.* 5, 456–457: *nec sic  
Leucadio classis Mareotica portu / Actiacas  
abscondit aquas*; *Paul. Petric. De Vita Mart.*

6, 366: *fluctus sub classe latent*; *Gualterus, Alexandreis,* 9, 520: *lateat sub classibus aequor.*

582. classibus: on the plural cf. *Spitta, Quaest. Vergil.* (1867), 34.

583. ADNIXI, etc.: this line = 3, 208. The heavy metre of its first part well expresses the labor of getting the ships started, after which both they and it move rapidly in the last two feet; cf. *Maxa in Wiener Stud.* 19 (1897), 105; also 4, 397, n. (*tum vero, etc.*).

583. torquent spumas: cf. 1, 35: *spumas salis aere ruebant*; 8, 672: *fluctu spumebant caerula cano*; *Od.* 12, 171–172: οἱ δ' ἐπ' ἑρετμὰ / ἐξόμενοι λείκαινον ὕδωρ ξεστῆσ' ἐλά-  
ττησιν.

583. caerula verrunt: cf. *G.* 3, 201: *aequora verrens*; *Aen.* 3, 290 (= 5, 778): *certatim socii feriunt mare et aequora ver-  
runt*; 6, 320: *remis vada livida verrunt*; 8, 674: *aequora verrebant caudis* (sc. *delphines*); *Enn. Ann.* 384: *verrunt extemplo placide  
mare*; *Lucr.* 5, 1226–1227: *vis violenti per  
mare venti / induperatorem classis super ae-  
quora verrit*; *Catull.* 64, 7: *caerula verrentes  
abiegnis aequora palmis*; *Ov. Am.* 1, 9, 14: *aplaque verrendis sidera quaerel aquis*; *Manil.* 4, 285: *everrere relibus aequor* (cf. *Sil.* 14, 264–265: *relibus aequor / verrere*); *Luc.* 3, 542: *tunc caerula verrunt*; *Ennod. Carm.* 1, 7, 38: *aequora verrere*; *Bénaky, Du Sens chromatique dans l'Antiquité* (1897), 272; *Bailey in Proc. of cl. Assoc.* 28 (1931), 30–31.

On caerula for 'the deep' cf. 7, 198; 8, 672; *Thes. Ling. Lat.* 3 (1906), 107, 27–44. Virgil's use of *caerul(e)us*, and of colors in general, is discussed by *Roiron, Étude sur l'Imagination auditive de Virgile* (1908), 540–541.



584. Et iam prima novo spargebat lumine terras  
Tithoni croceum liquens Aurora cubile.

584-650: *MP*.

584-585. et . . . cubile: *Macrob. Sat. 5, 6, 15*; *Charis. Inst. gram. 4* (G. L. K. 1, 274) — liquens *N* —; *Diomed. Art. gram. 2* (G. L. K. 1, 460) — spargebas *M*; liquens *ABM*; cuuile *AB*, cui uile *M* —; *Isid. Etym. 1, 37, 15*; *Beda, De Schem. et Trop. S. Script. (1533 ed.)*, pp. 85-86; *Julian. Tolet. De Vitiis et Figuris, 6, 48*. 584. et . . . terras: *Donat. Ars gram. 3* (G. L. K. 4, 401) — prima aurora nouo *LP* —; *Macrob. Sat. 6, 1, 25*; *Cento Probae, 82* — primi *corr. in prima T* —; *Julian. Tolet. De Vitiis et Figuris, 6, 47*. 584. novo lumine: *Gl. Ansil. 397, 339*.

[584\*] 585. Tithoni . . . cubile: *Macrob. Sat. 6, 1, 31* — tothoni *P<sup>1</sup>* —; *Pomp. Comm. (G. L. K. 5, 308)*; *Serv. Aen. 11, 183*; *Lact. Plac. in Stat. Theb. 2, 134*.

584. et iam, etc.: lines 584-585 = 9, 459-460; Sparrow (*Half-lines and Repetitions in Virgil* (1931), 105) considers the latter passage, with an awkward case of three occurrences of *iam* in three lines, as a mere *tibicen*. Further cf. *Il. 8, 1* (= 24, 695): 'Hῶς δὲ κροκόπεπλος ἐκλδνατο πᾶσαν ἐπ' αἶαν; 11, 1-2 (= *Od. 5, 1-2*): 'Hῶς δ' ἐκ λεχέων παρ' ἀγανού Τιθωνοῖο / ὤρνυθ', ἵνα ἀθανάτοισιν φάος φέροι ἥδὲ βορροῖσι (translated by [Auson.] *Perioch. Il. 11*: Tithoni croceum liquens Aurora cubile / spargebat terras referens opera alque labores); *Lucr. 2, 144*: primum Aurora novo cum spargit lumine terras (Schol. Dan. *Aen. 9, 457*: Lucretianum est; cf. Bailey in *Proc. of cl. Assoc. 28* (1931), 31-32 for Virgil's addition to Lucretius of personal and mythological features); *Val. Fl. 3, 257-258*: ecce levi primos iam spargere lumine portus / orta dies; notaeque (nefas) albescere turres; 5, 248-249: tua lumina toto / sparge mari; Ambros. *Hymn. 28, 1*: aurora iam spargit polum; *Aug. Conf. 7, 23*: quo lumine aspergetur; *Paul. Petric. De Vita Mar. 1, 168-169*: et iam prima novo spargebat lampade terras / orta dies; *Boeth. Cons. 2, 3, 1*: cum polo Phoebus roseis quadrigis / lucem spargere coeperit; also, above, 4, 6, n. (postera, etc.); 4, 129, n. (*Oceanum, etc.*); Norden on *Aen. 6, 535-536*.

Marmontel (quoted by Loewe, *Symbolae ad enarr. Serm. Poet. Lat.* (1873), 26, n. 1) remarks upon the art with which Virgil in five lines includes the appearance of dawn, the fleet of Aeneas in full sail, the deserted harbor, and the grief of Dido in her watch tower.

For the contrast of the calmness of dawn with the human events in progress cf. Heinze, *Virgils epische Technik*, 3 ed. (1915), 368; Anderson, *A Study of Virgil's Descriptions of Nature* (1916), 15; Pease in *Class. Journ. 22* (1927), 652, n. 46. Nettleship (*Lectures and Essays, 1* (1885), 121, n. 1) thinks that Virgil followed Arctinus more closely than any other of the cyclic poets, and observes that Arctinus represents Ajax as slaying himself περὶ τὸν δρόπον (Schol. *Pind. Isth. 4, 58, ap. Welcker, Episch. Cycl. 2* (1849), 525).

584. novo: *Serv.*: secundum Epicureos, qui stulte solem de atomis dicunt constare et cum die nasci, cum die perire — a difficult and unlikely interpretation. The word means no more than 'fresh,' 'newly appearing.'

584. spargebat: in addition to the passages cited above cf. 12, 113-114: postera vix summos spargebat lumina montis / orta dies; *Sil. 9, 33-34*: cum spargere primis / incipiet radiis Gargana cacumina Phoebus; *Juvenc. 4, 726*: dies . . . complebat lumine terras.

585. Tithoni, etc.: this line = *G. 1, 447*; *Aen. 9, 460*; Albertus Stadensis, *Troilus, 2, 775*. Cf. *Ov. F. 1, 461*: proxima prospiciet Tithono Aurora relicto. On Tithonus cf. Schmidt in *Roscher, Ausf. Lex. 5* (1924), 1021-1029.

585. croceum: cf. 4, 700: Iris croceis per caelum roseida pennis; 7, 26: Aurora in roseis fulgebat lulea bigis; and other passages in Kunz, *Realien in Vergils Aeneis, 2* (1895), 15; *Ov. M. 3, 149-150*: altera lucem / cum croceis invecta rotis Aurora reducet; Anon.

## 586. regina e speculis ut primum albescere lucem

et (i.e., ec) *Rottend. sec.*, e m. 2 add. c. cum primum b. primam Pa, primam (corr. in primum) γ, primum Mbc.

586-587. regina . . . velis: *Serv. Aen.* 5, 1 — primum om. FC —. 586. regina . . . speculis: *Anth. Lat. no. 11, 126* (1, p. 45 *Riese*) — regin A —; *Consent. Ars* (G. L. K. 5, 401).

*Cons. ad Liv.* 282: (Aurora) quam primum croceis roscida portet equis; *Dracont. De Laud. Dei*, 1, 671: roscida puniceum spargens aurora ruborem; *Anth. Lat. no. 579, 1-2* (2, p. 79 *Riese*): Aurora oceanum croceo velamine fulgens / liquerat et biugis vecta rubebat equis (also nos. 580-590: *tetrasticha de aurora et sole*). The Greek phrase is 'Hōs . . . κροκόπεπλος (e.g., *Il.* 8, 1; 23, 227; 24, 695; *Anth. Pal.* 9, 651, 3; etc.). Dana, *Ritual Significance of Yellow among the Romans* (1919), 14, holds the color to be symbolic, and notes that in the 'Aldobrandini Nuptials' in the Vatican the headdress of the bridegroom, the shoes of the bride, the mattress and the counterpane, footstool, and towel, are all yellow.

585. linquens: cf. *Fur. Bibac. ap. Macrob.* 6, 1, 31: interea oceani linquens Aurora cubile; *Serv. Aen.* 11, 183 (on *extulera lucem*): Asinius Pollio dicit ubique Vergilium in diei descriptione sermonem aliquem ponere aptum praesentibus rebus, ut hoc loco, qui funerum et sepulturarum res agitur, dicit 'extulera'; item in quarto, quia est navigaturus Aeneas et relicturus Didonem, dicit 'Tithoni croceum linquens Aurora cubile.' quod licet superfluum sit, in multis tamen locis invenitur. Pollio's view, though perhaps correct in places, is rightly rejected in its application to linquens in the present line by Heinze, *Virgils epische Technik*, 3 ed. (1915), 366, and n. 1; and it may be further noted that Aurora left the couch of Tithonus, the brother of Laomedon, while here Laomedon's descendant, Aeneas, deserts Dido, the reverse of Pollio's symbolic explanation. The passage is, then, merely a poetic indication, in the common Homeric style, of the beginning of a new day — this one to be Dido's last. In *Mem. r. Accad. Virg. di Mantova*, 22 (1931), 23-24, Sabadini analyzes the present situation into

two parts: (1) 585-606, the reddening of dawn; (2) 607-629, an appeal to the sun at the moment of its rising (cf. 12, 172; *Apul. M.* 2, 28), and observes that Virgil has skillfully combined the traditional moment for such an appeal with the regular time for the sailing of ships (cf. 3, 508-521).

586. regina, etc.: cf. *Apoll. Rh.* 3, 828-829: ἡ δ' ἐπεὶ οὖν τὰ πρῶτα φαεινομένην ἰδὼν ἤω / παρθενική, κτλ.; *Val. Fl.* 2, 261-262: regina ut roseis Auroram surgere bigis / vidit, et, etc.; also the situation of Amata in 12, 595-597 and of the abandoned Ariadne in *Catull.* 64, 60-67; 64, 124-131; 64, 164-168. Cowley, *The Heart fled again*, 2, 1-6, writes: "Even so the gentle Tyrian Dame, / When neither Grief nor Love prevail, / Saw the dear object of her flame, / Th' ungrateful Trojan hoist his sail: / Aloud she call'd to him to stay; / The wind bore him and her lost words away."

586. e speculis: *Schol. Dan.*: quas utique in sua regia habuit; cf. 3, 239: specula . . . ab alta; 7, 511: at saeva e speculis; 10, 454: leo, specula cum vidit ab alta; 11, 877: e speculis percussae pectora matres, etc. Henry, (*Aeneidea*, 2 (1878), 807-808) thinks the speculis not a part of the palace but outside it, like the *arx summa* of 4, 410. Yet the palace may be thought of as standing high, on or near the *arx*, and at this early hour it is more natural, with the *Scholia Danielis*, to suppose Dido in some part of it than already upon some separate citadel. All that the word really implies is that the place commanded a view. *Ov. Remed. Am.* 57-58: nec moriens Dido summa vidisset ab arce / Dardaniis vento vela dedisse rates can hardly prove any theory, in view of Ovid's free handling of the story. If we seek a parallel it would be safer to find it in a passage (12, 594-610) which, as Mackail (on p. 518 of his edition of the *Aeneid*) points out, contains

587. vidit et aequatis classem procedere velis  
litoraue et vacuos sensit sine remige portus,

uelis (lis m. 2) γ.

remige (mig m. 2 in ras., g ex n, ut uid.) γ. pontus M (portus M<sup>1</sup>).

[586] 587. aequatis . . . velis: Serv. Aen. 5, 844 — componere C —.

many likenesses to ours, for in 12, 595 we read *regina ut lectis venientem prospicit hostem*. Silius, on the other hand (8, 83-88; 8, 126-127), makes Dido haunt the shore and gaze out to sea, but this seems to be after Aeneas's departure from sight. Numerous Pompeian pictures of the abandonment of Ariadne represent her upon the shore watching the departure of the ship of Theseus; cf. Reinach, *Répertoire de Peintures gr. et rom.* (1922), 111-112.

586. ut primum: cf. 4, 259 and eight other cases in Virgil; the form *primum* is here better attested than *primam*, which is also awkward after *prima* in 4, 584. The pardonable pleonasm in using an inchoative verb with *ut primum* may be paralleled in 12, 76-77: *cum primum . . . / . . . Aurora rubebit*.

586. albescere lucem: Serv.: hypallage est; *luce enim albescunt omnia, non lux albescit*. For this verb as applied to sky or daylight cf. Amm. Marc. 19, 7, 3: *albescente iam die*; Prud. *Cathem.* 2, 3: *lux intrat, albescit solus*; *Thes. Ling. Lat.* 1 (1900), 1490, 46-54. Cf. also Caes. *B. C.* 1, 68, 1: *albente caelo*, and the French *aube* (Ital. *alba*), as in Racine, *Athalie*, 1, 1, 160: *Et du temple déjà l'aube blanchit le faite*. Eur. *I. A.* 156-157 says: *λευκαίνει / τόδε φῶς ἥδη λάμπουσ' ἥως*. La Cerda (*ad loc.*) has collected many allusions to the whiteness of the dawn and the sun, and similar lists may be found in Wakefield, *Silva Critica*, 5 (1795), 78-82. The notion is that of early dawn as distinguished from later yellow and pink hues, and is perhaps suggested by Enn. *Ann.* 212: *ut primum tenebris abiectis indalabat*. Lact. *Plac. in Stat. Theb.* 2, 333 says: *primo enim aurora cum Luciferi candore pallescit, deinde fulgore rosei solis afflatur*.

587. aequatis . . . velis: Serv.: *feliciter plenis, sine moti aliquo*; and the Scholia

Danielis add: *ut* (5, 844) '*aequatae spirant aurae*.' *et hoc ad dolorem pertinet reginae*. Possibly the notion is that of ships in an even line or formation; cf. 2, 724 (of Ascanius): *sequiturque patrem non passibus aequis* (i.e., hardly able to keep abreast); 5, 157-158 (of the boat-race): *iunctisque feruntur / frontibus*; 5, 232: *fors aequatis cepissent praemia rostris*; Sil. 16, 355 (of race horses): *aequata . . . fronte* (cf. 16, 380; 16, 424-425). Segebade, however, following other editors, explains (*Vergil als Seefahrer* (1895), 10) that the wind is so directly from the stern that the sails are squared, i.e., set at right angles to the keels of the ships (at 5, 16 we have the related expression *obliquat . . . sinus*); cf. Cic. *Ad Att.* 16, 6, 1: *duo sinus fuerunt quos transmitti oporteret, Paestanus et Vibonensis; utrumque pedibus aequis transmisimus*; Catull. 4, 20-21: *sive utrumque Iuppiter / simul secundus incidisset in pedem*; Ov. *Ex Pont.* 2, 6, 9: *recto transire Ceraunia velo*; F. 3, 565: *nanta ratem comitesque fugae pede labitur aequo*. The same explanation is given by Damsté in *Mnemosyne*, 26 (1898), 179-180, who points out that in a hasty flight like this it would not be natural to have all the ships advancing in an even formation.

588. litora, etc.: Schol. Dan.: *potest hysteroproteron esse, ut prius sentire debuerit*; but Dido's eyes were probably first attracted by the sails at sea, after which she verified her suspicions by observing that the harbor was deserted.

588. vacuos . . . sine remige: pleonastic; cf. Il. 21, 50: *γυμνόν, ἄτερ κόρυθός τε καὶ ἀσπίδος, οὐδ' ἔχεν ἔγχος*; Soph. *O. T.* 57: *ἔρημος ἀνδρῶν μὴ ξυνοικούντων ἔσω*; Ant. 445: *ἔξω βαρείας αἰτίας ἐλθέρον*; Aias, 464: *γυμνὸν φανέντα τῶν ἀριστέων ἄτερ*; Ov. *M.* 10, 245: *sine coniuge caelebs*; Sil. 10, 582: *vacuum sine corpore nomen*; 16, 623: *vacuum . . . sine pube, sine armis*. The adjective

589. *terque quaterque manu pectus percussa decorum  
flaventisque abscissa comas, 'pro Iuppiter! ibit*

fluentes *c.* abscissa *P*, abscisa (*corr. in abscissa*) *γ*, abscisa *abc.* comas abscissa *p* (abscisa comas *p<sup>1</sup>*). iuppiter *γc.*

589. *terque quaterque*: *Anth. Lat. no. 8, 74* (1, *p. 37 Riese*); *Gl. Affatim* (C. G. L. 4, 574, 10).

590-591. *pro . . . inluserit*: *Mar. Victor. Art. gram. 1* (G. L. K. 6, 31) — *illuserit* —. 590-591. *pro . . . nostris*: *Charis. Inst. gram. 1* (G. L. K. 1, 15). 590-591. *pro . . . ait*: *Macrob. Sat. 4, 2, 2; 6, 6, 16; [Prob.] De ult. Syll. 3* (G. L. K. 4, 222); 16 (G. L. K. 4, 258); *Serv. Comm. in Donat. (G. L. K. 4, 443); [Serg.] Expl. in Donat. 2* (G. L. K. 4, 535). 590. *Iuppiter ibit*: *Asper, Gram. Verg. p. 533 Hagen*.

logically applies to *litora* as well as to *portus*. *Sil. 2, 420* recalls this phrase: *Aeneadum vacuo iam litore classis*.

588. *remige*: cf. 5, 116: *velocem Mnestheus agit acri remige Pristim*; *Cir. 110-111*: *hanc urbem . . . / fecerat infestam populator remige Minos*; *Hor. Epod. 16, 57*: *Argoo contendit remige pinus*; *Prop. 3, 12, 34*; *Ov. H. 3, 153*: *remige portus . . . intrat*; *M. 8, 103*; etc.

588. *portus*: for the plural cf. *Spitta, Quaesit. Vergil. (1867), 27*.

589. *terque quaterque*: cf. 12, 155: *terque quaterque manu pectus percussit honestum*; *terque quaterque* begins a verse in *G. 2, 399*; *Aetna, 320*; *Stat. Silv. 4, 1, 37*; *Dracont. Orest. 262*: *terque quaterque ferit*; *Politian, Rusticus, 178*: *terque quaterque manu*, etc. Latin usage allows *ter* and *quater* (*G. 1, 410-411*), *ter et quater* (*Hor. C. 1, 31, 13*), *ter quaterque* (*Hor. Serm. 2, 7, 76*), or, most frequently, *terque quaterque* (as also in 1, 94; *Tib. 3, 3, 26*; *Vida, Christias, 3, 664*; 3, 932; cf. *Od. 5, 306*: *τρίς μάκαρες Δαναοὶ καὶ τετράκις*; *Timon Phlias. 101 (Frag. Philos. Gr. 1, 93 Mullach)*; *Dante, Purg. 7, 2*: *tre et quattro volte*). *Browne, Pseudodoxia epidemica (1646), 4, 12*, states that "men will have it" that the phrase means "seven times happy"; but for this explanation I find no evidence. Here the onomatopoeitic alliteration imitates the beating of the breast (cf. 4, 673: *pectora pugnīs*); cf. also *Ov. M. 1, 179-180*: *terrificam capitis concussit terque quaterque / caesariem*; 2, 49-50: *qui terque quaterque / concutiens illustre caput*. In the present line the significant repetitions are of *terque*, *pe*,

and *c*; cf. *Gerathewohl, Alliteration contragender Silben in die beiden letzten Arsen des Hexameters in Vergils Aeneis (in Abhandl. . . W. von Christ . . . dargebracht (1891)), 155-175*.

589. *pectus percussa*: cf. 4, 673, *n.* (*pectora pugnīs*); 7, 503: *palmis percussa lacertos*.

590. *flaventis . . . comas*: cf. *Gell. 2, 26, 12*: *sic flaventes comae et . . . frondes olearum (Aen. 5, 309) a Virgilio flavae dicuntur*. A note on the blond type in antiquity is here in place. In Egypt, in the age of the pyramids, Hetepheres, daughter of Cheops, furnishes a rare example (cf. *Illustr. London News, 9 July, 1927, 69*). Homer (cf. *Valentine in Cl. Weekly, 25 (1931), 52*) ascribes light hair to Achilles (*Il. 1, 197; 23, 141*; cf. *Pind. Nem. 3, 43*; *Hyg. Fab. 96*; *Epictet. 2, 24, 24*), Menelaus (*Il. 3, 284*; *Od. 1, 285; 3, 326; 4, 30*; etc.; cf. *Hes. Frag. 93, 7; 94, 24 Rzach*; *Pind. Nem. 7, 28*; *Eur. I. A. 175*; *Orest. 1532*; *Theocr. 18, 1*; *Tat. Ad Graecos, 10*), Meleager (*Il. 2, 642*), Odysseus (*Od. 13, 399; 13, 431*), and Rhadamanthus (*Od. 7, 23*), while among blondes we find Agamemede (*Il. 11, 740*) and Demeter (*Od. 5, 500*; cf. *Frag. Philos. Gr. 1, 188, no. 56, 2 Mullach*; *Virg. G. 1, 96*: *flava Ceres*; *Tib. 1, 1, 15* (where see *Smith's n.*); *Ov. Am. 3, 10, 3; 3, 10, 43*; *Claud. De Rapt. Pros. 1, 138*). Zeus (*Il. 1, 528*) and Poseidon (*Od. 3, 6; 9, 528; 9, 536*), on the other hand, are dark-haired; cf. *Seymour, Life in the Homeric Age (1908), 177*. Hesiod (*Frag. 110, 5 Rzach*) describes Ioleia as fair-haired (cf. *Callim. Epigr. 7, 3*), and also Ariadne (*Theog. 947*),

591. hic', ait, 'et nostris inluserit advena regnis?

hinc *dett.*

[590\*] 591. hic . . . regnis: *Charis. Inst. gram.* 1 (G. L. K. 1, 13). 591. hic . . . nostris: *Mar. Victor. Art. gram.* 1 (G. L. K. 6, 36). 591. et . . . regnis: *Macrob. Sat.* 4, 3, 7 — illuserit —; *Arus. Ex. Eloc.* (G. L. K. 7, 479) — illuserit —.

while in drama we find this characteristic of Apollo (Eur. *Troad.* 254; *Suppl.* 975; cf. *Pind. Ol.* 6, 41; 7, 32; etc.; *Bacchyl.* 4, 2; *Apoll. Rh.* 2, 676-677; *Ov. Am.* 1, 15, 35; *Plut. De Is. et Os.* 71; *Cornut. N. D.* 32; *Athen.* 13, 81; 15, 50; *Himer. Or.* 13, 7; *Claud. Carm. min.* 27, 55; *Coluth.* 25; *Anth. Pal.* 6, 264, 2; *Pap. Gr. mag.* 1 (1928), 40, 207; 96, 696; 132, 1957 *Preisendanz*; cf. *Schredelseker, De Superstitionibus Graecorum quae ad Crines pertinent* (1913), 16-22, *Dionysus* (Eur. *Bacch.* 235; *Cycl.* 75; cf. *Anth. Pal.* 9, 524), *Eros* (Eur. *I. A.* 548; cf. *Anacr.* 15, 27), *Hippolytus* (Eur. *Hipp.* 1343), *Parthenopaeus* (Eur. *Phoen.* 1159), *Medea's sons* (Eur. *Med.* 1141), *Artemis* (Eur. *Hipp.* 82; cf. *Anacr.* 1, 2), *Phaedra* (Eur. *Hipp.* 133-134; 220), *Helen* (Eur. *Hel.* 1224; cf. *Sapph. Frag.* 44, 5 *Edmonds*; *Ibyc.* 67, 5; *Dracont. Rom.* 8, 520), *Iphigenia* (Eur. *I. A.* 681; 1366; *I. T.* 51-52; 174), *Cassandra* (Eur. *I. A.* 758), *Harmonia* (Eur. *Med.* 832; cf. *Callim. Frag.* 2, 2), and *Creusa*, wife of *Jason* (Eur. *Med.* 980). Others so described are *Hymenaeus* (*App. Planud.* 177, 3), *Jason* (*Apoll. Rh.* 1, 1084; 3, 1018; *Ov. H.* 12, 11), *Hylas* (*Theocr.* 13, 36; *Paroemiogr. Gr.* 2, 436, 34), *Polynices* (*Anon. Theb.* 2, 1, in *Homer*, ed. *Allen*, 5 (1912), 113), *Athena* (*Pind. Nem.* 10, 7; *Bacchyl.* 5, 92; *Ov. Am.* 1, 1, 7; *M.* 2, 749; 8, 275), *Thetis* (*Heliod. Aeth.* 3, 2; *Anth. Pal.* 9, 485, 1; 9, 485, 14), *Aphrodite* (*Ibyc.* 67, 9; *Anth. Pal.* 9, 605, 1), *Persephone* (*Anth. Pal.* 7, 507 B, 2; *Claud. De Rapt. Pros.* 3, 86-87), *Semele* (*Anth. Pal.* 3, 1, 2), *Doris* (*Anth. Pal.* 5, 230, 1), *Medea* (*Apoll. Rh.* 3, 829), *Galatea* (*Athen.* 13, 17), *Eurypple* (*Athen.* 12, 46), *Briseis* (*Bacchyl.* 12, 136-137), *Atalanta* (*Ael. V. H.* 13, 1), *Megalostrate* (*Alcm.* 130, 5), *Perimeda* (*Theocr.* 2, 16), the *Graces* (*Pind. Nem.* 5, 54), and various characters in the novelists

(*Xen. Eph.* 1, 2; 3, 3; *Apul. M.* 2, 9; 3, 17; 5, 22; 10, 30; *Longus*, 1, 17; 2, 4; *Achill. Tat.* 5, 13, 2) and erotic writers (*Pichon, De Sermone amatorio* (1902), 150). Cf. also *Bächtold-Stäubli* in *Hoffmann-Krayer, Handwörterbuch d. deutsch. Aberglaubens*, 3 (1931), 1252 (on blonde heroines); *Gauger in Tübing. Beitr. z. Altertumswiss.* 16 (1932), 19.

Among historic characters may be mentioned *Aspasia* (*Ael. V. H.* 2, 1), *Alexander the Great* (*Ael. V. H.* 12, 14; *Jul. Val. Ortus Alex.* 1, 7), *Ptolemy Philadelphus* (*Theocr.* 17, 103), *Sulla* (*Plut. Sulla.* 6, 7), *Augustus* (*Suet. Aug.* 79: *capillum . . . sub flavum*), *Nero* (*Suet. Nero.* 51), *Verus* (*Jul. Capit. Ver.* 10, 7), *Constantius Gallus* (*Amm. Marc.* 14, 11, 28), and *Valentinian* (*Amm. Marc.* 30, 9, 6), while to the blond races of the north we have many references (e.g., *Strab.* 4, 5, 2; *Vitruv.* 6, 1, 3-4; *Manil.* 4, 715; *Sen. Dial.* 5, 26; *Luc.* 1, 402; *Plin. N. H.* 2, 189; *Tac. Ann.* 2, 9; *Agr.* 11; *Mart.* 6, 60, 3; *Calp. Fl.* 2; *Amm. Marc.* 31, 2, 21; *Hier. Ep.* 107, 2, 3; *Auson. Bissula*, 26; *Claud. De IV Cons. Hon.* 54; 446-447; *Fescennina*, 4, 15; *De Rapt. Pros.* 2, 65; *De Cons. Stil.* 3, 18-19; *De Bell. Goth.* 419; *Carm. min.* 25, 127; *Sidon. Carm.* 5, 220; 7, 42; *Procop.* 7, 14, 27; *Isid. Etym.* 9, 2, 65; *Fehrle in Schweiz. Arch. f. Volkskunde*, 26 (1926), 234).

Virgil himself several times notes fair hair; e.g., *G.* 1, 96 (*Ceres*); 4, 339 (*Lycorias*); 4, 352 (*Arethusa*); *Aen.* 4, 559 (*Mercury*); 4, 698 (*Dido*); 11, 642-643 (*Herminius*); elsewhere he refers to the blond type of beauty (*Ecl.* 2, 16; 5, 56-57; 7, 38). Such references are frequent in other Latin authors; e.g., *Catull.* 35, 8; 64, 63; 64, 98; 68, 130; *Hor. C.* 1, 5, 4; 3, 9, 19; 4, 4, 4; *Tib.* 1, 5, 44; *Ov. Am.* 1, 1, 29; 1, 14, 9-12; 2, 4, 39-44; *H.* 5, 122; 18, 135; 19, 57; 20, 57;

*M.* 6, 118; 6, 130; 9, 307; *Tr.* 1, 10, 1; *F.* 2, 763; 5, 609; 6, 652; *Calpurn.* 6, 15; *Petron.* 110, 5; 133, 3; *Sen. Oed.* 420; *Dial.* 4, 19, 5; *Plin. N. H.* 37, 50; *Stat. Theb.* 4, 314-315; 5, 220; 5, 269; 6, 607; 8, 491; *Mart.* 5, 68, 2; *Sil.* 1, 438; 9, 414-415; *Juv.* 6, 354; *Auson. Ep.* 14, 44-45; *Dares*, 12-13 (several references to Homeric heroes, including the statement (12): *Aeneam rufum, quadratum, facundum, affabilem, fortem, cum consilio, pium, venustum, oculis hilaribus et nigris*); *Claud. De Nupt. Hon.* 242; *De Cons. Stil.* 3, 249; *Dracont. Rom.* 8, 576; *Maximianus*, 1, 93; *Marianus, Luperc.* 1 (*Frag. Poet. Rom.* 384 *Bachrens*); *Anon. in Frag. Poet. Rom.* 395, no. 79; *Anth. Lat.* no. 866, 1 (2, p. 316 *Riese*). Allusions to dark hair, which are not infrequent from Homer onward, I shall not here consider.

The idealization of light hair led to the use of artificial means of attaining it (contrary to *Matt.* 5, 36); e.g., *Menand. ap. Clem. Paedag.* 3, 2; *Cato ap. Schol. Dan. Aen.* 4, 698; *Dion. Hal.* 7, 9; *Val. Max.* 2, 1, 5; *Plut. De Am.* 25; *Dioscur.* 1, 95; 1, 100, 3; 1, 117; *De Simplic.* 1, 92; *Ael. V. H.* 9, 9; *Poll.* 2, 3, 35; *Clem. Strom.* 1, 16 (who says *Medea* invented the custom); *Paedag.* 2, 8; 3, 3; 3, 11; *Tert. De Cult. Fem.* 2, 6; *Athen.* 12, 60; *Seren. Samm.* 52-53; *Cypr. De Hab. Virg.* 16; *Lamprid. Comm.* 17, 3; *Basil, Ep.* 2; *Hier. Ep.* 107, 5, 1; *Mart. Cap.* 6, 696; *Paul. Nol. Carm.* 25, 64; and *Philostr. Vit. Apoll.* 8, 7, 6, speaks of dandies with yellow locks. Certain waters, especially the river *Crathis*, were thought to cause light hair in those who drank them (*Arist. De mirab. Ausc.* 169; *Strab.* 6, 1, 13; *Ov. M.* 15, 315-316; *Vib. Seq. (Geogr. Lat. min.* 147)).

Such names as *Flavius* and *Rufus* also testify to the existence of light-haired persons in Italy, but in ascribing light hair to the Phoenician *Dido* Virgil is doubtless not attempting ethnological exactness, any more than *Callimachus* in speaking (*Hymn.* 2, 86) of *ξανθοῖς Λιβύσσαις*. *Günther (Rassenkunde des deutschen Volkes* (1923), 303, n. 1) observes that *Tasso* in the *Gerusalemme liberata* makes the *Aethiopian Chlorinda* a blonde. Despite the objection of a German commentator (see *Myers, Cl. Essays* (1883), 111)

that a widow's hair should be dark, not auburn, *Dido's* fair hair became a requirement of feminine beauty in the Cinquecento (cf. *Zabughin, Vergilio nel Rinascimento ital.* 2 (1923), 337, n. 143). The phrase *candida Dido* (5, 571), I am inclined, despite *Ogle* (in *Cl. Journ.* 20 (1925), 269, n. 1), to refer to the complexion (cf. *Ecl.* 2, 16; 5, 56; 7, 38).

Among recent discussions of this subject cf. *Eitrem, Opferitus u. Voropfer. d. Gr. u. Römer* (1915), 194-195; *Gordon in Journ. of Rom. Stud.* 14 (1924), 96; *Gomme, in Cl. Rev.* 39 (1925), 22, who thinks the notion of tall, fair-haired northerners, who became aristocrats in Greece among the short, dark *Aegeans*, is a superstition; *Scott, in Cl. Journ.* 20 (1925), 366-367, who finds in *Homer* no dark-haired Greek or light-haired Trojan, while the three great gods, *Zeus*, *Hera*, and *Poseidon*, had dark hair (which would be remarkable if the *Achaeans* had prided themselves on light hair); *id.*, in *Cl. Journ.* 24 (1929), 374-375, with instances of Greek blondes; *Ogle, in Cl. Weekly*, 23 (1929), 28-30, who discusses the blond complexion of *Aeneas* (1, 589-593), and contends that dark races naturally prefer dark beauty, blond races blond complexions, and that the blond type in European literature is a survival from the blond ancestors of the Greeks, whom *Homer* calls *ξανθοί*; *Brouzas, in Proc. Am. philol. Assoc.* 61 (1930), xxvi-xxvii, who reviews the opinions of scholars from *Scaliger* on, finding two groups: "because the Greeks admired blond hair (a) they were themselves blond, (b) they were themselves dark. But the principle that like attracts like must be accepted, at least for the Greeks of the earlier time"; *Kober in Cl. Weekly*, 27 (1934), 189. On the general problem cf. also *Ripley, Races of Europe* (1899), 58-77; 393-394; *Ridgeway, Early Age of Greece* (1901-1931), *passim*; *Dana, Ritual Significance of Yellow among the Romans* (1919), 22.

590. *abscissa*: cf. 5, 685: *umeris abscindere vestem*; 9, 478: *scissa comam*; *Il.* 22, 77-78: *πολιάς δ' ἄρ' ἀνὰ τρίχας ἔλκετο χερσὶ / τίλλων ἐκ κεφαλῆς*; 22, 406: *τίλλε κόμην*; *Soph. Aias*, 633: *πολιάς ἄμυνγμα χαίτας*; *Apoll. Rh.* 4, 27-28: *χερσὶ τε μακρὸν ῥηχάμεν*

592. non arma expedient totaque ex urbe sequentur,  
diripientque rates alii navalibus? ite,

diripient π.

592. non . . . sequentur: *Quintil. Inst.* 9, 2, 11 — expediunt *B* —; *Aug. C. D.* 16, 6.  
593–594. alii . . . remos: *Charis. Inst. gram.* 4 (G. L. K. 1, 283) — citi f. d. t. i. r. —;  
*Diomed. Art. gram.* 2 (G. L. K. 1, 448) — citi ferrum *BM*, cum eptex *A*; inpellite —; *Prisc.*  
*Inst.* 17, 9 (G. L. K. 3, 113) — citi corr. ex cite *R*; ferrum (ferrum flammis *Mm*) —; *Sacerd.*  
*Art. gram.* 1 (G. L. K. 6, 456) — nauali ite *B* —. 593–594. ite . . . remos: *Donat. Ars*  
*gram.* 3 (G. L. K. 4, 399) — ferte ceti *S*; date uela *P* —; *Pomp. Comm.* (G. L. K. 5, 264) —  
inpellite (inpellete *A*); remus (corr. in remos) *A* —; *id.*, G. L. K. 5, 304 — inpellite —; *Iulian.*  
*Tolet. De Vitiis et Figuris*, 5, 41; *Beda, De Schem. et Trop. S. Script.* (1533 ed.), p. 79. 593–  
594. ite ferte tela: *Serv. Aen.* 4, 592 — ite *om. FM* —. 593. diripientque . . . ite: *Schol.*  
*Lucan.* 3, 182 — *om. U* —. 593. navalibus: *Gl. Ansil.* 385, 152; *q.v.*

πλόκαμον; Acc. 672 Ribbeck: *scindens dolore identidem intonsam comam* (and Cicero's comment in *Tusc.* 3, 62); *Sen. Phaedr.* 1182: *laceraeque frontis accipe abscisam comam*; *Apul. M.* 2, 27: *caniliem revellens senex*; *Chariton*, 2, 7; 2, 8; 3, 10; *Auson. Epitaph.* 3, 3; 1 *Esdras*, 8, 71; etc. The participle is almost present in force, and Conington (*ad loc.*) compares *G.* 1, 293: *solata laborem*.

590. pro Iuppiter: cf. *Enn. Sc.* 187; *Ter. Andr.* 732; *Eun.* 550; *Adelph.* 111; 196; 366.

590. ibit, etc.: on the development of Dido's anger cf. Heinze, *Virgils epische Technik*, 3 ed. (1915), 136–137; also the complaints of the deserted Ariadne (*Catull.* 64, 132–201) and Scylla (*Ov. M.* 8, 108–142).

591. ait: cf. 4, 30, n. (*sic effata*).

591. nostris: for the plural cf. 4, 612; 4, 625; 4, 659–662; Conway, *New Studies of a great Inheritance* (1921), 14, n. 2.

591. inluserit: cf. 4, 534, and n. (*inrisa*); *Eur. Med.* 1049–1050: βούλωμαι γέλωτ' ὀφλεῖν / ἰχθροὺς μεδείσα τοὺς ἐμοὺς ἀζημίους; 1362: λῦει δ' ἄλγος, ἣν σὺ μὴ ᾔγγελᾳ; *Hipp.* 729–730: ἴν' εἰδῇ μὴ π' ἰ τοῖς ἐμοῖς κακοῖς / ὑψηλὸς εἶναι; *I. T.* 502: ἀνώνυμοι θανόντες οὐ γελῶμεθ' ἄν. On the tense Servius says: 'ibit et inludet'; *tempus pro tempore*. This is, as *Ley (Vergil. Quaest.* 1 (1877), 21) recognizes, logically nearly equivalent to *ibit cum inluserit*; for such uses of the future perfect cf. 2, 581–582: *occiderit ferro Priamus, Troia arserit igni*, / *Dardanium totiens sudarit sanguine litus*; 9, 783–785; Heinze, *op. cit.*, 49, n. o.

591. advena: in 12, 261 Tolumnius calls Aeneas an *improbis advena*; and in *Ov. M.* 3, 561 Pentheus applies the same reproach — an unfavorable synonym, as Conington (*ad loc.*) observes, for *hospes* — to Bacchus, as in *Claud. De Rapt. Pros.* 2, 222 Pallas uses it of Dis. The word commonly has a bad connotation; cf. *Ecl.* 9, 2; also the many instances in *Thes. Ling. Lat.* 1 (1900), 828, 15–829, 30; this is part of the almost universal prejudice in favor of the indigenous residents of a country and against newcomers. Yet it should be noted that Dido has herself but newly arrived; in fact *Sil.* 4, 765 calls her *advena Dido*. While, however, Dido is thus inconsistent in her indignant use of the term Virgil is psychologically true to life in representing her as so employing it, and the juxtaposition of *advena* and *regnis* suggests the impotent unimportance attached to the one contrasted with the power and dignity of the other.

592. non, etc.: cf. *Dem. De Cherson.* 80: "εἰπέ μοι, βουλευέσθε," ἔφη, "Θηβαίους ἔχοντες ἐν νήσῳ, τί χρήσεσθε καὶ τί δεῖ ποιεῖν; οὐκ ἐμπλήσετε τὴν θάλατταν, ὡς ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τριήρων; οὐκ ἀναστάντες ἤδη πορεύσεσθε εἰς τὸν Πειραιᾶ; οὐ κατέλφετε τὰς ναῦς; Why did not Dido carry out these threats of revenge? Probably, thinks Terzaghi (*Virgilio ed Enea* (1928), 27–34), because Virgil was confronted with two fixed traditions, hard to reconcile, of Dido's suicide and the safe arrival of Aeneas in Italy. It may also be noted that her present mood is one of fury rather than of calm consideration; cf. *Serv.*:

594. *ferte citi flammas, date tela, impellite remos!*  
*quid loquor, aut ubi sum? quae mentem insania mutat?*

fert te *P* (ferte *P*<sup>1</sup>). cyti (ti *add. sup.*) π. flammas aliter ferrum γ (cf. 9, 37). date uela *Menag. prior.* impellite *M*, impellite *Pabc*, incendite (*i.e.*, intendite) *p*.

[593\*] 594. *ferte . . . remos*: *Prisc. Inst.* 17, 171 (G. L. K. 3, 196) — *fertae* (*corr. in ferte*) *Rr*; *citi* (*corr. ex . . . ti*) *R*; *date* (*corr. ex dete*) *D*; *uelo RO*; *impellite O* —; *Hrab. Maur. Exc. de Art. Prisc. (Patr. Lat.* 111, 649). 594. *ferte . . . flammas*: *Serv. Aen.* 4, 384 — *citi* (*corr. ex cite*) *N* —; 4, 567 — f. c. f. *T* —. 594. *date tela*: *Sacerd. Art. gram.* 3 (G. L. K. 6, 530; q.v.); *Schol. Dan. Aen.* 4, 595; *Gl. Ansil.* 161, 156. 594. *impellite remos*: *Gl. Ansil.* 291, 82.

595. *quid . . . sum*: *Quintil. Inst.* 9, 3, 25 — *loquar AGMS* —; *Anth. Lat. no.* 17, 158 (*I*, p. 67 *Riese*). 595. *quid loquor*: *Gl. Ansil.* 479, 49. 595. *quae . . . mutat*: *Serv. Aen.* 4, 592; *Cento Probae*, 575 — *quae tanta* (*corr. in quae mentem*) π —.

*furentis haec verba sunt, ut ipsa paulo post* (4, 595) '*quae mentem insania mutat?*' *nam haec a sana non procedunt, ut imperet absentibus, ut* (4, 593-594) '*ile ferte tela,*' *cum sola sit.*

592. *arma expedient*: cf. 1, 177-178: *Cerealiaque arma / expediunt*; 4, 594: *date tela*. The subjects of *expedient* and *sequentur* in the haste of her anger she fails to specify, but the general meaning is clear and the impression produced very accurate psychologically.

592. *totaque ex urbe*: = 4, 401.

593. *diripient*: cf. 1, 211: *tergora diripiunt costis*; 3, 266-267: *litore funem / diripere*; 4, 566, n. (*trabibus*). The arguments of Klouček (*Vergiliana* (1883), 15-16) against the genuineness of this line have little weight, nor can I accept the reasons adduced for emending *diripient* of the MSS to *deripient* (cf. Wagner, *Lect. Vergil. Libellus* (1859), 37-39).

593. *alii*: for a single *alii* in place of the usual correlation *alii . . . alii* cf. 5, 102; *Caes. B. G.* 1, 8, 4 (cf. *B. C.* 3, 110, 5 in cod. *D*); *Liv.* 3, 37, 8; *Tac. Ann.* 1, 63, 7. Another punctuation (in *M*, *Diomedes*, *Charisius*, *Priscian*) is: *rates. alii navalibus ile, etc.* But *navalibus* seems better connected with *diripient*, in the notion of separation.

593. *navalibus*: probably = *νεωσολοις*, or sheds used for the permanent accommodation of ships, or during a long stay; cf. *Segebade, Vergil als Seefahrer* (1895), 8.

593. *ite*: cf. *Anecd. Helvet.* p. 81 *Hagen*: *ite citi et reliqua*. As noted by *Rondoni* (*ad*

*loc.*), the end of a sentence after the fifth foot of a hexameter is rare in Latin but here seems appropriate to the excited language of Dido.

594. *ferte, etc.*: cf. 9, 37: *ferte citi ferrum, date tela, et scandite muros*; 12, 425: *arma citi properate viro*; *Il.* 15, 718: *οἴσετε πῦρ, ἅμα δ' αὐτοὶ ἀολλέες ὄρνυτ' ἀντήν*; *Sil.* 1, 568: *ile citi, remis velisque impellite puppim*; *Vida, Poet.* 3, 392: *ferte citi flammas, date tela, repellite pestem*. With the thought cf. 4, 567, and (as *Servius* suggests), 4, 384. With the rapid effect produced by *asyndeton* *La Cerda* (*ad loc.*) compares *Ar. Plut.* 255: *ἴτ' ἐγκονέιτε σπείδεθ', ὥς ὁ καιρὸς οὐχὶ μέλλειν*; *Prop.* 3, 4, 7: *ile agile, expertae bello date lintea prorae*; note also *Eur. Phoen.* 521-522: *πρὸς ταῦτ' ἴτω μὲν πῦρ, ἴτω δὲ φάσγανα, / ζεύγνυσθε δ' ἵππους, πῆδία πίμπλαθ' ἄρμάτων, κτλ.*

594. *date tela*: cf. 4, 47, n. (*surgere regna*). Repetition of *t* often gives the effect of sputtering rage; e.g., *Soph. O. T.* 371: *τυφλὸς τὰ τ' ὦτα τὸν τε νοῦν τὰ τ' ὄμματ' εἰ* (and parallels in *Jebb's n.*); *Enn. Ann.* 109: *o Tule tute Tati tibi tanta tyranne tulisti*.

594. *impellite remos*: the first command given to rowers after they were seated on the rowing benches; cf. *Segebade, op. cit.*, 8. Elsewhere rowers are spoken of as impelling the ship by means of oars (e.g., 5, 119-120; *Sil. l. c.*) or striking the sea itself (*G.* 1, 254: *remis impellere marmor*).

595. *quid loquor*: cf. *Ecl.* 6, 74: *quid loquor, aut, etc.*; and for such addresses to one's self cf. *Aen.* 4, 534: *en quid ago*; 4, 541,



## 596. infelix Dido, nunc te facta impia tangunt?

nun *P* (nunc *P*<sup>1</sup>). facta (c *erasa*) *a*, fata *delt*.

596-597. infelix . . . dabas: *Prisc. Inst.* 8, 101 (G. L. K. 2, 449) — facta (corr. in fata) *H*, fata *R*; tunc —; cf. Alberic, *Flor. rhet.* (Willard in *Anniv. Essays* . . . by Students of C. H. Haskins (1929), 363). 596. infelix . . . tangunt: *Comm. Einsidlense in Donat. (Anecd. Helvet. 202)*. 596. nunc . . . tangunt: *Prob. Inst. Art.* (G. L. K. 4, 154) — facta *RB*, fata *r*; num te —; *Cledon. Ars* (G. L. K. 5, 67) — num te —; *Anth. Lat. no. 13, 20* (1, p. 48 Riese) — fata —; cf. *Dracont. Romul.* 8, 57: impia fata. 596. facta impia: *Gl. Ansil.* 232, 181.

*n.* (*perdita*). La Cerda (*ad loc.*) well compares Eur. *Hipp.* 239-241: δύστηνος ἐγώ, τί ποτ' εἰργασάμην; / ποῖ παρεπλάγχθην γνώμης ἀγαθῆς; / ἐμάνην, ἔπεσον δαίμονος ἄτης; *Alc.* 863-864: ποῖ βῶ; ποῖ στῶ; τί λέγω; τί δέ μῃ; / πῶς ἂν ὀλοίμαν; Note also Hor. *C.* 3, 27, 57-58: vilis Europe, pater urget absens. / quid mori cessas, etc.

595. ubi sum: Serv.: numquid in coetu sum? Cf. Tasso, *Ger. lib.* 16, 64, 8: ma dove son? che parlo?

595. quae mentem, etc.: cf. *Ecl.* 2, 69 (= 6, 47): quae te dementia cepit; *Aen.* 12, 37: quo referor totiens, quae mentem insania mutat; *Stat. Theb.* 5, 624: quae mentem insania traxit; Maphaeus Vegius, *Aen.* 13, 166-167: quae tanta insania mentem / implicuit. On insania cf. Pichon, *De Sermone amatorio* (1902), 172-173.

596. infelix Dido: cf. 1, 749; 4, 68, *n.* (*infelix*); 6, 456; etc. On the sad effect of the spondaic rhythm cf. Maxa in *Wiener Stud.* 19 (1897), 99.

596. nunc, etc.: cf. Ter. *Andr.* 882-885: hem, modone id demum sensi, Pamphile? / olim istuc, olim, quom ita animum induxisti tuom, / quod cuperes aliquo pacto efficiundum tibi, / eodem die istuc verbum vere in te accidit; Vida, *Christias*, 5, 50-51: nunc te tangunt scelera impia, Iuda / infelix; tunc debueras, tunc ista decebant. Cf. Eur. *Med.* 800-802: ἡμάρτανον τῶθ' ἥνικ' ἐξέλιμπανον / δόμους πατρός, ἀνδρός Ἑλλήνος λόγους / πεισθεῖσ'; *Hipp.* 1072-1073: τότε στενάειν καὶ προ-γινώσκειν σ' ἐχρῆν / ὅτ' ἐς πατρώων ἀλοχον ὑβρίζειν ἔτλης; Metastasio, *Temist.* 3, 7: quando ordisti il reo disegno / era il tempo di tremar.

596. facta impia: Dido has already (4, 496) called Aeneas *impius*; in 4, 597-599

she is about to sneer at that piety towards gods and parent which she feels to be quite out of keeping with his treatment of her (cf. Terzaghi, *Virgilio ed Enea* (1928), 122, *n.* 46; Ov. *H.* 7, 129-130: pone deos et quae tangendo sacra profanas! / non bene caelestis impia dextra colit; also Catull. 30, 4: nec facta impia fallacum hominum caelicolis placent; cf. the impia facta of Lucr. 1, 83; also Tib. 3, 6, 42: ingrati referens impia facta viri (i.e., of Theseus, the abandoner of Ariadne)), and many editors accordingly ascribe these facta impia to Aeneas. Yet, as Henry (*op. cit.*, 2, 812-813) and others observe, Aeneas's sole act of impietas was his present desertion of Dido, by which she could not have been in any way affected at the time she gave him a share in her sceptre (understanding with tum decuit the words factis impiis tangi). Hence, Henry concludes, the facta impia are Dido's acts of disloyalty to her vow to Sychaeus; cf. 4, 24-29; 4, 322; 4, 547; 4, 552 (at 4, 315 she had already recognized her own guilt; cf. Ogle in *Cl. Journ.* 20 (1925), 262); and Henry further compares Apoll. Rh. 4, 412-413: ἐπεὶ τὸ πρῶτον ἀάσθην / ἀμπλακίη, θεῶθεν δὲ κακὰς ἥνυσσα μενοινάς; Ov. *H.* 9, 145-146: ei mihi! quid feci? quo me furor egit amantem? / impia quid dubitas Deianira mori (cf. 9, 152; 9, 158; 9, 164); Luc. 8, 96: cur impia nupsi, etc. Kvřčala (*Neue Beitr. z. Erkl. d. Aeneis* (1881), 193, *n.*) and Rébelliau (*De Verg. in inform. muliebr. quae sunt in Aen. Personis Inventore* (1892), 94, *n.* 2; cf. Stephenson *ad loc.*) combine the two views and find impietas on both sides, in Aeneas's disloyalty to Dido and her disloyalty to Sychaeus. But, while the poet or the reader might have been free to make such a combination, Dido, as the

597. tum decuit, cum scepra dabas. en dextra fidesque  
quem secum patrios aiunt portare penates,

tunc *P*γa. con *c*. septra *p*.

aiunt *M* (aiiunt *M'*). portasse *M*, portarese *p*. penatis *P* (penates *P*<sup>2</sup>).

[596\*] 597. tum . . . fidesque: *Donat. in Ter. Andr.* 545 — dabas e. d. f. q. (*uid. Wessneri adn. crit.*) — 597. tum . . . dabas: *Prob. Inst. Art.* (G. L. K. 4, 154) — docuit *B* —; *Cledon. Ars* (G. L. K. 5, 67). 597. cum . . . dabas: *Gl. Ansil.* 156, 133. 597. dextra fidesque: *Gl. Ansil.* 170, 1356.

context shows, is making no attempt to divide the guilt between two offenders; her feeling is either bitter blame of Aeneas or remorseful self-reproach (probably the latter), but not both at once. Rébelliau finds in her a keener sense of the disgrace which she, a queen, has brought upon herself, than of any sinful act which she as a widow has committed.

596. tangunt: cf. Eur. *Hipp.* 310: θιγ-  
γάνει σθένος τότε; Ov. *H.* 7, 11-12: nec te  
crescentia tangunt / moenia nec scepro tradita  
summa tuo; Aetna, 643: nec sanctos iuvenes  
attingunt sordida fata. In these cases the  
verb of touching means 'come home to'  
one; slightly different is the notion in 1,  
462: mentem mortalia tangunt; 12, 57: tangit  
honos animum; Ov. *H.* 8, 15: at tu, cura mei  
si le pia tangit, Oreste.

597. tum decuit: cf. 10, 94: tum decuit  
metuisse tuis; Liv. 30, 44, 7: tunc flesse  
decuit cum adempta sunt nobis arma; Claud.  
*In Eutrop.* 2, 10: tunc decuit sentire nefas.  
Note the alliteration of *d* and *t* and the repe-  
tition of -tra (scepra, dextra).

597. scepra dabas: cf. 1, 572-573: voltis  
et his mecum pariter considerare regnis; / urbem  
quam statuo vestra est; 4, 214: dominum  
Aenean in regna recepit; 4, 374: regni de-  
mens in parte locavi; Ov. *H.* 7, 12: scepro  
tradita summa tuo. For the plural scepra =  
'dominion,' cf. 1, 57; 1, 78; 1, 253; 3, 296;  
7, 173; 7, 369; 7, 422; 9, 9; 9, 267; 10, 852;  
11, 238; Sil. 1, 44; Braumüller, *Ueber Trophen*  
*u. Figuren in Vergil's Aeneis*, 1 (1877), 7; 12;  
also the phraseology of Claud. *De Bell. Gild.*  
1, 97: qui trabas et scepra dabat.

597. en, etc.: the copula is often omitted  
in exclamatory clauses; e.g., 1, 461: en  
*Priamus*; 2, 402; 3, 477; Winter, *De Ellipsi*

*Verbi Esse apud Catullum, Vergilium, etc.*  
(1907), 9.

597. dextra: cf. 4, 307: data dextra  
quondam; 4, 314: per ego has lacrimas dex-  
tramque tuam (and n. on *dextram*); *Il.* 2, 339-  
341: πῇ δὴ συνθεσθαι τε καὶ ὅρκια βήσεται  
ἡμῖν; / . . . σπονδαί τ' ἄκρητοι καὶ δεξιά, ᾗσ'  
ἐπέπιθμεν; Eur. *Med.* 21-23; βοῦ μὲν ὅρκους,  
ἀνακαλεῖ δὲ δεξιάς; / πίστιν μεγίστην, καὶ  
θεοὺς μαρτύρεται / οἷας ἀμοιβῆς ἐξ Ἰάσονος  
κυρεῖ.

597. fides: cf. 4, 305, n. (*perfidie*).

598. quem: with ellipsis of *eius*; cf. *Ecl.*  
2, 71: aliquid . . . quorum indiget usus; *G.* 1,  
104: quid dicam . . . qui, etc.; 1, 111; *Aen.*  
1, 601-602; 5, 291-292: hic qui forte velint  
rapido contendere cursu / invitat preliis ani-  
mos; 11, 81: vinxerat et post terga manus,  
quos mitteret umbris; 11, 172: magna tropaea  
ferunt, quos dat tua dextera leto; Freudenberg,  
*Vindict. Virgilian. Specimen* (1845), 18; also  
Schol. Dan. (cf. Kvíčala, *Neue Beitr. z. Erkl.*  
*d. Aeneis* (1881), 193): quidam in utroque  
versu pro 'quem' legunt ('qui'), ut sit vetus  
figura per ellipsin: ubi sunt qui aiunt patrios  
penates portasse et parentem umeris subiisse?  
The disjointed syntax is appropriate to  
Dido's excited state of mind.

598. secum, etc.: cf. 1, 378-379: rapto  
qui ex hoste penates / classe veho mecum; 2,  
717-723; 2, 747-748; Xen. *Cyneg.* 1, 15:  
Αἰνεῖας δὲ σώσας μὲν τοῖς πατρώοις καὶ μητρώ-  
οις θεοῖς, σώσας δὲ καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν πατέρα, κτλ.;  
Varr. ap. Schol. Veron. *Aen.* 2, 717; Diod.  
7, 2, 1: Αἰνεῖας δὲ τὸν πατέρα, γεγηρακότα  
τελείως, ἀράμενος ἐπὶ τοῖς ὤμοις ἐξήνεγκεν.  
ἐφ' ᾧ, θαυμάσθεις ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ἔλαβεν  
ἐξουσίαν πάλιν ὁ βούλοιτο τῶν οἰκοθεν ἐκλέξα-  
σθαι. ἀνελομένον δὲ αὐτοῦ τὰ ἱερὰ τὰ πατρώα,  
κτλ.; Tib. 2, 5, 40: Troica qui profugis sacra

## 599. quem subiisse umeris confectum aetate parentem!

subisse (*corr. in subiisse*) *b*, subiisse *p*. umeras *M*, umeros (*corr. in umeris*) *p*, umero *P*, umeris *M*<sup>1</sup>*P*<sup>2</sup>*p*<sup>1</sup>, humeris *γα*.

599. quem . . . parentem: *Donat. in Ter. Andr.* 425 — subiisse *ATC*; subiisse u. c. a. p. (u. c. e. p. *V*), ucar *TC*; humeris confectum aetate parentem *B* — 599. quem . . . aetate: *Arus. Ex. Eloc.* (G. L. K. 7, 507) — humeris — 599. subiisse umeris: *Gl. Ansil.* 542, 154 — humeris — 599. confectum aetate: *Gl. Ansil.* 134, 849.

*vehis ratibus*; *Ov. M.* 15, 450: *penatigero Aeneae*; *H.* 7, 78–80: *ignibus ereptos obruet unda deos* (sc. *Penates*). / *sed neque fers tecum nec, quae mihi, perfide, iactas, / presserunt umeros sacra paterque tuos*; *F.* 1, 527–528: *iam prius Aeneas sacra et, sacra altera, patrem / adferet*; 3, 423–424: *di veteris Troiae, dignissima praeda ferenti, / qua gravis Aeneas tutus ab hoste fuit*; 4, 37–38: *hinc satus Aeneas, pietas spectata per ignes, / sacra patremque umeris, altera sacra, tulit*; 4, 78: *attulit Aeneas in loca nostra deos*; 5, 563: *hinc videt Aenean oneratum pondere caro*; 6, 434: *seu pius Aeneas eripuisse ferunt*; *Ael. V. H.* 3, 22: *ὁ οὖν Αἰνείας τοὺς πατρώους θεοὺς βαστάσας ἔφερεν, ὑπεριδὼν τῶν ἄλλων*; *Cypr. De Idol. Vanil.* 4: *penates quos Aeneas profugus advexit*; *Aug. C. D.* 10, 16: *effigies deorum penatium, quas de Troia Aeneas fugiens advexit, de loco in locum migrasse referuntur*.

598. *aiunt*: half-incredulous of what she has heard and making no allusion to Aeneas's having told her this (2, 717–723; 2, 747–748); cf. Gercke, *Die Entstehung der Aeneis* (1913), 48, who thinks this inconsistency due to the different stages in the construction of the story by the poet. Yet Aeneas claimed (1, 378–379) to be *super aethera notus* for just this thing, and that Dido was familiar before his arrival with many details is clear from 1, 456–493.

598. *portare*: Unterharnscheidt (*De Veterum in Aeneide Coniecturis* (1911), 35) to the contrary, it is easier to explain a corruption of *portare* to *portasse*, through the influence of *subiisse* in the next line, than the reverse change. Further, Aeneas, though no longer carrying Anchises on his back, is still carrying the *penates* with him (cf. 1, 68; 1, 378–379; 6, 68; *Ov. F.* 3, 615), and the

sarcasm is more biting if that is the case. *Serv. Aen.* 4, 597 supports the present (*hic est quem dicunt portare deos*); the Scholia Danielis on 4, 598 (quoted above) the perfect. Note the alliteration: *patrios . . . portare penates*.

598. *penates*: cf. 4, 21, n. (*penates*); *Schol. Dan. Aen.* 1, 378: *sane de diis penatibus licet varias opiniones secutus sit Vergilius, omnes tamen diversis locis complexus est. nam alii, ut Nigidius et Labeo, deos penates Aeneae Neptunum et Apollinem tradunt . . . Varro deos penates quaedam sigilla lignea vel marmorea ab Aenea in Italiam dicit advecta . . . idem Varro hos deos Dardanum ex Samothracia in Phrygiam, de Phrygia Aeneam in Italiam memorat portavisse. alii autem, ut Cassius Hemina, dicunt deos penates ex Samothracia appellatos θεοὺς μεγάλους, θεοὺς δύνατοὺς, θεοὺς χρηστοὺς, etc.* (cf. *Schol. Dan. Aen.* 3, 12); *Serv. Aen.* 2, 514: *penates sunt omnes dii qui domi coluntur*. For these deities, whose name is derived, as Cicero (*N. D.* 2, 68) suggests, from *penus*, cf. Klausen, *Aeneas u. d. Penaten*, 2 (1840), 647–663; De Marchi, *Il Culto privato*, 1 (1896), 55–64; Wissowa, *Relig. u. Kult. d. Römer*, 2 ed. (1912), 161–166.

599. *quem*, etc.: note the anaphora. With the thought cf. 2, 707–708: *ergo age, care pater, cervici imponere nostrae; / ipse subito umeris, nec me labor iste gravabit*; 6, 110–111: *illum ego per flammam et mille sequentia tela / eripui his umeris medioque ex hoste recepi*; *Soph. Frag.* 373, 1–2 Pearson: *νῦν δ' ἐν πῆλαισιν Αἰνείας ὁ τῆς θεοῦ / πάρεστ', ἐπ' ὤμων πατέρ' ἔχων*; *Apollod. Epil.* 5, 21: *Αἰνείας δὲ Ἀγχίσην τὸν πατέρα βαστάσας ἔφυγεν*; *Cass. Hemina, Fr.* 5 Peter: *Aenean patrem suum collo (tulisse mirantibus) que Achivis hanc pietatem redeundi Ilium copiam datam, ac deos penates ligneis sigillis vel*

## 600. non potui abreptum divellere corpus et undis

apreptum c. deuellere *Py<sup>1</sup>a*.

600-601. non . . . spargere: *Donat. in Ter. Andr.* 718 — potuit *ATC*; arreptum *BV*; potui a. d. c. e. u. s. (d. c. i. u. s. *V*, d. o. e. u. s. *TC*, corpus diuellere et undis spargere num socios *B*) —; [*Acro*] in *Hor. C.* 3, 27, 46 — potis *ab*; undis s. —. 600-601. undis spargere: *Gl. Ansil.* 594, 33. 600. non . . . corpus: *Serv. Aen.* 1, 663; *Schol. Dan. Aen.* 4, 436; 4, 563 — non tui *F*; deuellere *F* —; *Lact. Plac. in Stat. Achill.* 1, 39. 600. non potui: *Gl. Ansil.* 395, 186.

*lapideis terrenis quoque Aenean* (umeris ex-tulisse); *Ov. H.* 7, 107: *pia sarcina nati*; *Hygin. Fab.* 254 (in a catalogue of the pious): *in Sicilia cum Aetna mons primum ardere coepit Damon matrem suam ex igne rapuit* (cf. *Aetna*, 623-644 and the parallels in *Ellis's n.* on line 623). *item Pythia patrem, Aeneas item in Illo Anchisem patrem humeris et Ascanium filium ex incendio eripuit*; *App. B. C.* 4, 172: τὸν Αἰνείαν γράφονσιν αἰδέσιμον τοῖς πολέμοις γενέσθαι φέροντα τὸν πατέρα; *Suet. Ner.* 39: *quis negat Aeneae magna de stirpe Neronem? / sustulit hic matrem, sustulit ille patrem*; *Quint. Smyrn.* 13, 315-327; *Ambros. Hexaem.* 5, 55: *quis nostrum levare aegrum non fastidiat patrem? quis fessum senem suis humeris imponat, quod in ipsa historia vix credibile habetur? quis, ut pius sit, non hoc servulis mandet obsequium? at vero avibus non est grave quod pietatis est plenum*, etc.; *Orac. Sibyll.* 11, 148-150: βαστάζων ὁμοῖσιν ἔον πρόσβυν γενετήρα, / νῖδον δ' ἐν παλάμῃ κατέχων μόνον, εὐσεβὲς ἔργον / ῥέξει; *Shakesp. Jul. Caes.* Act 1, Sc. 2: "as Aeneas our great ancestor / Did from the flames of Troy upon his shoulder / The old Anchises bear." For representations in art of Aeneas carrying his father, who bears the images of the gods or an *aedicula* containing them, cf. *Wörner in Roscher, Ausf. Lex.* 1 (1884), 184-186; *Rosbach in P.-W.* 1 (1894), 1017-1018; *Valmagg in Riv. di Filol.* 25 (1897), 22-23; *Bellessort, Virgile* (1924), 150 (who connects Virgil's account with a statue in the Forum of Augustus; cf. *id.*, in *Goelzer and Bellessort's ed. of Aen.* I-VI, introd. xii); *Gastinel in Rev. arch.* 23 (1926), 40-102 (who argues, somewhat unconvincingly, that an altar found on the Byrsa at Carthage in 1916, representing this

scene (cf. also Taylor, *Divinity of the Roman Emperor* (1931), 170, fig. 32), is older than Virgil's account); cf. *Intr.*, p. 29. For persons rescued on the backs of others cf. *Grey on Butler, Hudibras*, Part 1, Canto 1, p. 33, n. 599. subiisse umeris: cf. 2, 708: *ipse subibo umeris*; 12, 899: *vix illud lecti bis sex cervice subirent*.

599. confectum: cf. 11, 85: *aevo confectus Acoetes*; *Catull.* 68, 119-120: *nam nec tam carum confecto aetate parenti / una caput seri nata nepotis alit*; *Sall. Jug.* 9, 4: *morbo atque aetate confectus*; *Ov. M.* 6, 37: *longa . . . confecta senecta*; *Andrelinus, Bucol.* 4, 109: *confectum aetate parentem*.

600. non potui, etc.: Dido reproaches herself for not having taken vengeance upon Aeneas (not before his offence, but immediately after its discovery; cf. *Kvičala, Neue Beitr.* 2. *Erkl. d. Aeneis* (1881), 195, n.), in the manner of Greek tragedy, as *Medea* in the slaying of *Apsyrtus*, *Agave* upon *Pentheus*, *Procne* upon *Tereus*, or *Atrous* upon *Thyestes* (cf. *Penquitt, De Didonis Vergilianae Exitu* (1910), 58). But the thought, rather than the inhuman execution, is all that Virgil (or the tradition which he follows) permits to Dido; cf. *Heinze, Virgils epische Technik*, 3 ed. (1915), 125, n. 2. We find an imitation of this passage in *Anth. Lat.* no. 83, 91-96 (1, p. 117 *Riese*): *poteram dispergere ponto / membra manusque tuas . . . / . . . poteram crescentis Iuli / rumpere fata manu parvumque resolvere corpus / morte gravi mersumque in viscera figere ferrum / vel dare membra feris*; etc. Cf. *Schol. Dan.*: *hoc est, non mihi subvenit; nam cur non poterat in regno? Conington's second explanation* ("that I should not have had the heart"; cf. *potui* in 7, 309) seems less probable. A

601. spargere? non socios, non ipsum absumere ferro  
 Ascanium patriisque epulandum ponere mensis?

(as)canium P. patris. (s. m. 2 corr. ex i, ut uid.; postea corr. in patriis) γ.

[600\*] 601. absumere ferro: *Gl. Ansil.* 19, 452.

602. patriisque . . . mensis: *Lact. Plac. in Stat. Theb.* 5, 120 — patriisque L —.

question introduced by *non* is easily paralleled in Virgil (e.g., *Ecl.* 3, 17; *Aen.* 2, 596; 4, 565).

600. *divellere*: cf. *G.* 4, 522: *discerptum latos iuvenem sparsere per agros*; *Aen.* 1, 70: *aut age diversos et dissice corpora ponto*; 3, 605: *spargite me in fluctus vastoque immergite ponto*; 4, 427: *nec patris Anchisae cinerem manesque revelli*; *Ov. M.* 4, 112: *nostrum divellite corpus*; 13, 865: *viscera viva traham, divulsaque membra per agros*; *Tr.* 3, 9, 27-28: *ita divellit divulsaque membra per agros / dissipat*. For the story of Apsyrtus, which perhaps suggested this passage, cf. *Cic. Pro Leg. Manil.* 22; Roscher and Seeliger in *Ausf. Lex.* 1 (1884), 3-4; Wernicke in *P.-W.* 1 (1896), 285. Or we may compare the rending of Pentheus by Agave (Roscher in *Ausf. Lex.* 1 (1884), 100; Knaack in *P.-W.* 1 (1896), 765-766). Cf. the motif appearing in the punishment of Mettius Fufetius (*Liv.* 1, 28, 9-10), also in that of Tupac Amaru in Peru (Ybarra, *Bolivar* (1929), 30). Henry (*Aeneidea*, 2 (1878), 814) compares Shakesp. *Othello*, Act 3, Sc. 3: "I'll tear her all to pieces."

601. *spargere*: in addition to the passages already cited cf. *Luc.* 5, 684: *inivitis spargenda dabas tua membra procellis*.

601. *absumere ferro*: cf. 9, 494: *me primam absumile ferro*; *Liv.* 5, 7, 3: *ferro ignique absumpti sunt*; 22, 39, 14; 23, 19, 17; 30, 6, 6; 30, 6, 9; *Suet. Claud.* 21: *an omnis igni ferroque absumeret*; *Oros.* 5, 3, 6: *ferro flammisque consumpta*. The combination of fire and sword (*ferro . . . faces*) is too general to need further illustration; yet cf. 4, 626: *face Dardanio ferroque sequare colonos*; 7, 692; Wölfflin in *Sitzb. d. k. bayr. Akad.* 2 (1881), 55 (= *Ausgewählte Schriften* (1933), 259); Kunz, *Realien in Vergils Aeneis*, 1 (1894), 2, n. 3; Buscaroli on *Aen.* 4, 626.

602. *Ascanium*: Dido might have as-

sailed Aeneas at the most vulnerable point, his affection for Ascanius (cf. 1, 646: *omnis in Ascanio cari stat cura parentis*; 4, 354-355; 4, 616: *complexu avolsus Iuli* (and n. on *complexu*)), on whom depended the continuance of his family, much as Medea took revenge upon Jason by killing his children.

602. *patriis . . . mensis*: the objections of Klouček (*Vergiliana* (1883), 16-19) that this phrase should properly apply to a table at which Aeneas is host, not guest, that the whole conception is aesthetically out of keeping in Virgil, and that some interpolator has here completed an unfinished line, are unconvincing. Incidentally the proverbial *cena Thyestae* (Otto, *Die Sprichwörter . . . der Römer* (1890), 348, n.) was one at which Thyestes was not the host but the eater of the unnatural flesh (see below); cf. also Licent. ap. *Aug. Ep.* 26: *ante Thyesteis iterum male territa mensis*—a close parallel to *patriis . . . mensis* here.

The motif of a parent eating or serving up to others the flesh of his own children recurs several times in Greek literature, starting with instances among the gods themselves (cf. Origen, *Cont. Cels.* 4, 48), and including the swallowing of his own children by Cronus (Mayer in Roscher, *Ausf. Lex.* 2 (1897), 1538-1542; Pohlenz in *P.-W.* 11 (1922), 1991), often rationalistically explained (e.g., *Cic. N. D.* 2, 64, and Mayor's n.), Zeus swallowing Metis (Weizsäcker in Roscher, *op. cit.*, 2 (1897), 2941; [Clem.] *Homil.* 4, 16; 5, 23-24; 6, 2; Theophil. *Ad Autol.* 3, 3), the serving up to Zeus of Nyctimus by his father Lycaon (Wagner in Roscher, *op. cit.*, 3 (1897), 498-499; Schmidt in *P.-W.* 13 (1927), 2249-2250; Mythogr. Vat. I, 17), Pelops served by his father Tantalus to the gods (Bloch in Roscher, *op. cit.*, 3 (1897), 1870-1871; to which add: [Clem.] *Homil.* 5, 24; Tatian, *Ad Graec.* 25; Mythogr. Vat.

603. verum anceps pugnae fuerat fortuna. fuisset:  
quem metui moritura? faces in castra tulissem

*Verum* 603 add. *m. rec. in π.* (u)erum *P.* pugna *b<sup>1</sup>*.

603. verum . . . fuisset: *Donat. in Ter. Phorm.* 159; [*Id. Rufin.*] *De Schem. Dianoeas*, 4, p. 61 *Halm*.

604-606. faces . . . dedissem: *Prisc. Inst.* 18, 98 (*G. L. K.* 3, 252) — impleissemq. flores (*corr. in implesemque* foros) *D*; flamis *MD*; generem *RP*; extin. xem *N*, extrinxissem *P*, extinxissem *ML*; meme *P*; supra *VRPMDL* — 604. quem metui: *Gl. Ansil.* 477, 42.

II, 102; III, 6, 21), the flesh of the children of Thyestes served to their father by his brother Atreus (Furtwängler in Roscher, *op. cit.*, 1 (1884), 714; Escher in *P.-W.* 1 (1896), 2142; Ilberg in Roscher, *op. cit.*, 5 (1924), 913; Owen on *Ov. Tr.* 2, 391, who cites several tragedies on this theme; Frazer on *Apollod. Epil.* 2, 13, to whose citations add: Aesch. *Agam.* 1096-1097; 1219-1220; 1512; Soph. *Aias*, 1291-1294; Eur. *Orest.* 15; 1008; Acc. ap. Cic. *N. D.* 3, 68 and *Tusc.* 4, 77; Sen. *Agam.* 26-27; Luc. *De Merc. Cond.* 41; *De Sacrific.* 5; Opp. *Cyneg.* 3, 250; Athenag. *De Resurrect. Mort.* 4; Theophil. *Ad Autol.* 3, 15; Licent. ap. Aug. *Ep.* 26; Sidon. *Carm.* 9, 110-113; 23, 277-280; *Paroemiogr. Gr.* 1, 41, no. 34; 1, 201-202, no. 42; 2, 314, no. 15), the serving up by Procne of the flesh of Itys (or Itylus) to his father Tereus (*Ecl.* 6, 78-79; Serv. on our line: *quod fecit Procne occiso Ity filio propter stuprum sororis*; Roscher, *op. cit.*, 2 (1890), 572; Pearson on Soph. *Tereus* (to whose citations add: Plaut. *Rud.* 508-509; Paus. 10, 4, 8; Theophil. *Ad Autol.* 3, 15; Schol. Dan. and Prob. *Ecl.* 6, 78; Prob. *G.* 4, 15)). Tosi, *Vergiliana* (1929), 4, would derive Virgil's allusion from the *Tereus* of Accius; cf. also Shakesp. *Titus Andron.* Act 5, Sc. 3; Goethe, *Faust*, 4057-4058.

Historic instances were that of Astyages cooking the child of Harpagus and serving it to him (*Hdt.* 1, 119; Theophil. *Ad Autol.* 3, 5, wrongly ascribes this act to Cambyses), and the case of the cruel Thracian king Zibelmus (*Diod.* 34, 12: γονέων ἐν ὀμμασι καὶ κόλπῳ ἐγκατέσφαζε τέκνα, καὶ κρεατομῶν τὰ σώματα παρετίθει τοῖς συγγενεστάτοις, ἀνανεούμενος τὰς παλαιὰς ἐκείνας Τηρώως ἢ Θυέστου θοινάς), while in sieges the

defenders were sometimes driven to devour their own children (e.g., Val. Max. 7, 6, Ext. 2-3; Petron. 141, 11). On the subject in general cf. Empedocles in Diels, *Frag. d. Vorsokratiker*, 1, 2 ed. (1906), 213-214, no. 137; Isocr. *Panathen.* 122; Firm. Mat. *De Errore*, 6, 3; Hier. *Adv. Iovin.* 1, 48. Dreams of this cannibalistic act were ill-omened (Artemid. *Onirocr.* 1, 70). For the anthropological aspects of the subject cf. Frazer on *Ov. F.* 2, 627, and works there cited. Our line is imitated by Molsa, *Eleg. ad Henricum Reg.* 139: *et patriis artus sparsos apponere mensis*.

603. *anceps . . . fortuna*: cf. Vell. Pat. 2, 79, 4: *dubia et interdum ancipiti fortuna*; Luc. 4, 390: *fortuna . . . successibus anceps*; Stat. *Theb.* 6, 474: *hic anceps fortuna diu*; Suet. *Caes.* 36: *prosperrime semper ac ne ancipiti quidem unquam fortuna . . . dimicavit*; also various cases in which *anceps* modifies *proelium* or *pugna*. The numbers of Trojans and Carthaginians may not have been pictured by Virgil as very unequal, though the number of ships with which Dido had emigrated (1, 362-363) is not stated.

603. *fuerat*: for the vivid indicative instead of the subjunctive cf. *G.* 2, 132-133; *Aen.* 2, 54-55: *si mens non laeva fuisset, / impulerat*; 6, 358-359: *tula tenebam / ni, etc.*; Hor. *C.* 2, 17, 28-29: *sustulerat, nisi Faunus ictum / dextra levasset*; 3, 16, 3-6. As Nettleship (in Conington's ed., *ad loc.*) suggests, the change of mood makes possible a sharper contrast with the following *fuisset*.

603. *fortuna. fuisset*: cf. the verse-ending of 9, 41, and note the triple alliteration with *f*. On the syntax of *fuisset* in hypothetical cases cf. Thomas in *Cl. Rev.* 12 (1898), 459.

604. *quem, etc.*: cf. Stat. *Theb.* 5, 623:

605. implessemque foros flammis natumque patremque  
cum genere extinxem, memet super ipsa dedissem.

(i)nplessem P, implesem γ. foras (corr. in foros) p.  
extinxem P, extinsem π.

[604\*] 605-606. natumque . . . dedissem: *Serv. Aen.* 4, 508 — extinxm H, extinxsem M —. 605-606. natumque . . . extinxem: *Lact. Plac. in Stat. Theb.* 5, 128 — extingnam L —. 605. implessemque . . . flammis: *Cledon. Ars* (G. L. K. 5, 39). 605. natumque patremque: *Cento Probae*, 493 — patrique corr. in patremque π —; *Gl. Ansil.* 384, 130.

[604\*, 605\*] 606. cum . . . dedissem: *Prisc. Inst.* 10, 11 (G. L. K. 2, 504) — generem B; extinxem; ipsam B —. 606. cum . . . extinxem: *Comm. Cruq. in Hor. S.* 1, 9, 72 — extinxem —. 606. cum genere: *Gl. Ansil.* 156, 131; *Gl. Aa*, 208, 1046. 606. memet . . . dedissem: *Sacerd. Art. gram.* 1 (G. L. K. 6, 446). 606. dedissem: *Gl. Ansil.* 164, 270; q.v.

*quid enim timeam moritura fateri?* Also 4, 308, n. (*nec, etc.*); 4, 415; 12, 602.

604. faces: cf. *Apoll. Rh.* 4, 391-393: ἔτο δ' ἤγε / νῆα καταφλέαι, διὰ τ' ἔμπεδα πάντα κεάσσαι, / ἐν δὲ πεσείν αὐτὴ μαλερῶ πυρὶ (memet super ipsa dedissem). Guillemin (*L'Originalité de Virgile* (1931), 113) finds here a veiled allusion to some Carthaginian custom of burning the ships of foreigners who came to their shores; cf. 1, 525: *prohibe infandos a navibus ignes*. She compares *Caes. B. C.* 3, 112, 3, for such customs in the island of Pharos; doubtless more modern instances might easily be found of professional wreckers. With the phraseology cf. *Sil.* 117, 266: *cum ferrem in Capitolia flammis*.

604. castra: *Serv.*: classes, ut (3, 519) 'nos castra movemus' (where the Scholia Danielis remark: *modo tamen classem significat, quia et castra nautica dicuntur*). Virgil perhaps here thinks of a stockade around the ships drawn up on the shore; cf. 5, 669; *Acc.* 126 Ribbeck: *aut navis uram aut castra mactabo in mare*; *Prop.* 2, 8, 31-32: *viderat ille fugas, tractos in litore Achivos, / fervere et Heclorea Dorica castra face*; *Ov. H.* 6, 52: *hospita feminea pellere castra manu*; *Thes. Ling. Lat.* 3 (1906), 548, 77-82; also the occasional use of στρατόπεδον (e.g., *Hdt.* 8, 94; *Thuc.* 1, 117).

605. implessem: cf. *Sil.* 7, 488-489: *tum litus Eliissae / implebit flammis*; 14, 423-424: *intra diffusos pestis Vulcania passim / atque implet dispersa foros*. Nettleship (in Conington's ed., *ad loc.*) thinks the short forms *implessem* and *extinxem* are appropriate to Dido's excited mood.

605. foros: cf. 6, 412; *Serv.*: *tabulata navium, ab eo quod incessus ferant; et est generis masculini, numeri tantum pluralis*; also *Cic. De Sen.* 17: *alii per foros cursent*; *Paul. ex Fest.* p. 84 M. (p. 74 Lindsay): *locus in navi, sed cum masculini generis est et plurale*; *Tac. H.* 2, 35; *Gell.* 16, 19, 14: *stansque in summae puppis foro*; *Cledon.* p. 1895 P. (G. L. K. 5, 39): *foros generis masculini dicimus, locum tabulatum navis . . . fora autem, ubi deambulamus, neutro appellamus*; *Isid. Etym.* 19, 2, 2: *fori navium latera concava, a ferendo onere dicta; sive tabulata navium quae sternuntur, dicta ab eo quod incessus ferant vel foris emineant*; *Torr, Anc. Ships* (1895), 58, n. o. Note the alliterations: *f., f.; -at-mque, -at-mque*. The phrase suggests, though with different meaning, *G.* 4, 250: *complebuntque foros*.

605. natumque patremque: cf. 6, 116: *gnatique patrisque*; 10, 525 (= 11, 178): *gnatoque patrique*; *Marouzeau in Rev. de Philol.* 47 (1923), 70; also 4, 83, n. (*auditque videtque*).

606. cum genere: *Schol. Dan.*: *utrum omne genus, an morte Aeneae et Ascanii, quoniam illis extinctis interitura gens omnis esset*. Probably the former explanation is correct both here and in 4, 622, where the *genus omne futurum* (i.e., the Roman people) is added to the *stirps* of Aeneas himself. The whole line (reading *generem*) is repeated by *Ermenricus Elwangensis, Ep. ad Grimaldum* (*Mon. Germ. hist., Epist.*, 5, 553).

606. extinxem: in 4, 682 Virgil uses the sigmatic form *extinxit*; for many other such (chiefly poetical) cases cf. *Wotke in Wiener*

## 607. Sol, qui terrarum flammis opera omnia lustras,

607. Sol . . . lustras: *Anth. Lat. no. 18, 1* (1, p. 79 Riese) — lustrat —. 607. Sol . . . terrarum: *Diomed. Art. gram. 2* (G. L. K. 1, 427).

*Stud.* 8 (1886), 146; Kühner-Holzweissig, *Ausf. Gram. d. lat. Spr.* 1, 2 ed. (1912), 786–788. This figurative use of *extinguere* is frequent (e.g., *Ecl.* 5, 20); cf. *σβέννυμι*, as in *Anth. Pal.* 7, 20, 1: *ἐσβέσθης, γηραιὲ Σοφόκλεες*. On the sibilants in this line cf. Knight in *Cl. Weekly*, 26 (1933), 203, n. 28, who compares 2, 585–587.

606. *memet*: cf. 3, 623; 5, 650; 6, 505; 7, 309; Kühner-Holzweissig, *op. cit.*, 1, 2 ed., 584–585.

606. *super ipsa*: cf. 10, 893 (= 12, 301): *super ipse secutus*; Sen. *H. O.* 349: *Iolens dum supra exanimem ruam*.

606. *dedissem*: cf. 2, 566: (*corpora*) *ignibus aegra dedere*; also, for *se dare* = *praecipilem ferri*, G. 4, 528; *Aen.* 9, 815–816; Ter. *Andr.* 606; etc.

607. Sol: the sun is apparently just rising; cf. 4, 585, n. (*linquens*). Since Dido has not in person taken vengeance upon the Trojans and their leader she appeals to the divine powers to be her champions; cf. Kvíčala, *Neue Beitr. z. Erkl. d. Aeneis* (1881), 196. For references to the witness of the all-seeing sun (as during the night to the stars (cf. 4, 519, n. (*conscia fati*)); 9, 403; also 4, 451, n. (*taedet, etc.*), above)) see *Il.* 3, 277: *Ἡέλιος θ', ὃς πάντ' ἐφορᾷς καὶ πάντ' ἐπακούεις* (cf. *Od.* 11, 109; 12, 323); *Il.* 19, 258–259: *ἴστω νῦν Ζεὺς πρῶτα . . . / Γῇ τε καὶ Ἡέλιος καὶ Ἐρινύες, κτλ.*; *Hymn. Cer.* 69–70: *ἀλλὰ σὺ γὰρ δὴ πᾶσαν ἐπὶ χθόνα καὶ κατὰ πόντον / αἰθέρος ἐκ δίης καταδέρκεαι ἄκτινεσσιν*; Aesch. *Suppl.* 213: *καλοῦμεν αὐγάς ἡλίου σωτηρίους*; *Prom. V.* 91: *καὶ τὸν πανόπτην κύκλον ἡλίου καλῶ* (and Adams in *Cl. Philol.* 28 (1933), 97–103); *Agam.* 632–633: *οὐκ οἶδεν οὐδεὶς ὥστ' ἀπαγγέλλαι τορῶς, / πλὴν τοῦ τρέφοντος Ἡλίου χθονὸς φύσιν*; 1323–1324: *ἡλίου δ' ἐπεύχομαι / πρὸς ὕστατον φῶς†*; *Choeph.* 993–994: *ὁ πάντ' ἐποπτεύων τάδε / Ἥλιος*; *Frag.* 192, 5 Sidgwick: *ὁ παντόπτας Ἥλιος*; *Soph. O. T.* 660–661: *οὐ τὸν πάντων θεῶν θεὸν πρόμον / Ἄλιον*; *O. C.* 869–870: *ὁ πάντα λείσσω Ἥλιος δόϊη βίον / τοιοῦτον οἶον κάμει γηράναι*

*πότε*; *Aias*, 845–846: *σὺ δ', ὦ τὸν αἰπὺν οὐρανὸν διφρηλατῶν / Ἥλιε, κτλ.*; *El.* 86: *ὦ φάος ἀγρόν, κτλ.*; 825–826: *ποῦ φαέθων / Ἄλιος, εἰ ταῦτ' ἐφορῶντες κρύπτουσιν ἔκκληοι*; *Trach.* 94–96: *ὃν αἶδλα νύξ ἑναριζόμενα / τίκτει κατευνάξει τε φλογιζόμενον / Ἄλιον, Ἄλιον αἰτῶ*; 101: *εἰπ' ὦ κρατιστεύων κατ' ὄμμα*; *Frag.* 535 Pearson; 582: *Ἥλιε, φιλίπποις Ὀρηξὶ πρέσβιστον σέλας*; 752; *Eur. Alc.* 244: *Ἄλιε καὶ φάος ἡμέρας, κτλ.*; *Med.* 746: *ὄμνυ πέδον Γῆς, πατέρα θ' ἡλίον, κτλ.*; 752: *ὄμνυμι Γαῖαν (Ἥλιον θ' ἀγρόν σέβας)*; 764: *ὦ Ζεῦ Δίκη τε Ζηνὸς Ἥλιου τε φῶς*; 1251–1252: *ἰὼ Γᾶ τε καὶ παμφαῆς / ἄκτις Ἀελίου, κατίδεται*; *ἴδετε, κτλ.*; *Hērph.* 601: *ὦ γαῖα μήτηρ ἡλίου τ' ἀναπτύχου*; *Suppl.* 260–262: *θεοὺς τε καὶ γῆν τήν τε πυρφόρον θεῶν / Δήμητρα θέμεναι μάρτυρ' ἡλίου τε φῶς, / ὥς οὐδὲν ἡμῖν ἥρκεσαν λιταὶ θεῶν*; *Herc.* 858: *Ἥλιον μαρτυρόμεσθα*; *Phoen.* 1–3 (cf. Acc. 581–582 Ribbeck); *Frag. ap. Athen.* 2, 61 b: *ὦ τὸν ἀγήρατον πόλον αἰθέρος, Ἥλιε, τέμνων, / ἄρ' εἶδες τοιόνδ' ὄμματι πρόσθε πάθος*; Theodectes ap. Stob. *Ecl.* 3, 10, 8, 1–4: *ὦ καλλιφύγγη λαμπρὸν εἰλίσσων φλογὸς / Ἥλιε, . . . / εἶδες τιν' ἄλλον πώποτ' εἰς οὕτω μέγαν / ἐλθόντ' ἀγῶνα, κτλ.*; Aeschin. *Concl. Ctes.* 260: *ὦ γῇ καὶ ἡλίε καὶ ἀρετῇ καὶ σύνεσιν καὶ παιδείᾳ*; *Apoll. Rh.* 4, 228–230: *αὐτὰρ ἀναξ ἄτη πολυπῆμονι χεῖρας αἰέρας / Ἥέλιον καὶ Ζῆνα κακῶν ἐπιμάρτυρας ἔργων / κέκλετο*; 4, 1019: *ἴστω δ' ἱερὸν φάος Ἥελιοιο*; [*Orph.*] *Hymn.* 8, 1 (to Helios): *κλυθι, μάκαρ, πανδερκέες ἔχων αἰώνιον ὄμμα*; *Lithica*, 707: *τρεῖς μὲν ἐκυκλῆξεν πανδερκέος ἡελιοιο*; *Enn. Sc.* 280 Vahlen: *Sol, qui candentem in caelo sublimat facem*; 284–286: *Iuppiter, tuque adeo, summe Sol, quis res omnis (s)picis, / quique tuo (cum) lumine mare terram caelum continet, / inspicere hoc facinus, prius quam si(at) prohibess(is) scelus*; *Cic. Rep.* 6, 9: *grates . . . tibi ago, summe Sol, etc.*; *Virg. Aen.* 12, 176: *esto nunc Sol testis et haec mihi Terra precanti*; G. 1, 463–468; *Ov. M.* 1, 768–769; 4, 238; *Sen. Med.* 28–29: *spectat hoc nostri sator / Sol generis, et spectatur*; *H. O.* 1022: *testor*



## 608. tuque harum interpres curarum et conscia Iuno,

arum (*corr. in harum*) γ, arum c. concia (*corr. in conscia*) γ.

608. tuque . . . Iuno: *Non. p. 328 M. (p. 516 L.)* — tuque harum *L ex corr., ut uid.*, tuquearum *L<sup>1</sup>*, tuque earum *A<sup>a</sup> (non B)*, tuque mearum *B<sup>a</sup>* —.

*nilentis flammeam Phoebi rotam*; Tac. *Ann.* 13, 55; Chariton, 6, 1: Ἥλιος, προπάτωρ σός, ἐξείλε σοι τοῦτο τὸ ξῆλον, κάλλιστον ὦν αὐτὸς ἐφορε; Kaibel, *Epigrammata Gr.* no. 160, 1-2; ἥλιος καὶ γαῖα καὶ οὐρανὸς (εἰρὴς ἔσονται) / μάρτυρες, κτλ.; no. 1039, 7: ἥλιος ὁρᾷ σε λαμπρός, ὅς τὰ πάντα ὁρᾷ; Artemid. *Oniocr.* 2, 70, calls Apollo θεὸν ἐπόπτην καὶ φύλακα πάντων; Tac. *Ann.* 15, 74; Apul. *M.* 2, 28; 3, 7: *Solis et Iustitiae testatus oculum*; Julian, *Ep.* 38: ἴστω μέγας Ἥλιος; Porphyry. *De Abstin.* 2, 26: ἀνήλισκον τὴν θυσίαν θάπτων, ἵνα τοῦ θεοῦ μὴδ' ὁ πανόπτης γένοιτο θεατής; Heliod. *Aethiop.* 4, 8: ἐπιεκλήσθω μάρτυς ὁ γενεάρχης ἡμῶν Ἥλιος; 8, 9; 10, 11; Quint. *Smyrn.* 13, 229: ἡελίοιο φάος πανδερκέος; Nonn. *Dionys.* 17, 285-287: μάρτυρας ἔλκω / ἥλιον, καὶ γαῖαν ἀτέρμονα, καὶ θεὸν Ἰνδῶν, / ἀγνὸν ὕδωρ; Claud. *Panegy. Prob. et Olybr.* 1: *Sol, qui flammigeris mundum complexus habenis*, etc.; Anth. *Pal.* 7, 237, 1-2: οὐρέα μὲν καὶ πόντον ὑπὲρ τύμβοιο χάρασσε, / καὶ μέσον ἀμφοτέρων μάρτυρα Λητοῖδην; *Arrend. Planud.* 303, 3-4: πανδερκέος . . . αἴγλης / Ἥελιου; Preisigke, *Sammelbuch Gr. Urkunden aus Ägypten*, 1 (1915), no. 4127, 18: ἥλιον τὸν παντεπόπτην δεσπότην; Zonar. 7, 6: θεοὶ τε ὁμογνίους ἀνεκαλοῦντο καὶ συνεχῶς ἀνέβλεπον πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον; *Evang. Nicodemi*, 3; 9; 12; other cases in Bruchmann, *Epitheta Deorum* (1893), 147; also, above, 4, 25, n. (vel pater omnipotens); Tylor, *Prim. Culture*, 1, 4 ed. (1903), 290; Rapp in Roscher, *Ausf. Lex.* 1 (1887), 2020; Penquitt, *De Didonis Vergilianae Exitu* (1910), 54, n. 5; Jessen in *P.-W.* 8 (1913), 59; Cumont in *Mem. della pontif. Acc. Rom. di Arch.* 1, 1 (1923), 65-80 ("Il Sole Vindice dei Delitti ed il Simbolo della Mani alzati," with very full collections, pp. 73-80, drawn from Aramaic, Latin, and Greek inscriptions, and some additional literary ones); Cook, *Zeus*, 2 (1925), 729-730; Nock in *Journ. of Egypt. Arch.* 11 (1925), 134, n. 1; Frazer, *The Wor-*

*ship of Nature*, 1 (1926), 463; 465; Pease in *Cl. Journ.* 22 (1927), 648, n. 18; Wagener (in *Trans. Am. philol. Assoc.* 62 (1931), 78-100, especially 82, and 89-91, where he notes the tendency when feeling becomes intense to apostrophize natural powers); Nock in *Harv. Theol. Rev.* 27 (1934), 62, line 18; 67, line 18. Elsewhere the sun is called *omniuens* (e.g., Val. Fl. 5, 248; Apul. *De Mundo*, 29); its description as the eye of the heaven (or of Zeus) also occurs; cf. Macrobi. *Sat.* 1, 21, 13: *solem Iovis oculum appellat antiquitas*; Cumont, *op. cit.*, 65, n. 4 and works there cited. Appeals to objects representing the four elements are not infrequent (cf. 4, 166, n. (Tellus); Serv. *Aen.* 1, 58; Philo, *In Faust.* 123; *Papyr. Gr. magicae*, 1 (1928), 96, 715 Preisendanz; Lünzner, *Ueber Personificationen in Vergils Gedichten* (1876), 22), man himself being formed of, and therefore akin to, these elements (e.g., Plat. *Phaedo*, p. 86 b; *Papyr. Gr. magicae*, 1, 112, 1181-1182). Servius remarks: *et bene invocall Solem, cui supra (4, 58) per numen Liberi sacrificavū*; cf. also Frazer, *op. cit.*, 325-327.

The increasingly serious attitude of Dido toward divine powers since 4, 379 may be noticed, as well as the use by Virgil of the motif of the lover's curse, which is a characteristic of erotic poetry (cf. Eur. *Med.* 20-23; Catull. 64, 188-201; Hendrickson in *Am. Journ. of Philol.* 46 (1925), 101-113; Mozley, translation of Ov. *Ars amat.* (1929), 359-372); cf. DeWitt, *The Dido Episode in the Aeneid of Virgil* (1907), 43. Pichon's view (*Rev. de Philol.* 33 (1909), 253) that Virgil here follows the tradition of Naevius cannot be proved, any more than Sabbadini's (*Il primitivo Disegno dell' Eneide* (1900), 45, n. 1) that the imprecations (590-629), as inconsistent with the resignation of lines 651-662, are not part of the original plan of the book. Indeed the fluctuations of Dido's moods are one of the most striking and psychologically

## 609. nocturnisque Hecate triviis ululata per urbes,

haecate *MP* (hecate *M*<sup>2</sup>), haechate γ, haecaten (n *erasa*) a. triviis a.

609. nocturnisque . . . urbes: *Serv. Ecl.* 3, 26. 609. triviis . . . urbes: *Anth. Lat.* no. 17, 33 (1, p. 62 *Riese*) — tribiis (*corr. ex tribius*) *A* —; no. 17, 298 (1, p. 73 *Riese*) — furit ululata *A*; urbem —. 609. ululata: *Gl. Ansil.* 593, 94; q.v.

true features of the story. Heinze (*Virgils epische Technik*, 3 ed. (1915), 439) compares this curse — the high point of the story — with the prophecies of Creusa near the end of Book II (776–795) and of Anchises at the end of Book VI (855–886). Like the prophecy of Celaeno (3, 245–257), this curse is more terrible in anticipation than in its fulfilment, especially as relates to 4, 615–620; cf. Duckworth, *Foreshadowing and Suspense in the Epics of Homer, Apollonius, and Vergil* (1933), 113–114.

607. opera omnia: Heyne (*ad loc.*), followed by Knorr (*Beür. z. Erkl. einiger Stellen aus Horaz u. Vergil* (1900), 22–24), contends that *opera* = ἔργα, in the sense of ‘planted fields,’ figuratively standing for ‘all fields of the earth.’ It is more likely, however, that Dido here refers to the deeds of human beings, seen by the all-searching sight of the sun.

607. lustras: cf. 4, 6, n. (*lustrabal*); Cic. *N. D.* 2, 92: *sol omnia clarissima luce colustrans*; Lucr. 5, 693; 5, 1437; 6, 737: *sol omnia lustrans*; *Aen.* 6, 887: *atque omnia lustrant*; *Anth. Lat.* no. 389, 57 (1, p. 302 *Riese*): *sol cui cuncta licet rapido lustrare calore*; Claud. *De VI Cons. Hon.* 412: (*Phoebus*) *radiis tamen omnia lustrat*.

608. harum: *Serv.* explains *interpres curarum* as *aut quas patior aut generaliter curarum coniugalium interpres, hoc est, media et conciliatrix*; if the second view be correct, *harum* must mean ‘this kind of.’ The Scholia Danielis say *alii ‘interpres’ testis, iudex, arbitra accipiunt. sane ‘interpres’ quid sit secundum veteres ipse exposuit dicendo ‘conscia’; veteres enim interpretem conscium et auctorem dicebant* (citing Plaut. *Curc.* 434; *M. G.* 952).

608. interpres: Page (*ad loc.*) finds in *interpres* two meanings: (1) a person acting as agent between two others and (2) an ex-

plainer of the mysterious, and thinks *Iuno pronuba* brings man and woman together in wedlock and explains its mysteries and troubles (*curae*).

608. curarum: cf. 4, 1, n. (*cura*); 4, 519–521; Roiron, *Étude sur l’Imagination auditive de Virgile* (1908), 52.

608. conscia Iuno: Schol. Dan.: *siluit rem turpem; sic supra* (4, 166) ‘*et pronuba Iuno*’ *aut invocat Iunonem, cum nuptiae sint quae violatae sunt*. The second seems the correct view; cf. 4, 167, n. (*conscius aether*); 9, 429: *caelum hoc et conscia sidera testor*. For Dido’s belief that she was the *coniunx* of Aeneas cf. 4, 172; 4, 431; 4, 496; and nn.

609. nocturnis: cf. 4, 303, n. (*nocturnus*); Schol. Dan.: *sacra enim Hecatae in triviis frequentantur per noctem. ideo autem Hecaten invocat, quasi quae tanti matrimonium fecerit ut sperneret matrem*; [Orph.] *Hymn.* 1, 5, which calls Hecate *νυκτελην*; Rufin. *De Luminibus*, 5 (*Corp. Script. eccl. Lat.* 46, 114).

609. Hecate: cf. 4, 511, n. (*tergeminam*).

609. triviis: on the worship of Hecate at cross-roads (Theocr. 2, 36: ἡ θεὸς ἐν τριόδῳσι; Hesych. s. v. Ἐκάταια . . . τὰ ἐν τριόδῳσι) or forks of roads cf. 4, 511, n. (*tergeminam*); also Steuding in Roscher, *Ausf. Lex.* 1 (1886), 1890–1891; Farnell in *Cl. Rev.* 2 (1888), 167; De la Ville de Mirmont, *Apollonios de Rhodes et Virgile* (1894), 147, n. 1; Gruppe, *Gr. Myth. u. Rel.* 2 (1906), 1291, and n. 1; Eitrem, *Hermes u. d. Toten* (1909), 11; 40; Heckenbach in *P.-W.* 7 (1912), 2775; MacCulloch in Hastings, *Encycl. of Relig. and Ethics*, 4 (1912), 332–334; Wünsch in the same volume, 335–336. Hence the epithets *τριόδῳσις* (e.g., [Orph.] *Hymn.* 1, 1; Plut. *De Fac. in Orb. Lun.* 24; Athen. 7, 126; Cornut. *N. D.* 34; Hippol. *Refut.* 4, 35, 2; Steph. Byz. s. v. Τριόδος; *Papyr. Gr. magicæ*, 1, 150, 2525; 1, 158, 2728 Preisendanz; *τετραπόδις* (*Papyr. Gr. magicæ*, 1, 152, 2562; 1, 162, 2819 Prei-

610. et Dirae ultrices et di morientis Elissae,  
accipite haec meritumque malis advertite numen

dire γ. de (?) *M* (di *M*<sup>2</sup>), dii *Pp*γα. elisae γ, elise π.

que (e m. 2 in ras.) γ. auertite (m. 2 corr. in aduertite) π. nomen p.

610. Dirae ultrices: [*Acro*] in *Hor. C.* 1, 2, 1-2; *Gl. Arma*, 14, 77 — dira cultrici —.  
610. et di . . . Elissae: *Schol. Dan. Aen.* 12, 538 — nec di —.

611. accipite . . . numen: *Anth. Lat. no.* 17, 7 (1, p. 61 Riese). 611. accipite haec: *Anth. Lat. no.* 16, 13 (1, p. 56 Riese).

sendanz), and *Trivia* (e.g., *Enn. Sc.* 121 Vahlen; *Catull.* 34, 15; 66, 5; *Lucr.* 1, 84; *Virg. Aen.* 6, 13; 6, 35; 6, 69; 7, 516; 7, 774; 7, 778; 10, 537; 11, 566; 11, 836; *Tib.* 1, 5, 16; *Prop.* 2, 32, 10; *Ov. M.* 2, 416; *Ex Pont.* 3, 2, 71; *F.* 1, 389; *Sen. Med.* 787; *Agam.* 382; *Oct.* 978; *Stat. Silv.* 3, 1, 56; 3, 1, 68; *Val. Fl.* 3, 68; 3, 321; 5, 104; *Apul. Apol.* 31; *Carter, Epitheta Deorum* (1902), 31), and it was to cross-roads that 'Hecate's suppers' were sent (*Halliday in Folk-Lore*, 41 (1930), 149-150). *Servius* describes the lamentations at cross-roads for the lost Proserpina, and the use of such spots for executions and burials (cf. the σχιστή δόδος in the *Oedipus* story; *Soph. O. T.* 733; *Robert, Oidipus*, 1 (1915), 80-93) suggests a connection with the underworld and its deities (cf. *Eitrem, Hermes u. d. Toten* (1909), 11; 40). Hecate is doubtless invoked, not as a goddess of magic who could any longer have an effect over the feelings of Aeneas (cf. 4, 511), but as one able to carry the souls of human beings to the underworld (cf. 4, 654; *Penquitt, De Didonis Vergilianae Exitu* (1910), 59).

609. ululata: cf. 4, 168, n. (*ulularunt*); *Val. Fl.* 3, 453: *nec triviis ululare velim*; *Stat. Theb.* 3, 158-159: *nulloque ululata dolore / . . . Lucina*; *Mart.* 5, 41, 3: *quem sectus ululat matris entheae Gallus*; *Claud. De Bell. Goth.* 233-234: *atraque Phoebe / noctibus aerisonas crebris ululata per urbes*; *Roiron, op. cit.*, 50-52, who analyzes this line as a combination in Virgil's mind of *G.* 1, 486 (*per noctem resonare lupis ululantibus urbes*) and *Aen.* 4, 168 (*ulularunt vertice nymphae*). The passive use is noteworthy; cf. *Schol. Dan.*: '*ululata*' autem per '*ululatu quaesita*.' et est participium sine verbo, ut

'*regnata*'; that in *Stat. Theb.* 1, 238; *Silv.* 1, 3, 85-86, is hardly parallel, since there, as in *Aen.* 3, 125 (*bacchatam . . . Naxon*), the subject of the verb is a place rather than a deity. The word may here refer to human lamentations (cf. *Apul. M.* 11, 2: *nocturnis ululatibus horrenda Proserpina triforimi facie*, etc.) or to the barking of dogs; cf. 6, 257-258: *visaeque canes ululare per umbram / adventante dea* (*Theocr.* 2, 35).

610. Dirae: cf. 4, 473, n. (*Dirae*), above; *Serv.*: *dirae in caelo, furiae in terris, eumenides apud inferos; unde et tres esse dicuntur. sed haec nomina confundunt poetae. 'ultrix' vero, hoc est, Tisiphone; nam Graece τρις ultio dicitur.* Cf. *Catull.* 64, 192-195: *Eumenides . . . / . . . / huc, huc adventate, meas audite querelas*, etc.; also *Soph. Aias*, 835-838.

610. di morientis Elissae: *Serv.*: *aut manes dicit [cf. the common sepulchral Dis manibus] . . . aut certe ἀναισθητός dicit, id est, Marlem et Saturnum, qui intercidunt vitae rationem si radiis suis ortum geniturae pulsaverint*; *Schol. Dan.*: *quidam hoc . . . secundum eos tradunt qui dicunt habere nos singulos deos nostros, ut (12, 539-540) 'nec di texere Cupencum, / Aenea veniente, sui'*; and perhaps cf. *Soph. Trach.* 910 (of Deianira): *αὐτὴ τὸν αὐτῆς δαίμον' ἀνακαλονμένη*. All that Dido here means, however, seems to be "such gods, whoever they may be (cf. 4, 519-521), as are propitious to the dying Elissa"; cf. *Penquitt, op. cit.*, 60. Dido is now *morientis*, no longer *moriturae*. With the phrase cf. *Castiglione, De Eliz. Gonzaga*, 37: *miserae morientis Elisae*.

610. Elissae: cf. 4, 335, n. (*Elissae*), above.

611. accipite: cf. 3, 250; 5, 304: *accipite*

612. et nostras audite preces. si tangere portus  
infandum caput ac terris adnare necesse est,

praeces γ. si m. 2 in ras. γ.  
hac γ<sup>1</sup>. necessesit M.

612-620. si . . . harena: *Macrob. Sat.* 5, 12, 5 — sic P; infantom P; ad bello P; complexu auulsus; regno aut potiatur (potiatur *deletum*) P —. 612. nostras preces: *Gl. Ansil.* 395, 233. 612. tangere portus: *Gl. Ansil.* 552, 171.

[612\*] 613. ac . . . est: *Serv. Aen.* 6, 16 — et terris —. 613. adnare: *Gl. Ansil.* 29, 475; q.v.

haec animis laetasque advertite mentes; 10, 104. Henry (*Aeneidea*, 2 (1878), 817) observes that we have here a theme (*accipite haec*) with two variations (*advertite numen* and *nostras audite preces*), just as in 4, 612-614 we find *si . . . necesse est* with the variations *sic fata Iovis poscunt* and *hic terminus haeret*.

611. malis: *Serv.* (erroneously): *quod mali merentur*. *Malis* is rather neuter (as in *Ecl.* 10, 61; *Aen.* 4, 169; 6, 365; 11, 480; etc.), and is to be construed both with *meritum* and with *advertite*; cf. Bell, *The Latin Dual* (1923), 299. The attention of avenging gods is merited by Dido's misfortunes; cf. 2, 690: *si pietate meremur*.

611. advertite: cf. *Hor. Epod.* 5, 53-54: *nunc in hostilis domos / iram atque numen vertite*; *Ov. Tr.* 2, 223: *lusbis ut possis advertere numen ineptis*; *Sen. Thy.* 132: *advertat placidum numen*; *Dietsch, Theologum. Vergilian. Particula* (1853), 5. The *numen* of the gods corresponds somewhat to the *animus* of men; cf. the phrase *animadvertere*, both of noticing and of punishing.

612. nostras: cf. 8, 574: *et patrias audite preces*; for the plural cf. 4, 591; 4, 625; 4, 659-662; Conway, *New Stud. of a great Inheritance* (1921), 14, n. 2.

612. audite: for such appeals cf. Appel, *De Romanorum Precationibus* (1909), 119.

612. preces: *Serv.*: *inprecationes dicit; nam non sunt preces, ut paulo post* (4, 629), *'imprecor arma armis.'* These predictions of the dying are regularly fulfilled; cf. *Cic. De Div.* 1, 63: *adpropinquante morte multo est divinius* (sc. *animus*), and my n. on that passage; *Schol. Dan.* on line 613: *quemadmodum Homerus, qui morituros divinantes*

frequenter inducit; *Keble, Lectures on Poetry*, Eng. trans. by Francis, 2 (1912), 379; *Heinze, Virgils epische Technik*, 3 ed. (1915), 137, n.o. See also the anonymous letter of Dido to Aeneas (*Anth. Lat.* no. 83, 13 (1, p. 114 Riese)): *quae maledicta dedi, miseris circumdata fatis*. *Pascal* (*ad loc.*) compares Dido's imprecations with the *defixiones* (*divrae*), of which many have been preserved, usually written on leaden plates (*Audollent, Defixionum Tabellae* (1904); *Wünsch, Antike Fluchtafeln* (1912); etc.).

612. si, etc.: based on the curse of Polyphemos (*Od.* 9, 530-535): *ὁδὸς μὴ Ὀδυσσεῖα πτολιπόρθιον οἰκαδ' ἰκέσθαι. / ἀλλ' εἰ οἱ καὶ μοῖρα φίλους τε ἰδεῖν καὶ ἰκέσθαι / οἶκον εὐκτιμενον καὶ ἔην ἐς πατρίδα γαίαν, / ὅψε κακῶς ἔλθοι ὀλέσας ἀπο πάντας ἑταίρους / νηὸς ἐπ' ἀλλοτρίῃς, εὐροὶ δ' ἐν πῆματα οἴκῳ*; cf. *Val. Fl.* 1, 788-815; *Tasso, Ger. lib.* 16, 58, 7-16, 59, 2: *E s' è destin ch' esca del mar, che schivi / Gli scogli e l' onde, e ch' alla pugna arrivi; / Là tra 'l sangue e le morti egro giacente / Mi pagherai le pene, empio guerriero*. For the varied expressions here used cf. 4, 611, n. (*accipite*).

612. tangere: cf. *G.* 1, 303 (= *Prop.* 3, 24, 15): *portum tetigere carinae*; 4, 358-359: *limina divom / tangere*.

612. portus: *Carpolino* (*Virgile et les Origines d' Ostie* (1919), 745) sees in this and other allusions to harbors a suggestion typifying the port at the mouth of the Tiber undertaken by Augustus in Virgil's own time.

613. infandum: cf. 4, 85, n. (*infandum*); 4, 497, n. (*nefandi*); *Vida, Christias*, 2, 882: *infandum evasit caput*.

613. caput: cf. 4, 354, n. (*capitis . . .*

614. et sic fata Iovis poscunt, hic terminus haeret:  
at bello audacis populi vexatus et armis,

et si *dell.*

et  $M\pi$  (at  $M^1\pi^2$ ), ad  $p$ , et  $b^1$ . populi.  $b$ .

[612] 614. et . . . haeret: *Non. p. 455 M. (p. 730 L.)*. 614. fata Iovis: *Gl. Ansil. 236, 570*.  
614. hic terminus: *Gl. Ansil. 279, 70*. 614. haeret: *Gl. Ansil. 277, 143; q.v.*  
[612\*] 615. at bello: *Gl. Ansil. 24, 27* — ad —.

*cari*); 4, 357, n. (*caput*); 4, 640: *Dardanii . . . capitis*; Schol. Dan.: *etiam in interpretatione nomen eius delectatur* (the opposite of magic rites, in which the victim must be very accurately designated); *Sen. Med. 465: ingratum caput*; Justin, 18, 7, 10: *nefandissimum caput*; also Hdt. 3, 29:  $\omega$  κακαὶ κεφαλαι; Ar. *Acharn. 285: \omega μισὰ κεφαλῇ. The periphrasis here subtly suggests the use of the *caput* in imprecations (e.g., *Plin. Ep. 2, 20, 6*).*

613. *adnare*: Schol. Dan.: *verbum familiare naufragio, ut in primo (538) 'huc pauci vestris adnavimus oris,' id est, per tempestatem venimus*; cf. 6, 358. But, as Buscaroli (*ad loc.*) notes, the word may be used in the transferred sense of coming to a place in a boat; e.g., *Cic. Rep. 2, 9*.

614. *fata Iovis*: Schol. Dan.: '*fata dicta, id est, Iovis voluntas; hic ergo participium est, non nomen*; with which we may compare the Homeric  $\mu\omicron\iota\tau\alpha$  (or  $\alpha\iota\sigma\alpha$ )  $\theta\epsilon\omega\upsilon$  (or  $\Delta\iota\omicron\varsigma$ ); e.g., *Il. 17, 321*; Solon, 2, 1-2; or  $\Delta\iota\omicron\varsigma$   $\beta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\lambda\eta$  (*Il. 1, 5*); also Eur. *Phoen. 1000: ἀνάγκην δαίμωνων*; 1763:  $\epsilon\kappa$   $\theta\epsilon\omega\upsilon$   $\alpha\acute{\nu}\alpha\gamma\kappa\alpha\varsigma$ . *Fatum* is sometimes identified with the will of Jupiter (*Serv. Aen. 10, 628: vox enim Iovis fatum est*, and he quotes *Stat. Theb. 1, 213: vocem (sc. Iovis) fata secuntur*; cf. *Isid. Etym. 8, 11, 90: fatum aulem dicunt esse quidquid dii fantur, quidquid Iuppiter fatur*); sometimes, as by Posidonius (*Doxogr. Gr. 2 ed. (1929), 324*), Jupiter, fate, and nature are distinguished as important powers; cf. 4, 340, n. (*me si, etc.*); at times — and perhaps generally in the *Aeneid* — fate is supreme and acts through the gods (especially Jupiter) or through men directly. Expressions in Virgil analogous to *fata Iovis* are *fatis Iunonis iniquae* (8, 292) and the broader term *fata deum* (2, 54; 2, 257; 3, 375; 3, 717; 6, 376;

7, 50; 7, 239); cf. Bougot, *De Morum Indole in Virgilio Aeneide* (1876), 128; Fabricius, *De Iove et Fato in . . . Aeneide* (1896), 9; Otto in *P.-W. 6* (1909), 2048; MacInnes in *Cl. Rev. 24* (1910), 169-174 (fates supreme over gods, men, and fortune); Heinze, *Virgils epische Technik*, 3 ed. (1915), 293, n. 3; Matthaei in *Cl. Quart. 11* (1917), 14-19 (who views Jupiter as an instrument of the fates); Cartault, *L'Art de Virgile dans l'Énéide*, 1 (1926), 86. Perhaps it is asking too much of a poet to expect that he define the relations of fate to deity with the precision required of a philosopher. In Dido's remarks there may lurk a sneer at the religiosity of Aeneas and its reward; cf. 4, 14, n. (*fatis*). The divine predestination here described had been recounted by Aeneas at 3, 251-257.

614. *poscunt*: cf. 5, 707: *quae fatorum posceret ordo*; 7, 272: *hunc illum poscere fata (sc. reor)*; 8, 12; 8, 477: *fatis huc te poscentibus adfers*; 8, 512: *quem numina poscunt* (cf. 11, 901); Petron. 111, 11: *antequam fata poscant*.

614. *terminus haeret*: cf. 7, 250: *immobilis haeret* (cf. Claud. *In Eutrop. 2, 292-293*; *Carm. min. 49 (46), 10*); *Lucr. 1, 77: alle terminus haerens* (= 1, 596; 5, 90; 6, 66); 2, 1087-1088; Acc. 481 Ribbeck: *veter fatorum terminus sic iusserat*; *Hor. C. S. 25-28*.

615. *at, etc.*: in 1642 or 1643 Charles I, at the suggestion of Lord Falkland, consulted the *Sortes Vergilianae*, at Oxford, and lighted first upon 4, 615-620. Disturbed at this Falkland himself tried, and fell upon 11, 152; cf. Welwood, *Memoirs* (1700), 105-107; Macray, *Annals of the Bodleian*, 2 ed. (1890), 96; Platt, *Byways in the Classics* (1905), 54-55; Irvine *ad loc.*; variant versions of the story are noted by Loane in *Cl. Weekly*, 21

616. finibus extorris, complexu avolsus Iuli  
auxilium imploret videatque indigna suorum

complexu *P*γ. auolsus (*corr. in auulsus*) *abc*.  
implorent *M* (imploret *M*<sup>1</sup>), inploret *P*.

[612\*] 616. finibus . . . Iuli: *Non. p. 15 M. (p. 21 L.)* — conspectu auulsus —. 616. finibus extorris: *Arus. Ex. Eloc. (G. L. K. 7, 472)*.

[612] 617. auxilium imploret: *Gl. Aa, 186, 1477* — ploret —.

(1928), 187. Dido's curse was pretty completely fulfilled (cf. Conway in *Proc. Camb. philol. Soc.* 88-90 (1911), 12), yet so as not to endanger the ultimate success of the Trojan race and the family of Aeneas. Conway well suggests (*Proc. of class. Assoc. of Scotland*, 12 (1914), 61-62) that such wars are the result when men of state make human affections the instrument of their designs, and traffic in woman's love.

In a minor way this may be considered one of those places in the narrative in which, by means of prophecy, action outside the framework of the epic itself is foreshadowed, others being 1, 257-296; 6, 756-892; 8, 36-65; 8, 626-731; cf. Moore in *Harv. Stud. in cl. Philol.* 32 (1921), 138-142; Duckworth, *Foreshadowing and Suspense in the Epics of Homer, Apollonius, and Vergil* (1933), 34-36. For the assumption of Lersch and others that not the death of Turnus but some later point in the life (or even the death) of Aeneas was planned by Virgil as the terminus of the *Aeneid* cf. Kern, *Supplemente z. Aeneis aus d. 15. u. 17. Jahrh.* (1896), 4, and nn. 1-2, with works there cited. For at following a *si*-clause cf. *G. 4, 241*.

615. bello . . . et armis: cf. 1, 545: *nec bello maior et armis*; 7, 235: *bello este expertus et armis*; Sen. *Agam.* 614: *non illa bello victa, non armis*; Sil. 8, 216: *bellum atque arma*.

615. audacis populi: Serv.: *Rutulorum, sicut semper inducuntur; alibi* (7, 409) '*audacis Rutuli ad muros*'; cf. 9, 3; 9, 126; 10, 276 (all of Turnus); and 9, 519 (of the Rutuli).

615. vexatus: contrasted to the peace he himself anticipated; cf. 1, 205-206: *tendimus in Latium, sedes ubi fata quietas /*

*ostendunt*. The Sibyl (6, 83-97) agrees more closely with Dido's imprecation.

616. extorris: Serv.: *extra suas terras remotas, et significat quando Euandri et Tarchonis petivit auxilium* (8, 81-10, 214). The word might here suggest an exile from his native land rather than one absent from a military camp upon a military and political errand.

616. complexu: Schol. Dan.: *quia scit quam sit carus patri Ascanius*. Dido, not a little of whose tragic isolation lay in her childlessness (cf. 4, 68, n. (*infelix*); 4, 327-330), might naturally be expected in jealousy to assail Aeneas at his most vulnerable point, namely his pious devotion to his son and heir; cf. 1, 646; 4, 354-355; 4, 601-602. For the figurative use of *complexu* cf. 6, 698: *amplexu ne subtrahe nostro*; 8, 568: *non ego nunc dulci amplexu divellerer usquam*; Catull. 62, 21-22: *qui natam possis complexu avellere matris, / complexu matris retinentem avellere natam*; Cic. *Pro Font.* 46: *de matris hunc complexu . . . avellet atque abstrahet*; Ambros. *Ep.* 6, 17: *avulsae de complexu patrum filiae*.

617. indigna: 'cruel,' or 'undeserved'; cf. Frank in *Am. Journ. of Philol.* 34 (1913), 325; 2, 285-286; 6, 163: *indigna morte peremptum*; Justin, 11, 15, 14: *indignam . . . mortem*; Sil. 13, 387: *funera acerba suorum*. If Dido recalled Aeneas's account in 1, 783, she must have known that he had been promised a queenly wife in Italy. She does not, therefore, predict that he will die without issue, which would have run counter to the traditions with which Virgil had to deal. *Suorum*, then, means Trojans or allies (Serv.: *Palantis* (10, 479-509) *dicil et celerorum*) rather than members of his family, and the imprecation is by no means a complete parallel

618. funera; nec cum se sub leges pacis iniquae tradiderit, regno aut optata luce fruatur,

tradiderit γ<sup>1</sup>.

[612] 618-619. nec . . . tradiderit: *Serv. Aen.* 1, 6 — lege *BM* —.

[612\*, 618]

to *devotiones* such as that in the inscription (*I. G. A.* 497 = Dittenb. *Sylog.* 37; cf. 524, 33) quoted by Penquitt, *De Didonis Vergilianae Exilii* (1910), 60: κείνον ἀπόλλυσθαι καὶ αὐτὸν καὶ γένος τὸ κέλναι. Yet cf. 4, 622, n. (*tum*). Trevelyan, *Life and Letters of Lord Macaulay*, ch. 14, describes the impression made upon Macaulay by an inscription which he had seen reading *ultimus suorum moriatur*.

618. *nec*: for this conjunction with the subjunctive cf. *Ecl.* 2, 34; 8, 89; 10, 46; *Aen.* 10, 32; Kühner-Stegmann, *Ausf. Gram. d. lat. Spr.* 2, 1, 2 ed. (1912), 193.

618. *sub leges*: cf. 4, 231, n. (*sub leges*); 12, 112: *pacis dicere leges*; *Nep. Timoth.* 2; *Ov. H.* 7, 156: *pacis leges*; *Liv.* 33, 30, 1.

618. *iniquae*: *Serv.*: *ut supra* (1, 6) *diximus, propter perditam linguam, habitum, nomen, quae solet victor inponere, sicut in XII postulat Iuno*; 12, 822-825: *component, cum iam leges et foedera iungent, / ne vetus indigenas nomen mutare Latinos / neu Troas fieri iubeas Teucrosque vocari / aut vocem mutare viros aut vertere vestem*, etc.

619. *regno . . . fruatur*: yet Aeneas was to reign three years in Latium; cf. 1, 265-266: *tertia dum Latio regnantem viderit aetas / ternaue transierint Rutulis hiberna subactis*; in 6, 764, however, he is to be *longaevus* when Lavinia's son Silvius is born; cf. Conington's n. on that line for a discussion of the inconsistencies involved in the tradition. Sainte-Beuve (*Étude sur Virgile* (1857), 207-208) estimates that Aeneas was about thirty at the fall of Troy and not far from thirty-seven at his death, which would thus be premature (*ante diem*) and justifying the tinge of melancholy which Virgil gives to his person.

619. *optata*: often used of places (e.g., 1, 172; 3, 132; 3, 509; 6, 203; 7, 303; *Sen. Tr.* 1166; *Agam.* 790; *Thy.* 404), but also of

other nouns; cf. *Cir.* 276: *optatae spes est incisa salutis*; *Cul.* 79-81: *quis magis optato queat esse beatior aevo / quam qui mente procul pura sensuque probando / non avidas agnoscit opes nec tristia bello*, etc.; possibly here an *epitheton ornans*, used of that which is desired by all (*Kappes-Wörner, ad loc.*). The phrase *luce fruatur* may perhaps be compared with such a periphrasis as *vescitur aura* (1, 546; 3, 339); the meaning will then be that Aeneas is not to enjoy either royal power or a peaceful life; cf. also 4, 31, n. (*o luce, etc.*); *Paul. Petric. De Vita Mart.* 2, 201: *illi . . . luce fruuntur*.

620. *cadat ante diem*: as noted by *Servius*, Dido prays that Aeneas may die untimely and then so dies herself (4, 697: *misera ante diem*). For the phrase *ante diem* cf. 10, 467: *stat sua cuique dies*; *Ov. Ars am.* 3, 739: *ante diem morior*; *M.* 1, 148: *filius ante diem patrios inquiri in annos*; 6, 675-676: *hic dolor ante diem . . . / Pandiona misit ad umbras*. On the age of Aeneas at death cf. 4, 619, n. (*regno . . . fruatur*), above. The place of his demise is at the Numic(i)us River, often identified with the Rio Torto south of Lavinium, but by *Carcopino* (*Virgile et les Origines d'Ostie* (1919), 480-491) with the Canale dello Stagno entering the sea two miles southeast of the mouth of the Tiber. *Serv.*: *Cato dicit iuxta Laurolavinium, cum Aeneae socii praedas agerent, proelium commissum, in quo Latinus occisus est, fugit Turnus; et Mezentii auxilio comparato victus quidem est ab Aenea, qui tamen in ipso proelio non comparuit . . . alii dicunt quod victor Aeneas cum sacrificaret super Numicum fluvium lapsus est, et eius nec cadaver inventum est, unde dicit 'mediaque inhumatus harena.' postea dictus est inter deos receptus* (cf. *Serv. Aen.* 7, 150; 7, 797; *Schol. Dan. Aen.* 1, 259; 12, 794; *Schol. Veron. Aen.* 1, 259). Note also the following:

620. sed cadat ante diem mediaque inhumatus harena.

in media c. que om. 'bona pars codd.' Pierii. arena b, harenae p.

[612] 620. mediaque . . . harena: Serv. Aen. 6, 332 — mediatque H —.

Cass. Hem. Frag. 7 Peter: *tribusque mox annis cum Latino regnat socia potestate . . . quo defuncto summam biennio adeptus apud Numicum parere desiit anno septimo. patris Indigitis ei nomen datum*; Sisenna, Frag. 3 Peter: *iuxtim Numicium flumen obruncatur* (sc. Aeneas?); Diod. 7, 3, 2: Αἰνείας γὰρ μετὰ τὴν Ἀλωση τῆς Τροίας ἐτῶν τριῶν παρέλθοντων παρέλαβε τὴν τῶν Λατίνων βασιλείαν, καὶ κατασχὼν τριετὴ χρόνον ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἡφανίσθη καὶ τιμῶν ἔτυχεν ἀθανάτων (cf. App. Rom. 1, 1, 1); Liv. 1, 2, 6: *secundum inde proelium Laliniis, Aeneae autem ultimum mortalium operum fuit. situs est, quemcumque eum dici ius fasque est, super Numicum fluvium. Iovem indigitem appellant*; Dion. Hal. 1, 64, 4-5: μάχης δὲ γενομένης καρτερὰς οὐ πρόσω τοῦ Λαουινίου . . . τὸ δὲ Αἰνείου σῶμα φανερόν οὐδαμῇ γεγόμενον οἱ μὲν εἰς θεοὺς μεταστῆναι εἰκαζον, οἱ δ' ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ, παρ' ὃν ἡ μάχη ἐγένετο, διαφθάρηναι. καὶ αὐτῷ κατασκευάζουσιν οἱ Λατίνοι ἥρῳον ἐπιγραφὴν τοιαύδε κοσμοῦμενον· Πατὴρ θεοῦ χθονίου, ὃς ποταμοῦ Νομικίου ρεῦμα διέπει, κτλ.; Ov. M. 14, 581-608; Plin. N. H. 3, 56; Origo Gent. Rom. 14, 2-4 (a detailed account); C. I. L. I, p. 283 = X, 808 = X, 8348 (Dessau 63): *in (bel)lo Lauren(tin)o non con(pa)rui(t) appel(latus)q. est Indigens (pa)ter et in deo(rum n)umero relatus*; Schol. Juv. 11, 63: *Aeneas qui in Numicium fontem lapsus creditur consecratus*; Tert. Ad Nat. 2, 9: *quid aliud Aeneae gloriosum nisi quod proelio Laurentino nusquam comparui?* *rursus forsitan solito more quasi desertor e proelio fugerit*; Aug. C. D. 18, 19 (based on Varro): *Aeneas quando mortuus est non comparuit, deum sibi fecerunt Latini*; Mythogr. Vat. I, 202: *mox quum, apud Numicum fluvium deambulans, nusquam comparuisset, in caelum translatus dicitur*; also Orac. Sibyll. 11, 156-157: πέντ' ἐπὶ (καὶ) δεκάτῃ ἔτει ἐπὶ βένθεσιν ἄλμης / ὕδασιν ὀλόμενος σχήσει θανάτω τελευτῇ; Klausen, Aeneas u. d. Penaten, 2 (1840), 901-902 and n. 1802; Cauer, D. röm. Aeneassage (1886),

166-169; Smith on Tib. 2, 5, 43-44; Pfister, Reliquienkult im Altertum, 1 (1909), 143, and n. 511, who suggests that the lack of relics of Aeneas in Latium led to the conjecture that he had been translated at death; Frazer on Ov. F. 3, 647. Similar disappearances are noted in the cases of Oedipus (Soph. O. C. 1647-1665), Romulus (Liv. 1, 16, 1-4; Aug. C. D. 18, 24; Rose, Primitive Culture in Italy (1926), 121; etc.), Euenus (Dosithe. Aetol. 5 in Frag. Hist. Gr. 4, 401 Müller), Moses (Deut. 34, 6; cf. Valentine in Cl. Weekly, 25 (1931), 67 for a comparison of Aeneas and Moses), and others.

620. media, etc.: Cima (in Riv. di Filol. 16 (1888), 299-300; id., Analecta Latina (1901), 15-16) thinks the second half of this line was added by a corrector influenced by Liv. 1, 2, 6. But the phrase is attested by Servius and open to no sound objection, for it is easy to supply with it a verb like *iaceat* from the preceding context, or, with some editors, to take *ante diem* as equivalent to an adjective (like *immaturus*) parallel to *inhumatus*.

620. inhumatus: the importance of enough dust to furnish at least the ritual requirements for burial is recognized by Virgil (G. 4, 86-87; Aen. 5, 871: *nudus in ignota, Palinure, iacebis harena*; 6, 325-330; 6, 365-366; 11, 211-212; Cir. 442), as by Horace (C. 1, 28, 23-26), and in many other stories, such as those of Ajax (Soph. Aias, 1064-1065: ἄλλ' ἄμφι χλωρόν ψάμαθον ἐκβεβλημένος / ὄρνυσι φορβὴ παραλίοις γενήσεται), Polynices (Soph. Ant., passim), Ariadne (Catull. 64, 153: *neque iniecta tumultabor mortua terra*), and, among historic cases, Pompey (Pease on Cic. De Div. 2, 22, to which add Lact. Inst. 6, 6, 17). Cf. Plin. N. H. 19, 6: *nulla exsecratio sufficit contra inventorem dictum suo loco a nobis, cui satis non fuit hominem in terra mori nisi periret et insepultus*; also Aen. 2, 557-558: *iacet ingens litore truncus / avolsumque umeris caput et sine nomine corpus*; 10, 557-



621. haec precor, hanc vocem extremam cum sanguine fundo.  
tum vos, o Tyrii, stirpem et genus omne futurum  
exercete odiis cinerique haec mittite nostro

praecor *M* (precor *M*<sup>2</sup>).

tunc π, tumoos (*corr. in* tum uos) *p*.

hodiis π. cinerii *P* (cineri *P*<sup>2</sup>). unostro *P* (nostro *P*<sup>2</sup>).

621. haec precor: *Gl. Ansil.* 276, 42 — hec —. 621. cum sanguine: *Gl. Ansil.* 156, 144.

622–623. tum . . . odiis: *Non. p.* 295 *M.* (*p.* 457 *L.*) 622. stirpem . . . futurum: *Cento Probae*, 364. 622. genus futurum: *Gl. Ansil.* 265, 221.

[622] 623. exercete: *Gl. Ansil.* 220, 466.

560: *non te optima mater / condet humi patrioque onerabil membra sepulcro; / alitibus linquere feris aut gurgite mersum / unda feret piscesque impasti volnera lambent.* For an imitation by Fracastoro (*ah, Stygias potius detrudat ad umbras / esca vel alitibus, media intumulus harena / mittat*) cf. Zabughin, *Vergilio nel Rinascimento ital.* 2 (1923), 247.

620. harena: perhaps implying that Aeneas would not penetrate further than the sandy shore of the promised land.

621. haec precor: = Val. Fl. 7, 268.

621. vocem extremam: cf. *Cul.* 384: *extrema tristis cum voce recessit*; Sen. *Ep.* 66, 48: *cui Epicurus extrema voce gratias egil.*

621. cum sanguine fundo: Serv.: *quasi inprecationes ipsas suo consecraret cruore*; cf. 2, 532: *multo vitam cum sanguine fudit.* Some editors would detect here an allusion to the identification of soul and blood; e.g., Arist. *De An.* 2, p. 405 b 5 (for Critias). Penquitt (*De Didonis Vergilianae Exitu* (1910), 61, n. 2) observes that the present in Virgil often has a future meaning, comparing 1, 48; 2, 701; 6, 87; and by understanding *fundo* in such a sense here he explains away the apparent inconsistency of *vocem extremam* and *novissima verba* in line 650. That difficulty is but slight, however, and in the case of the *positively last* words of a lady need not disturb us!

622. tum: she here passes from imprecations upon Aeneas and his house to those upon the Trojan race, though *suorum* in 4, 617 may also refer to this same group; cf. 4, 617, n. (*indigna*). The erotic sentiment seems choked by the political, and in this *vaticinium post eventum* it is not so much

Dido as the poet who speaks; cf. Valmaggia in *Riv. di Filol.* 25 (1897), 43–44. With this imprecation should be contrasted 3, 500–505, where there are close parallels in form.

622. o Tyrii: Serv.: *non sunt mandata sed inprecationes, ut dissentiant omnibus rebus, sicut et factum est. nam si mandata sunt, quomodo 'genus futurum'?*

622. genus omne futurum: with the thought cf. 4, 606, n. (*cum genere*); with the metrical phrase *G.* 3, 541; 4, 223 (= *Lucr.* 1, 163; 5, 1338); *Aen.* 8, 628–629: *genus omne futurae / stirpis*; 9, 141; 9, 603: *durum a stirpe genus*; 12, 530; *Cir.* 12.

623. exercete odiis: we find two common constructions: (a) *exercere odium* (*Ov. M.* 5, 245), *iras* (*G.* 3, 152), *poenas* (*Aen.* 6, 543), *pacem* (4, 99–100), *amorem* or *amores* (*Catull.* 68, 69; 71, 3), and (b) *exercere aliquem odiis* (as here), *poenis* (6, 739), *curis* (5, 779), or *fatis* (3, 182 = 5, 725); cf. also *G.* 4, 453: *non te nullius exercent numinis irae*; Val. Fl. 7, 93–94: *hoc omnes odiisque urguete tyranni / imperiisque caput.* The plural of *odium* occurs twelve times in Virgil and means 'acts of hate'; for such plurals cf. Braumüller, *Ueber Tropen u. Figuren in Vergil's Aeneis*, 1 (1877), 15.

623. cineri: contrast Anna's views (4, 34, and n. on *id.*, etc.) on the sensibility of the deceased to the attentions of the living; cf. 4, 387.

623. mittite . . . munera: cf. 1, 633–636: *mittit . . . munera*; 6, 380: *tumulo sollemnina mittent*; 9, 361: *mittit dona.* These *munera* of hate are a substitute for physical *inferiae*; cf. *G.* 4, 545: *inferias Orpheus Lethaea papavera milles.*

624. munera. nullus amor populis nec foedera sunt.  
exoriare aliquis nostris ex ossibus ultor,

nec in ras. b.

exoriar p.

624. nullus . . . sunt: *Gl. Ansil.* 546, 663. 624. nullus . . . populis: *Gl. Ansil.* 398, 90.  
624. sunt: [*Acro*] in *Hor. Serm.* 2, 1, 9; *Gl. Ansil.* 526, 488 — synto —.  
625. nostris . . . ossibus: *Gl. Ansil.* 395, 238. 625. ex ossibus: *Gl. Abol.* 125, 126; *Gl. Affatim* (C. G. L. 4, 514, 24).

624. nullus: cf. *Sil.* 8, 173-175: *dum caelum rapida stellas vertigine volat, / lunaque fraterno lustrabit lumine terras, / pax nulla Aeneadas inter Tyriosque manebit.* For other Virgilian references to the hostility of Rome and Carthage cf. 1, 19-22; 4, 235, n. (*inimica*); 6, 845-846; 6, 857-859; 10, 11-14; 10, 53-55. *Amor* is doubtless here used of an enthusiastic national friendship, and implies nothing of rights of intermarriage between individuals. The part played by Naevius in establishing the poetic motivation for the Punic Wars is discussed in the introduction.

624. sunt: the formal term (elsewhere in Virgil only in a ritual prescription at 6, 153) lends solemnity to the imprecation; cf. *Serv.: Urbanus dicit verbo eum iuris usum propter odia hereditaria.*

625. exoriare: a verb in the second person with *aliquis* as subject is noteworthy, since, as Deuticke (*ad loc.*) remarks, Dido in her wild passion speaks in the same breath of an unknown person yet unborn and also to that person; the parallels cited by editors are not very close: *Plaut. Epid.* 399: *exite huc aliquis*; *Men.* 674; *Merc.* 131; 910-911; *Pseud.* 1284; *Ter. Ad.* 634: *aperite aliquis actutum ostium*; *Tib.* 1, 6, 39. *Servius* remarks: *exoriat; et ostendit Hannibalem*, and this would be the natural connotation to the Roman reader, thinking of the long series of Punic Wars, the seriousness of which conflict was still keenly felt at Rome (Conway, *The Vergilian Age* (1928), 75, n. 1, cites *Aen.* 6, 846; 6, 859; *Hor. Epod.* 16, 6; *C.* 2, 1; 3, 5; 4, 4; and *Liv.* 21, init.); cf. Sainte-Beuve, *Étude sur Virgile* (1857), 182, who finds a likeness between Aeneas and the second Scipio; Georgii, *Die polit. Tendenz*

*der Aeneide Vergils* (1880), 26. Virgil made the hatred of Dido for Aeneas the motive for the Punic Wars in much the same way in which Herodotus (1, 1-4) found in the rapes of Io, Europa, Medea, and Helen the motivating causes for the Persian Wars; cf. Decker, *Beitr. z. Vergleich d. Aeneide Vergils mit der von Veldeke* (1884), 2, n. 1; Penquitt, *op. cit.*, 61. With the line in general cf. *Aesch. Agam.* 1280: *ἤξει γὰρ ἡμῶν ἄλλος αὖ τιμάορος, κτλ.*, and for a close imitation of the whole passage Monti, *In Morte di Ugo Bassville*, 4, 265-270.

625. nostris: on the plural cf. Conway, *New Studies of a great Inheritance* (1921), 14, n. 2.

625. ex ossibus: Hannibal was obviously not thought of as a blood descendant of the childless Dido, but as one of her race. Cf. *Serv.: ex ossibus: secundum Anaxagoran, qui homoeomerian dicit, id est, omnium membrorum similitudinem, esse in rebus creandis ex ossibus, ex sanguine, ex medullis; nam omnia pro parte sui transeunt in procreationem*; *Schol. Dan.: sane Punici ex ossibus dicunt oriri posteros, quos nos ex sanguine. an quia post longum tempus nascetur Hannibal, ideo 'ex ossibus' posuit?* *Donat.* (whose comments have now been resumed, after a long lacuna): *rem locuta est impossibilem, utpote quae non esset suae mentis suique consilii. quando enim nasci homo ex ossibus mortui hominis potest? tamen qui inania sentire voluerunt dicunt hoc in Hannibale exitisse, quod est absurdum. nam Dido Tyria fuit, Hannibal Poenus a genere Didonis longe remotissimus. magis est melius sic intellegere, ut perturbata persona nesciret se impossibilia postulare, quod ipsum sequentia docent*; etc. The allusion to Hannibal makes uncertain any inference that

626. qui face Dardanio ferroque sequare colonos,  
nunc, olim, quocumque dabunt se tempore vires.  
litora litoribus contraria, fluctibus undas

qui. (i in ras.) a. sequere b<sup>1</sup>.

627. nunc . . . vires: *Serv. Aen.* 1, 20; [*Acro*] in *Hor. C.* 2, 10, 17 — quacumque V —. 627. dabunt se: *Gl. Ansil.* 159, 21.

628–629. litora . . . nepotesque: *Charis. Inst. gram.* 4 (G. L. K. 1, 282); *Donat. Ars gram.* 3 (G. L. K. 4, 398) — inprecor; inpuent L; nec potesteque S —; *Sacerd. Art. gram.* 1 (G. L. K. 6, 455) — deprecor —; *Beda, De Schem. et Trop. S. Scrip.* (1533 ed.), p. 78 — litora littoribus; nepotes (que om.) —; *Iulian. Tolet. De Vitiis et Figuris*, 5, 38 — inprecor —. 628–629. litora . . . inprecor: *Serv. Aen.* 1, 108 — inprecor —. 628. litora . . . undas: *Diomed. Art. gram.* 2 (G. L. K. 1, 447); *Pomp. Comm.* (G. L. K. 5, 304).

after Dido's death Iarbas and his non-Punic forces were supposed by Virgil to have taken possession of Carthage; cf. 4, 219, n. (*arasque tenentem*).

625. ultor: how Hannibal, at the age of nine, at the altar swore hostility to Rome is told by various writers (cf. Lenschau in *P.-W.* 7 (1912), 2323; to which add App. *Iber.* 9). So Sil. 1, 114–115 (quoted in n. on face . . . ferroque below); 2, 422–423: *ipsa, pyram super ingentem stans, saucia Dido / mandabat Tyriis ultricia bella futuris*; cf. 3, 82–83: *tangat Elissaeas palmis puerilibus aras / et cineri iuret patrio Laurentia bella*; and Dracont. *De Laud. Dei*, 3, 432 speaks of a Carthaginian as *hostis Elissaeus*. Such blood feuds are, of course, widespread, though Diod. 13, 23, 2 warns τὴν δὲ διαφορὰν αἰώνιον διαφυλάττοντας παραδιδόναι παισὶ παίδων οὐτ' ἀσφαλές· ἐνίοτε γὰρ οἱ δοκοῦντες ὑπερέχειν ἐν ῥοπῇ καιροῦ τῶν πρότερον ὑποπεπτωκότων ἀσθενέστεροι γίνονται.

The scrawling of this verse on a prison wall by Filippo Strozzi just before his suicide (cf. Buscaroli, *ad loc.*) and its quotation by the Great Elector of Brandenburg at the Peace of St. Germain in 1679 (Ladewig-Deuticke *ad loc.*) should be recalled.

626. face . . . ferroque: cf. 4, 601, n. (*absumere ferro*); also the oath of Brutus as told by Liv. 1, 59, 1: *vosque, dii, testes facio me L. Tarquinium Superbum cum scelerata coniuge et omni liberorum stirpe, ferro igni quacumque denique vi possim, exacturum*; and that of Hannibal in Sil. 1, 114–115: *Romanos*

*terra atque undis, ubi competet aetas, / ferro ignique sequar Rhoeleaque fata revolvam*; 1, 118–119: *hanc mentem iuro nostri per numina Martis, / per manes, regina, tuos*.

626. Dardanio: cf. 4, 365, n. (*Dardanus*). Note the recurrence of *Dardan(i)us* in lines 640, 647, 658, 662. With the position of words in this line cf. 5, 55: *nunc ultro ad cineres ipsius et ossa parentis*; Callim. *Hymn. in Del.* 324: *παλγνια κουρίζοντι καὶ Ἀπόλλωνι γελαστίν*.

627. nunc, olim: cf. Luc. 9, 604: *nunc, olim factura deum es*. La Cerda's attempt (*ad loc.*), by explaining *olim* of past time, to find here past, present, and future (instead of present and future), seems, in the light of the context (*exoriare . . . sequare*), very unsuccessful.

627. quocumque: Schol. Dan.: *quia quotienscumque valuerunt Poeni bella renovaverunt*.

627. dabunt se: cf. G. 1, 287: *multa . . . melius se nocte dedere*; Ter. *Hec.* 380: *ut res dant sese*; Liv. 28, 5, 9; Anon. ap. Cic. *N. D.* 2, 66: *qui vult esse, quod vult, ita dat se res, ut operam dabit*; etc.

628. litora, etc.: the explanations of the Scholia Danielis are inadmissible: *aut quia in foedere cautum fuit ut neque Romani ad litora Carthaginiensium accederent neque Carthaginienses ad litora Romanorum*; *aut potest propter bella navalia accipi inter Romanos et Afros gesta*; it is better to compare 1, 13–14, where Carthage is described as *Italiam contra Tiberinaque longe / ostia,*

629. imprecor, arma armis; pugnent ipsique nepotesque.<sup>7</sup>

Haec ait et partis animum versabat in omnis,

imprecor *MPp*. ipsi *m*. nepotesque *MPbcm* (que *del. P<sup>2</sup>π<sup>2</sup>*) *Donat.*, nepotes. *a*, nepotes *γ dett.*, *Serv.* (nepotesque *F*).  
agit *c*. partes *b*. omnes *ab*.

[628\*] 629. imprecor . . . armis: *Serv. Aen. 4, 612* — imprecor —. 629. imprecor: *Gl. Ansil. 307, 1315* — imprecor —; *q.v.* 629. pugnent . . . nepotesque: *Schol. Dan. Aen. 4, 627*. 629. ipsique nepotesque: *Gl. Ansil. 318, 15* — ipseque nepoteque —.  
630. animum versabat: *Gl. Ansil. 53, 193* — animaduersabat —.

perhaps symbolic of their political opposition. With the phraseology cf. 1, 239: *fatīs contraria fata rependens*; 7, 293-294: *fatīs contraria nostris / fata Phrygum*; *Manil. 4, 814: litora litoribus, regnis contraria regna*; *Ov. M. 14, 301: verbaque dicuntur dictis contraria verbis*; *Tib. 3, 4, 83: votis contraria vota*; and, for the polyptoton, *Breazeale in Stud. in Philol. 14 (1917), 312, n. 11*. This line and the next are inserted by Marlowe in his *Tragedie of Dido*, Act 5, 1722-1723.

628. *undas*: sc. *contrarias*; cf. *Bell, The Latin Dual (1923), 370*. The polyptoton of *litora litoribus* and *arma armis* is broken, for the sake of both variety and metre. For this construction with *imprecor* *Rantz, Der Accusativus bei Vergil, 1 (1871), 26*, compares 10, 503-504; 12, 242-243: *foedusque precantur / insectum*.

629. *pugnent, etc.*: *Serv.*: *potest et ad civile bellum referri*. This seems unlikely; the reference is to struggles between the Carthaginians and the descendants of Aeneas.

629. *nepotesque*: cf. 3, 98: *et nati natorum et qui nascentur ab illis*; 3, 505: *maneant nostros ea cura nepotes*; 4, 622-623; *Braunmüller, Ueber Trophen u. Figuren in Vergil's Aeneis, 1 (1877), 23* (for *nepotes* = 'descendants'). So Ariadne's curse included Theseus and his race (*Catull. 64, 201: seque suosque*). *Holdsworth (Remarks and Dissertations on Virgil (1768), 256*) would see an allusion here not only to Hannibal but also to Juba. With the sense *La Cerda (ad loc.)* compares *Luc. 9, 87-92: excipite, o nati, bellum civile, nec unquam, / dum terris aliquis nostra de stirpe manebit, / Caesaribus regnare vacet. vel sceptrum vel urbes / libertate sua validas inpellite fama / nominis; has vobis partes, haec arma relinquo*;

cf. also 8, 284-285: *namque memor generis Carthaginis inopia proles / imminet Hesperiae*; *Sil. 1, 18: mandata nepotibus arma*; 2, 423: *mandabat Tyriis ultro bella futuris*.

For the hypermetric line cf. 4, 558, n. (*coloremque*); the present case is notable as being at the end of a speech (*G. 2, 443; Aen. 7, 470; 10, 895* end sentences), and is probably intended to show more vividly that the breathless vehemence of Dido cannot be contained within complete lines, and possibly also that much more remains to be said on the subject. For the pronunciation of the extra syllable cf. *Carpenter in Philol. Quart. 9 (1930), 360-362*, who thinks elision hardly possible (between the words of Dido and the description of the poet), and suggests a 'principle of the hovering accent,' which she renders *nepôtēsque*.

*Bignone (ad loc.)* notes the tremendous climax of Dido's imprecation: eternal war and hatred; vengeance reborn in a great, mysterious (*aliquis*) warrior; fire, bloodshed, and destruction; finally all nature roused by that same hatred, with shores opposed to shores and waves to waves.

630. *haec ait et*: = *G. 4, 415; Aen. 1, 297; 10, 285; 10, 379; 10, 444; Juvenc. 1, 42; 1, 302; 1, 346; 3, 236; 3, 353; 3, 492; 3, 584; 4, 358; 5, 488; Paul. Nol. Carm. 6, 84; Ennod. Carm. 1, 4, 95; 1, 9, 114; Anth. Lat. no. 16, 61 (1, p. 58 Riese); also, above, 4, 30, n. (sic effata).*

630. *animum versabat*: cf. 4, 286, and n. (*partis, etc.*); 8, 20-21; 10, 285: *haec ait et secum versat*. *Fowler (Death of Turnus (1927), 113-114)* contrasts her deliberate suicide with the sudden passion in which *Amata* kills herself (12, 593-603). *Schueler*

631. invisam quaerens quam primum abrumpere lucem.  
tum breviter Barcen nutricem adfata Sychaei —

sychaei *M* (sychaei est *M*<sup>1</sup>), sychei *b*, sichei *γa*, sichei est *c*.

631. invisam . . . lucem: *Serv. Aen.* 4, 692.

(*Quaest. Vergilianae* (1883), 30) considers this passage a poor repetition of 4, 450 and 4, 474-475, but fails to realize that fluctuation in Dido's emotions and purposes which is so prominent a feature in this whole book.

631. invisam . . . lucem: cf. 4, 451: *taedet caeli convexa tueri*; 6, 435: *lucemque perosi*; 11, 177: *vitam moror invisam*; *Eur. Hipp.* 355: *ἐχθρὸν ἡμᾶρ, ἐχθρὸν εἰσποῶ φῶς*; *Aug. Conf.* 4, 12: *horrebant omnia et ipsa lux*. Note the position of noun and adjective.

631. abrumpere lucem: the metaphor is somewhat confused, but cf. the more common *abrumpere vitam*; 8, 579 (= 9, 497): *crudelem abrumpere vitam*; *Sen. Tr.* 939: *abrumpere ense lucis invisae moras*; *H. O.* 895: *fataque abrumperes tua*; *Sil.* 2, 597-598: *abrumpere vitam / oculus attoniti quaerunt lucemque gravantur*; 6, 510: *si stat rumpere vitam*; 7, 33: *hic ardens . . . abrumpere vitam*; 9, 649-650: *abrumpere cuncta / iamdudum cum luce libet*; *Aesch. Pers.* 507: *πνέυμ' ἀπέρρηξεν βίον*; *Eur. Orest.* 864: *διὰ σιδήρον πνέυμ' ἀπορρήξαι με δέει*; *I. T.* 974; *Anth. Pal.* 7, 313, 1; *Hiericus, Vita S. Germ.* 5, 347 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 3, 497): *miseram quam primum abrumpere vitam*; *Vida, Christias*, 5, 55-56: *certus iam abrumpere vitam / invisam*; also the verb *ψυχόρραγεῖν*; and, above, 4, 31, n. (*o luce, etc.*); 4, 452, n. (*lucemque relinquat*).

632. tum breviter: = 1, 561; 10, 251; *Serv.*: *festinatione mortis; simul nectit causam morarum et ipsi et sorori*; *Wilms, Qua Ratione Verg. in Aen. aut locuturum aliquem aut locutum esse indicaverit* (1865), 3; 15-16 (on what constitutes brevity in a Virgilian speech).

632. Barcen: *Schol. Dan.*: *hoc cognomen familiae Hannibalis fuit*. The name was probably chosen to suggest the cognomen (= 'lightning') of Hamilcar Barcas (*Baraq*) rather than the city in the Cyrenaica (*Meltzer, Gesch. d. Karthager*, 1 (1879), 465;

*Roszbach in P.-W.* 3 (1899), 20-21); cf. *Sil.* 1, 72-80: *Sarrana prisci Barcae de gente, velustos / a Belo numerabat avos. namque orba marito / cum fugeret Dido famulam Tyron, impia diri / Belides iuvenis vitaverat arma tyranni / et se participem casus sociarat in omnis. / nobilis hoc ortu et dextra spectatus Hamilcar, / ut fari primamque datum distinguere lingua / Hannibali vocem, sollers nutrire furores, / Romanum sevit puerili in pectore bellum*; 4, 356: *Sidonia Barce*; cf. above, 4, 43, n. (*Barcae*). *Maass (Commentatio mythographica* (1886), xx) remarks that Dido's curse was heard by Barce alone (I think we cannot be sure that she heard it), and that it was later fulfilled by the Barcidae, Hamilcar and Hannibal. Hence she is doubtless an aetiological invention of someone who wished to derive the historic hostility of the two races from a mythological tradition, and this inventor *Maass* thinks was *Naevius* (yet cf. my introduction, on the sources, pp. 18-21). It might, in fairness to the other side of the case, be noted that we do find place names in the Virgilian tradition connected with the names of nurses; e.g., *Caieta* (7, 1-4) and *Baiae* (*Serv. Aen.* 9, 707), though in this Virgil may have been following the precedent of *Naevius* in regard to the name of *Prochyta* (cf. *Schol. Dan. Aen.* 9, 712).

632. nutricem: nurses, who combine the affection of a kinswoman with the docility of a menial (cf. *Plessis and Lejay, ad loc.*), appear, especially as confidantes in love affairs, throughout ancient literature, from *Euryclia*, nurse of *Odysseus* (*Od.* 19, 353-360; 19, 482-502; 22, 394; 22, 480; 23, 25) and *Telemachus* (*Od.* 1, 435; 17, 31; 20, 129; 21, 380), and those of *Orestes* (*Aesch. Choeph.* 734-782 and *Schol.* on 733, which states that *Aeschylus* called her *Cilissa*, *Pindar* *Arsinoe*, and *Stesichorus* *Laodamia*), *Deianira* (*Soph. Trachin.* 871-946; *Sen. H. O.* 233-582),

## 633. namque suam patria antiqua cinis ater habebat —:

suam sua *p.* patriam *P* (patria *P<sup>l</sup>*). abebat *γ*.

633. namque . . . habebat: *Donat. in Ter. Hec. 660*; [*Prob.*] *De ult. Syll. 4* (G. L. K. 4, 226) — cinis a. h. —. 633. cinis ater: *Gl. Ansil. 94, 441* — canis —.

Phaedra (Eur. *Hipp.*, *passim*; Sen. *Phaedr.*, *passim*; Paus. 1, 22, 1), of Medea's children (Eur. *Med. 1-203*; Sen. *Med. 117-175*; 380-430; 670-739; 891-892), Hermione (Eur. *Andr. 802-878*), Hypsipyle (Apoll. Rh. 1, 668-696; cf. 1, 269-271), Panthea (Xen. *Cyrop. 7, 3, 14*), Erysichthon (Callim. *Hymn. in Cer. 95*), Myrrha (Ov. *M. 10, 420*), Cydippe (Ov. *Ep. 21, 95*), and Dionysus (Plin. *N. H. 5, 74*), to the nurse Giddeus in Plaut. *Poenulus*, Sophrona (in Menand. *Heros and Epitrepontes*; Aristaen. *Ep. 1, 6*; Ter. *Eumuchus and Phormio*; cf. Austin in *Univ. of Illinois Stud. in Lang. and Lit. 7* (1921), 40-41), Pyrgo (Aen. 5, 645), Caieta (7, 1; Dion. Hal. 1, 53, 3; Ov. *M. 14, 441*; but cf. Serv. Aen. 7, 1), the nurse in the *Ciris* (257; 277), the nurses of Horatia (Dion. Hal. 3, 21, 3), Clytemnestra (Sen. *Agam. 125-225*), of Alexander the Great (Arr. *Anab. 4, 9, 3*), of Octavia and Poppaea (in the *Octavia*), and others in Heliod. *Aethiop. 7, 9*; *Hist. Apollon. Reg. Tyr. 2*; cf. also Deborah (Gen. 35, 8); the cases cited by Heinze, *Virgils epische Technik*, 3 ed. (1915), 127, n. 2; and the nurse in *Romeo and Juliet*. For general discussions cf. Mau in *P.-W. 1* (1894), 1844; Braams, *Zur Gesch. d. Ammenwesens im kl. Altertum* (1913), 27-31; Sister Mary Rosaria, *The Nurse in Greek Life* (1917), 26-29; Prescott, *The Development of Virgil's Art* (1927), 298; Duff, *Lit. Hist. of Rome in the Silver Age* (1931), 26-27. Means (in *Cl. Weekly*, 23 (1929), 42) stresses in Barce the "truly pathetic touch of domestic fidelity enhancing the tragic pathos."

632. *adfata*: cf. 4, 30, n. (*sic effata*); Winter, *De Ellipsi Verbi Esse apud Catullum, Vergilium, etc.* (1907), 31.

633. *suam*: an irregular use of the word where *eius* would have been expected, but the idea is expressed more from the standpoint of Dido herself. Without this line one might have expected her own nurse to have taken

Anna's rôle of confidante; cf. Eitrem in *Festskrift til H. Koht* (1933), 39, n. 1.

Rébelliau (*De Vergilio in inform. muliebr. quae sunt in Aen. Personis Inventore* (1892), 90, n. 2) suggests that Dido's own nurse may have played some significant part in an earlier tradition of the flight of Dido from Tyre. Kvíčala (*Neue Beitr. z. Erkl. d. Aeneis* (1881), 202) observes that Dido is to atone by her death for her infidelity to the memory of Sychaeus, so that there is an especial appropriateness in introducing his aged nurse — presumably devoted to his memory — and confronting her with Anna, whose instigations had led (4, 548-549) to this infidelity. At the moment, however, they must both be kept away, so that Dido may be uninterrupted in her plan of suicide. When it is too late for them to prevent she plans to have one or both present at her death; cf. Penquitt, *De Didonis Vergilianae Exitu* (1910), 62; Heinze, *Virgils epische Technik*, 3 ed. (1915), 137, and n. 1. DeWitt, on the other hand, thinks (*The Dido Episode in the Aen. of Virgil* (1907), 48-49) that Dido's having to confide in the nurse of Sychaeus, rather than using her own nurse for that office, is but another indication of her loneliness, which puts her in contrast to many other heroines.

633. *antiqua*: cf. 2, 137: *patriam antiquam*; 4, 458, n. (*antiqui*).

633. *cinis ater*: cf. 4, 34; 4, 384, n. (*atris ignibus*); Seren. Samm. 799: *atra cinis*. Some editors have been tempted to identify *cinis* in this line with the Greek *kónis*, comparing such lines as [Arist.] *Peplus*, 22, 2: *Εὐρύπυλον κρίπτει δακρυόεσσα κόνις*; 23, 1-2: *ὕδιν ὑπερβήμου Ἀνδραίμονος ἥδ' ἑσθλατρὸς / Γόργης τῆς Οἰνέως ἥδε κόνις κατέχει*; 52, 2: *κατέχει Πάανδαρον ἥδε κόνις*; cf. Hor. C. 1, 28, 1-4: *te . . . / . . . cohibent . . . / pulveris exigui . . . parva . . . / munera*. But *cinis* should not be confused with *pulvis*, and *ater* clearly

634. 'Annam, cara mihi nutrix, huc siste sororem;  
dic corpus properet fluviali spargere lymphā,

arnam *M* (annam *M*<sup>1</sup>).

fluualis pargere *p*, sparge (*corr. in* spargere) *γ*.

634-635. Annam . . . lymphā: *Macrob. Sat.* 3, 1, 7 — lymphā *P* —. 634. Annam . . . sororem: *Donat. in Ter. Ad.* 288 — mihi *om. C* —; 291 (*p.* 68 *Wessner*) — cara *m. n. h. s. s.* —; *Arus. Ex. Eloc. (G. L. K.* 7, 510). 634. huc siste: *Gl. Ansil.* 284, 6.

[634\*] 635. fluviali . . . lymphā: *Anth. Lat. no.* 16, 83 (1, *p.* 59 *Riese*) — plubiali *A*; limfa *A* —. 635. fluviali lymphā: *Gl. Ansil.* 248, 231 — flubiali limpha —.

shows that it means ashes blackened by the process of cremation. These may be the ashes of the dead body itself (Klouček, *Vergiliana* (1883), 19-20, compares *Soph. El.* 757-759; 1117-1118; 1129; 1141-1142), but for such *habebat* seems rather inappropriate, as Henry (*Aeneidea*, 2 (1878), 819-823) well points out, citing many instances of *habere*, ἔχειν, and κατέχειν of the earth or burial-place containing the remains of the deceased (cf. 1, 556; 6, 362; *Hor. C.* 1, 28, 2: *cohibent*). On the whole it seems likely that the *cinis ater* means the ashes of the pyre and the body burned upon it, the two being, after the act of cremation, not easily separable, and the larger bulk being thought of as containing the smaller portion within it.

634. Annam . . . sororem: cf. 4, 9: *Anna soror*.

634. cara mihi nutrix: a phrase repeated in a different position in the verse, in *Anth. Lat. no.* 17, 164 (1, *p.* 67 *Riese*); cf. *Hist. Apollon. Reg. Tyr.* 30: *cara nutrix*; above, 4, 492, n. (*cara*). The dative is probably to be construed both with *cara* (cf. *cara mihi* in 11, 537; 11, 586; also 5, 724-725; *Ov. Tr.* 3, 4, 1; 5, 14, 2; *F.* 6, 51) and, as an ethical dative, with *huc siste* (cf. *Bell, The Latin Dual* (1923), 294), though editors usually try to confine it to one or the other.

634. huc: to the part of the palace where Dido was. We need not assume (with *Sabbadini*, 3 ed. of *Books IV-VI* (1921), xi) that she is still in the spot described at line 586 (*e speculis*), to which, as noted by *Vivona* (in *Riv. di Filol.* 26 (1898), 437), it would have been absurd to bring the *pecudes* of line 636.

634. siste: *Serv.*: *huc adduc, ut* (8, 85)

'*et cum grege sistit ad aram.*' Better parallels are *Plaut. Mil. gl.* 344: *pede ego iam illum huc tibi sistam in viam*; *G.* 2, 488-489: *qui me gelidis convallibus Haemi / sistat*; *Aen.* 2, 620: *tulum patrio te limine sistam*; 6, 675-676: *vos . . . / . . . facili iam tramite sistam*. *Donat. (ad loc.)* suggests that Barce is not to send Anna but to bring her, so that more time may be consumed by the slow coming and going of the aged nurse, and thus opportunity be given Dido for her design (*perficiendo exitio largissimum spatium*). There is no indication, however, that Barce does return with Anna at 4, 674.

635. properet: cf. 5, 550-551: *ducat . . . turmas . . . / dic*; *Schol. Dan.*: *bona est industria hoc loco, quia cum moram velit fieri ea loquitur ut festinare videatur*; *Donat.*: *alia mora, quia, dum hoc Anna expediebat, aliquid accedebat ad tempus*. Dido keeps up her feint of magic and religious rites to Barce as she had done to Anna; cf. *Pichon in Rev. de Philol.* 33 (1909), 249. Similarly in *Soph. Aias*, 646-692, Ajax resorts to dissembling to conceal his intended suicide. The liquid quality of the line, with its use of *l* and *r*, is noticeable.

635. fluviali . . . lymphā: cf. *Prud. Peristeph.* 7, 14-15: *lymphis fluvialibus / gurgēs, dum rapit, abluit*; *Sadoletto, De Q. Curtio*, 107: *iuvēnem spargit fluvialibus undis*; *Serv.*: *sacrificantes diis inferis aspergebantur, ut* (6, 230) '*spargens rore levi et ramo felicitis olivae*'; *superis abluebantur, ut* (2, 719-720) '*donec me flumine vivo / abluero*'; *modo autem inferis sacrificat, ut* (4, 638) '*sacra Iovi Stygio*'; *Macrob. Sat.* 3, 1, 6: *constat dis superis sacra facturum corporis ablutione purgari, cum vero inferis litandum est satis actum videtur si*

636. et pecudes secum et monstrata piacula ducat.  
sic veniat, tuque ipsa pia tege tempora vitta.  
sacra Iovi Stygio, quae rite incepta paravi,

iouis tycio *p.*

637. tuque . . . vitta: *Anth. Lat. no. 17, 377* (1, *p. 76 Riese*) — tegit *A*; uita *A* —.

638–639. sacra . . . curis: *Anth. Lat. no. 17, 379–380* (1, *p. 76 Riese*) — iobi stigio *A*; anim. *A*; inponere —. 638. sacra . . . paravi: *Macrobian. Sat. 3, 3, 2* — iouis *B*<sup>1</sup>; stigio *Pb*; togio *B*; incocepta *P*; parabam (cf. 4, 676 *infra*) —. 638. sacra . . . Stygio: *Serv. Aen. 4, 635; 6, 138; Schol. Dan. Aen. 4, 646; Lact. Plac. in Stat. Theb. 1, 616; Mythogr. Vat. III, 7, 4* — sacrum —; *C. I. L. I, 181 = IX, 5350 (= Dessau 3188)* — stigio —. 638. Iovi Stygio: *Gl. Ansil. 317, 20* — iobi stigio —.

*aspersio sola contingat*; cf. *Aen. 4, 512; 4, 517, n. (piis)*; 6, 635–636: *corpusque recenti / spargit aqua*; *Liv. 1, 45, 6; Sil. 8, 125; Deubner, De Incubatione* (1900), 23; Penquitt, *De Didonis Vergilianae Exitu* (1910), 62, and n. 4; Wächter, *Reinheitsvorschriften im gr. Kult* (1910), 12; Eitrem, *Opferritus u. Voropfer d. Gr. u. Römer* (1915), 84–86; 127; Ninck in *Philologus, Supplhd. 14, 2* (1921), 7; Hopfner, *Gr.-ägypt. Offenbarungszauber* (1921), 241–242; Hünnerkopf in Hoffmann-Krayer, *Handwörterbuch d. deutsch. Aberglaubens*, 2 (1930), 1686–1689. Note also *Eur. Alc. 159–160: ὕδασι ποταμίοις λευκὸν χόρα ἐδοῦσα*’.

636. pecudes: *Donat.: ecce aliud quod adferret tarditatem, providere necessarias pecudes et adducere, quarum segnior gressus est, et adferre expiationibus necessaria.*

636. monstrata: cf. 4, 498: *monstratque sacerdos* (and n.); *Schol. Dan.: vel quae ipsa monstravi vel quae sacerdos*; probably the latter.

636. piacula: offerings in propitiation or in atonement for sin, though the word came to be used for sacrifices in general; cf. Penquitt, *op. cit.*, 63. Doubtless to Barce the word would here mean the continuation of the earlier magic rites, but Dido may have, for herself, the hidden meaning of an atonement to the shade of Sychaeus; cf. Heinze, *Virgils epische Technik*, 3 ed. (1915), 141, and n. 2. That the *piacula* and the *pecudes* are identical is uncertain but possible.

636. ducat: cf. *G. 2, 395: et ductus cornu stabit sacer hircus ad aram; Aen. 6, 153: duc nigras pecudes; ea prima piacula sunt.*

637. sic: *Serv.: ne praemitteret aut praecederet*; cf. *sic* in 1, 225; 1, 444; 4, 660; 7, 668; *Tib. 1, 7, 53: sic venias hodiernae.*

637. tuque: Barce is to act as an attendant at the sacrifices and adorn herself accordingly.

637. pia: because belonging to the sacrifice; cf. 4, 517, n. (*piis*); 5, 745: *farre pio*; *Tib. 2, 1, 13: casta placent superis; pura cum veste venite*; *Sil. 4, 794: ture pio*; Appel, *De Romanorum Precationibus* (1909), 186.

637. tege: *Serv.: corona, ut et ipsa lardaret.*

637. tempora vitta: cf. 2, 133: *circum tempora vittae*; 6, 665: *cinguntur tempora vitta*; 10, 538: *redimibat tempora vitta*; *Ov. M. 13, 643: circumdata tempora vittis*; *Prud. Psychom. 30: phalerataque tempora vittis*; Roiron, *Étude sur l'Imagination auditive de Virgile* (1908), 8.

638. sacra, etc.: cf. 4, 454, n. (*sacros*). The real significance of the statement, unperceived by Barce as that at 4, 497–498 was not realized by Anna (cf. 4, 497, n. (*abolere*), above), is that she herself is to be the sacrifice to Pluto; cf. 4, 702–703: *hunc ego Diti / sacrum iussa fero*; Heinze, *op. cit.*, 142, n. 1. Anna recognizes the fact, all too late, at 4, 675–676. *Donat. ad loc.* describes Dido's language as *magna caligo verborum*.

638. Iovi Stygio: *Serv.: hoc est, Plutoni*; cf. 6, 252: *Stygio regi nocturnas incohat aras*; *Ov. F. 5, 448: Stygii regia visa Iovis*; *Sil. 1, 386: Stygio fer bella Iovi*; 2, 674: *Tartareo . . . Iovi*; 8, 116: *nigro . . . Iovi*; *Arnob. 3, 31: Neptunus . . . Stygii frater Iovis*; also the Ζεύς καταχθόνιος of *Il. 9, 457*. So Proser-



639. perficere est animus finemque imponere curis  
Dardaniique rogam capitis permittere flammae.  
sic ait. illa gradum studio celerabat anili.

perficerest *P.* inponere *Pp.*

dardani (*corr. in dardanii*) *a.* flammis *Mp.*

celerabat *Μαβερπ*, *Donat.*, celebrabat *M<sup>1</sup>Pγ<sup>1</sup>*; *Schol. Dan.*: alii 'celebrabat' legunt. anilem *ab<sup>1</sup>c<sup>1</sup>p*, inilem *P* (inili *P<sup>2</sup>*), anili *Mb<sup>2</sup>c<sup>2</sup>*, anilem. (i et e m. 2 in ras.) γ.

[638\*] 639. finem . . . curis: *Non. p.* 328 *M.* (p. 516 *L.*) — inponere —.

640. Dardaniique . . . capitis: *Donat. in Ter. Phorm.* 491; *Gl. Ansil.* 160, 119 — dardanie rocam —. 640. Dardanii rogam: [*Prob.*] *De ult. Syll.* 3 (*G. L. K.* 4, 227).

641. illa . . . anili: *Donat. in Ter. Eun.* 913; illa g. s. c. a., scilicet non re celebrabat — celebrat *V*, celerabat *C* — sed studio.

pina is called, in 6, 138, *Iunoni infernae*, and by *Stat. Theb.* 4, 526–527, *Stygiae . . . Iunonis*.

638. rite: cf. 4, 555: *rebus iam rite paratis*.

638. incepta: 4, 504–521; at the latter point there is no indication that the rites were regarded as interrupted and to be resumed later.

639. perficere: *Schol. Dan.*: mire; *quandiu enim Aeneas praesens erat non omnino desperans trahebat exitium*; cf. 6, 629: *susceptum perfice munus*; 6, 637: *perfecto munere divae*; and, for her resolution to die, 4, 308, n. (*nec, etc.*). For the infinitive dependent upon (*est*) *animus* cf. 3, 60; 10, 715; 11, 324–325; *Ov. M.* 5, 150; *Val. Fl.* 1, 165–166; 4, 193; *Suet. Iul.* 82; *Krause, De Vergilii Usurpatione Infinitivi* (1878), 72; *Kühner-Stegmann, Ausf. Gram. d. lat. Spr.* 2, 1, 2 ed. (1912), 668.

639. finemque imponere: cf. 2, 619: *finemque impone labori*; *Ov. M.* 8, 68: *finemque inponere bello*; *Val. Fl.* 4, 461: *finem inponite poenis*; *Juvenc.* 1, 203: *finemque inponere verbis*; *Claud. In Rufin.* 2, 192–193: *nostris imponere finem / cladibus*.

639. curis: *Serv.*: *amoribus*; the *Scholia Danielis* add: *an rei susceptae?* Probably the former explanation is correct; cf. 4, 1, n. (*cura*).

640. Dardanii: cf. 6, 626, n. (*Dardanios*); 11, 399–400: *capiti cane talia demens / Dardanio*. The only other Virgilian cases of -ii in the genitive seem to be 3, 702; 9, 151; cf. also *Enn. Ann.* 155 (as quoted by *Serv.*

*Aen.* 6, 219); *Catull.* 9, 5; *Moretum*, 90; *Kühner-Holzweissig, Ausf. Gram. d. lat. Spr.* 1, 2 ed. (1912), 452, 7.

640. rogam: *Serv.*: *in quo eius imago fuerat*; cf. 4, 508: *effigiemque toro locat*; *Penquitt, op. cit.*, 64; also *Schol. Dan.*: *et bene suum rogam illius dicit, ne suspicionem faciat*.

640. capitis: cf. 4, 354, n. (*capitis . . . cari*); 4, 357, n. (*caput*); 4, 613, n. (*caput*).

640. flammae: *Cesareo* (in *Athenaeum*, 7 (1929), 214) compares *Theocr.* 2, 28: *ὡς τὰ κοῦβ' ὑπ' ἑρως ὁ Μίνδιος αὐτῖκα Δέλφιν*; cf. *Ecl.* 8, 80–83 for a like allusion to magical burning. The reading *flammae* seems better supported than *flammis* and avoids a similar ending for successive lines (*imponere curis, permittere flammis*); cf. *Wagner, Lectionum Vergilian. Libellus* (1859), 80.

641. sic ait: cf. 4, 39, n. (*sic effata*); 4, 437, n. (*talis, etc.*).

641. illa, etc.: like *Enn. Ann.* 35 (*ei cita cum tremulis anus attulit artubus lumen*), this passage has the quality of a genre picture (cf. that of *Baucis* in *Ov. M.* 8, 660–661), which forms a little relief to the tragic situation; cf. *Skutsch in P.-W.* 5 (1905), 2605; *Stearns, Stud. of the Dream as a technical Device in Lat. Epic and Drama* (1927), 33, n. 80. For the metrical effect cf. *Maxa in Wiener Stud.* 19 (1897), 82, and n. 3.

641. gradum . . . celerabat: cf. *Od.* 23, 1–3: *γρηῖς δ' εἰς ὑπερῷ' ἀνεβήσεται καρχαλόουσα, / δεσποίνῃ ἑρέουσα φίλον πόσιν ἔνδον ἔδντα / γούνατα δ' ἐρρώσαντο, πόδες δ' ὑπερ-ικταλόντο* (translated by *Auson. Perioch.*

642. at trepida et coeptis immanibus effera Dido,  
sanguineam volvens aciem maculisque trementis

inmanibus *bcp.*

uoluens (uolo *in ras.*) *b.*

642-643. at . . . aciem: *Iulian. Tolet. De Vitiis et Figuris*, 6, 77 — trepidam *FL*; inmanibus; faciem *EF* —. 642. at trepida: *Gl. Ansil.* 33, 840 — ad —.

[642\*] 643. sanguineam . . . aciem: *Anth. Lat. no. 17*, 329 (1, p. 74 *Riese*).

*Odys.* 23: *Chalcidicum gressu nutrix superabat anili*; *Soph. Trach.* 927, where the nurse says, καὶ γὰρ ὁρμαῖα βᾶσ', ὄσοντες ἔσθενον; *Schol. Dan.*: alii 'celebrabat' legunt, quia antiqui hoc verbum in velocitate ponebant. *Accius* (23-24 *Ribbeck*) 'celebri gradu gressum adcelerare.' In manuscripts *celerare* and *celebrare* are sometimes confused, as here and in 5, 609; cf. *Thes. Ling. Lat.* 3 (1906), 757, 84-758, 1, but, as *Mackail (ad loc.)* well remarks, though Virgil uses *celebrare* ten times, it is with groups rather than individuals as its subject. With the present phrase cf. *Liv.* 2, 43, 8: *gradum accelerare*; *Sil.* 16, 78: *haec inter celerare gradum*; *Stat. Theb.* 8, 158: *nec celerare gradum*; *Apul. M.* 6, 14, 1: *at illa studiose gradum celerans*; *Amm. Marc.* 14, 11, 16: *celerare gradum compellebatur*; *Ambros. De Abr.* 1, 70: *quamvis senilem celeraret studio gradum*; *Cain et Ab.* 2, 3: *aut celerare gradum aut sistere*; *Prud. Hamartig.* 774: *ille gradum celerat fugiens*; *Dracont. Orest.* 664: *accelerare gradus*; also the phrases *celerare gressum* (*Sil.* 1, 574; *Dracont. Romul.* 8, 553), *cursus* (*Aen.* 10, 249), *viam* (*Aen.* 5, 609; *Sil.* 15, 208), *iter* (*Aen.* 8, 90, and in several other authors), and *vestigia* (*Sil.* 7, 719-720; *Dracont. Orest.* 106). See also *Festa in Nuova Antologia*, 273 (1930), 23, on the skill with which Virgil in a few words here describes what Homer elaborates more fully in his picture of Euryclia.

641. *anili*: modifying *studio* in an interlocked order. *Wagner (Lectio-num Vergil. Libellus* (1859), 80) favors the variant *anilem*, and with it we may compare *Ambros. De Abr.* 1, 8, 70 (quoted above); *Sen. Phaedr.* 431-432: *quid huc seniles fessa moliris gradus, / o fida nutrix*. But *anili* is more likely to have been corrected to *anilem* than the reverse. The meaning of *studio*

. . . *anili* is well explained by *Servius*: *aut pro aetatis possibilitate, aut pro industria qua utuntur aniculae*. Probably the latter; *Page renders (ad loc.)* "she hastened with an old woman's eagerness."

642. *trepida*: *Serv.*: *festina; nam moritura nihil timebat* — logically but not psychologically true. On this and similar descriptions in Virgil cf. *Cartault, L'Art de Virgile dans l'Énéide*, 2 (1926), 896.

642. *coeptis*: in Virgil commonly of daring enterprises; cf. *G.* 1, 40; *Aen.* 8, 15; 9, 296; 9, 625; 10, 461.

642. *immanibus*: an adjective used 55 times in the major Virgilian works; cf. *Cypr. Hept. Gen.* 434: *inmanibus ausis*.

642. *effera*: *Schol. Dan.*: *nimis fera*; *Donat.*: *exasperata in perniciem suam crudelium consideratione coeptorum*; cf. *Val. Fl.* 2, 104-105: *eadem effera et ingens, / et maculis suffecta genas*. *Buscaroli (ad loc.)* well compares *Hor. C.* 1, 37, 29: *deliberata morte ferocior*; *Sen. Agam.* 210: *Ajax morte decreta furens*.

643. *sanguineam*: *Schol. Dan.*: *more suo ostendit eam furem vultu, gestu, voce*; cf. 7, 399: *sanguineam torquens aciem*; also 2, 210: *ardentisque oculos suffecti sanguine*; *Eur. I. A.* 381: αἰματηρὸν ὄμμι' ἔχων; *Val. Fl.* 4, 235: *sanguineosque rotat furii ardentibus orbes*; *Sil.* 9, 404-405: *fulgent sanguinei . . . / . . . oculi*.

643. *volvens aciem*: cf. 4, 363 (= 7, 251; 12, 939): *volvens oculos*; for *aciem* 6, 788; 12, 558; etc.

643. *maculis*: cf. *Prop.* 1, 5, 16: *et timor informem ducet in ore notam*; *Val. Fl.* 2, 104 (quoted above); also the gruesome note of *Peerlkamp (ad loc.)*: *observatum est nuper in Francia, eos, quibus crines et pars tunicae in cervicibus abscinduntur, ut mox securi Guil-*

644. interfusa genas et pallida morte futura,  
interiora domus inrumpit limina et altos

pallida//a.

644. et . . . futura: *Anth. Lat. no. 15, 101* (1, p. 54 Riese); *Schol. Lucan. 7, 130* — om. G<sup>1</sup> —.

645. interiora . . . limina: *Donat. in Ter. Andr. 133* — irrumpit (inrumpit C) —.

645. inrumpit: *Gl. Ansil. 309, 1449; q.v.; Gl. Abstr. 49, 203.*

lotina percutiantur, plerumque in vultu flavas  
et coeruleas maculas contrahere.

643. trementis: cf. Pichon, *De Sermone amatorio* (1902), 283.

644. interfusa: a verb (also in G. 4, 480 = *Aen.* 6, 439) first appearing in Virgil; cf. also *Hor. C. 1, 14, 19*; etc.

644. pallida, etc.: Serv.: *aut pallidior quam solent homines esse post mortem; aut pallida omine mortis futurae*; cf. 4, 26, n. (*pallentis*); 4, 499: *pallor simul occupat ora*; 8, 709 (of Cleopatra): *illam inter caedes pallentem morte futura* (cf. Knight, *Virgil's Troy* (1932), 25); 10, 821-822: *ut vultum vidit morientis et ora, / ora modis . . . pallentia miris*; 12, 221: *iuvenali in corpore pallor*; *Ov. M. 8, 465; 13, 74: pallentemque metu et trepidantem morte futura*; *Luc. 7, 129-130: multorum pallor in ore / mortis venturae faciesque simillima fato*; *Amm. Marc. 25, 1, 2: pallescentem morte propinqua*; *Milton, P. L. 10, 1008-1009*: "so much of death her thoughts / Had entertained as dyed her cheeks with pale"; *Racine, Phèdre, 5, 5, 1464-1465: Un mortel désespoir sur son visage est peint; / La pâleur de la mort est déjà sur son teint*; *Foscolo, Dei Sepolcri, 194-195* (of Alfieri): *avea sul volto / il pallor della morte e la speranza*. The paleness of dread (especially dread of death), the *χλωρόν δέος* of Homer (*Il.* 8, 77; *Od.* 11, 633; etc.) and Aeschylus (*Suppl.* 566), is recognized by many writers; e.g., *Enn. Sc. 26: exalbescat metu*; *Cic. Top. 52; Tusc. 4, 19; Catull. 64, 100; Lucr. 3, 154-155; Hor. C. 1, 4, 13* (cf. *Hier. Comm. in Osee, 2, pp. 53-54 Vall.*): *pallida mors* (where the paleness is perhaps not only of those in death but also of those anticipating its approach); *Cir. 225; Aetna, 277; Quintil. 11, 3, 78; Plin. Ep. 6, 2, 2; Epict. 2, 13, 5; 2, 13, 17; Paus. 2, 21, 9; Lact. Plac. in Stat. Theb. 4, 15; 12, 417:*

*insigne enim mortis est pallor; Hist. Apollon. Reg. Tyr. 37; cf. Price in Am. Journ. of Philol. 4* (1883), 15.

645. interiora: cf. 2, 486: *domus interior*; 4, 494: *lecto interiore* (and n.); 4, 504: *penetrati in aede*; *Il. 22, 440* (= *Od. 4, 304*): *μυχῶ δόμον ὑψηλοῖο*. The news of Dido's act passes from this inner recess to the *alta atria* (4, 665-666) and thence *per urbem* (4, 666). The inner rooms of the palace are the natural refuge for ladies seeking privacy, especially for suicide; cf. Iocasta in *Soph. O. T. 1072; 1241-1243: ὅπως γὰρ ὀργῇ χρωμένη παρήλθ' ἔσω / θυρῶνος, ἔει' εὐθὺ πρὸς τὰ νυμφικά / λέχη, κόμην σπῶσ' ἀμφιδεξιῶις ἀκμαῖς, κτλ.*; Eurydice in *Soph. Anl. 1243; 1278-1283*; Deianira in *Soph. Trach. 813; 900-931* (especially 920, where she apostrophizes: *ὦ λέχη τε καὶ νυμφεῖ' ἑμὰ*); *Alcestis in Eur. Alc. 175-188* (175-179: *κάπειτα θάλαμον εἰσπεσοῦσα καὶ λέχος, / ἐνταῦθα δὴ δάκρυσε καὶ λέγει τὰδε / ὦ λέκτρον, ἔνθα παρθένοι' ἔλυσ' ἐγὼ / κορεῖματ' ἐκ τοῦδ' ἀνδρός, οὗ θνήσκω πέρι, / χαῖρ', κτλ.*).

645. inrumpit: cf. 6, 528: *inrumpunt thalamo*; 11, 879: *portas primi inrumpere patentis*; *Plaut. Mil. gl. 460: intro rumpam recta in aedis*; *Rud. 570: intro rumpam . . . in Veneris fanum*; *Eur. Alc. 175: εἰσπεσοῦσα*.

645. limina: figuratively, as often, for 'palace'; cf. Braumüller, *Ueber Tropen u. Figuren in Vergil's Aeneis, 1* (1877), 20; *Kunz, Realien in Vergils Aeneis, 1* (1894), 20, n. 41.

646. furibunda: cf. *Sil. 8, 51-53: in penetralibus atram / festinat furibunda pyram. tum corripit ense / certa necis, profugi donum exitiale mariti*.

646. rogos: the plural is usually of more than one pyre (cf. G. 4, 477 (= *Aen.* 6, 308); *Aen. 11, 189*), but some editors think that in *Ov. M. 4, 166* (*quodque rogis superest una*

646. conscendit furibunda rogos ensemque recludit  
Dardanium, non hos quaesitum munus in usus.

radus *P* (gradus *P*<sup>1</sup>; cf. 4, 685 et Sabbadini in *Mél. P. Thomas* (1930), 616), ragos (*corr. in* rogos)  $\gamma^2$ , rogos *Mabc*, *Donat.*, gradus ut uid.  $\gamma^1$ , *Schol. Dan.* (?). reclusit  $\gamma^1$ .

646-647. ensemque . . . usus: *Donat. in Ter. Ad. 191*. 646. furibunda: *Gl. Ansil.* 259, 275; *q.v.* 646. recludit: *Gl. Ansil.* 487, 184; *q.v.*

[646] 647. in hos usus: *Gl. Ansil.* 306, 1185 — os —.

*requiescit in urna*) the bodies of Pyramus and Thisbe were burned on a single pyre, the plural perhaps suggesting the logs of which it was formed; cf. Braumüller, *Ueber Trophen u. Figuren in Vergil's Aeneis*, I (1877), II. Sabbadini (in *Mélanges P. Thomas* (1930), 616) believes *rogos* rather than *rogum* is here used to avoid elision with *ensem*. The less well attested reading *gradus* (known to the author of the *Scholia Danielis*) seems due to the influence of 4, 685: *gradus evaserat altos*. *Donatus* remarks: *bene autem addidit poeta furibunda conscendit altitudinem rogi, ut ostenderet nullum de nece sua posse cogitare nisi quem primo amentia furoris oppresserit*. As a possible artistic inspiration for the present passage Weege (in *Conf. Virgiliane tenute alla Univ. catt.* (Milan, 1931), 103) suggests the *Medea* by Timomachus of Byzantium, in the temple of Venus Genetrix.

646. *ensem*: cf. 9, 423: *ense recluso*. So on a real pyre the weapons of the dead might be placed (e.g., 6, 233; *Ael. V. H.* 7, 8). Aeneas was already (4, 579) provided with another sword; perhaps that which Dido had given him (4, 261-262). In the shrine of Dido at Carthage, according to *Sil.* 1, 91, in front of a seated statue of the queen, *ante pedes ensis Phrygius iacet*. On methods of suicide in antiquity cf. 4, 475, n. (*decrevitque mori*).

647. *Dardanium*: cf. 6, 626, n. (*Dardanius*).

647. *non hos*: cf. 4, 496, n. (*impius*) for the bad omens involved in a gift from (one now) an enemy; also *Ov. Ars am.* 3, 39-40: *et famam pietatis habet tamen hospes et ensem / praebuul et causam mortis, Elissa, tuae; H.* 7, 187: *quam bene conveniunt fato tua munera nostro*; 7, 195-196 (= *F.* 3, 549-550): *praebuul Aeneas et causam mortis et ensem.* /

*ipsa sua Dido concidit usa manu*; Politian, *Manto*, 233-234: *mox et Phrygium — pro tristitia dona, / ah niveum per pectus agel miserabilis ensem!*

On the exchange of gifts between Dido and Aeneas cf. 4, 263, n. (*munera*); also that between Glaucus and Diomedes in *Il.* 6, 230-236. Page (*ad loc.*) thinks there is no evidence in 4, 261-262 to show that she gave Aeneas a sword, but this is not the view of most commentators (cf. Palmer on *Ov. H.* 7, 184). On the bad omens involved in the gifts cf. *Serv. Aen.* 1, 650; *Schol. Dan. Aen.* 1, 653. Had Dido been really the wife of Aeneas the acceptance of such gifts would have violated a Roman taboo; cf. *Plut. Quaest. Rom.* 7, and Rose *ad loc.*

647. *quaesitum*: various editors (e.g., Conington *ad loc.*), while recognizing the tradition shown in *Sil.* 8, 149 (*ensem Dardanii quaesitum in pignus amoris*) that Dido had asked this sword as a gift from Aeneas, consider that the expression in 4, 507 (*exuvias ensemque relictum*) indicates that it was still his (cf. 4, 495), and Kvíčala (*Neue Beitr. z. Erkl. d. Aeneis* (1881), 204-207) tries to avoid the supposed inconsistency by construing *non* with *quaesitum* rather than with *hos* and assuming that Silius in his imitation mistook Virgil's meaning. At this point I should prefer to follow Silius rather than Kvíčala.

It is further objected that a sword would have been an inappropriate present for Aeneas to give Dido; cf. 4, 497, n. (*impius*). For use it would, but as a pledge of love (cf. *Ecl.* 8, 91-93) no symbol could have more suitably typified the complete devotion of a warrior. That there had been some exchange of gifts seems probable, for Dido now has Aeneas's sword, while in 4, 261-262 she

648. hic, postquam Iliacas vestes notumque cubile  
conspexit, paulum lacrimis et mente morata  
incubuitque toro dixitque novissima verba:

(hi)c P. poscam (i.e., posquam) c. noctum M (notum M<sup>1</sup>).

(co)nsperxit P. paululum a<sup>1</sup>. lacrimis codd. aliquot Pieriani.

(i)ncubuit P.

648. Iliacas vestes: *Gl. Ansil.* 290, 19.

649. lacrimis et mente: *Gl. Ansil.* 327, 179 — hac (i.e., ac) mente —.

650. incubuitque . . . verba: *Serv. Ecl.* 8, 20; *Anth. Lat. no.* 15, 117 (1, p. 54 Riese) —  
incubuitque A —. 650. incubuit: *Gl. Ansil.* 295, 312; q.v. 650. novissima: *Gl. Ansil.* 396,  
331; q.v.

seems to have given him one, though Page (*ad loc.*) doubts this. If these two were the same, as some editors think, and *quaesitum* is understood as 'procured,' Virgil would, as Conington (*ad loc.*) says, have made more of the death of Dido by her own gift. Heinze (*Virgils epische Technik*, 3 ed. (1915), 144, n. c) well remarks that no legally binding act of gift had perhaps taken place, yet Aeneas had hung his weapons in the *thalamus* (4, 495), and left them there at his departure; cf. Klouček, *Vergiliana* (1883), 20–21. This view avoids the question why Dido had asked the sword as a token from him at a time when she did not anticipate his departure, though later (4, 497–498) she considers all such objects as *mementos*.

647. *usus*: for the plural cf. *Ov. M.* 4, 524: *hos usus praestet tibi . . . alumnus*; 5, 111: *non hos adhibendus ad usus*; 11, 28: *thyrsos non haec in munera factos*; *Manil.* 5, 548: (Andromeda) *induiturque sinus non haec ad vota paratos*.

648. *hic*, etc.: perhaps temporal (cf. 2, 122; 3, 369; etc.) rather than local; so Donatus seems to have understood it. Patin (*Étude sur les Tragiques grecs. Euripide*, 1 (1884), 201) finds the motif for this account in such passages as *Soph. Trach.* 900–911; *O. T.* 1241–1248; *Eur. Alc.* 158–195; cf. also *Plut. De Garrul.* p. 513 F: οὕτω καὶ τοῖς ἐρωτικοῖς ἢ πλεῖστη διατριβὴ περὶ λόγους μνήμην τινὰ τῶν ἐρωμένων ἀναδιδόντας· οἱ γὰρ κἂν μὴ πρὸς ἀνθρώπους πρὸς ἄψυχα περὶ αὐτῶν διαλέγονται· 'ὦ φίλτατῃ κλίνῃ', κτλ.; *Prop.* 2, 15, 1–2: *o tu / lectule deliciis facte beate meis*.

648. *Iliacas vestes*: cf. 1, 647–650: *munera praelerea Iliacis erepta ruinis / ferre iubet, pallam signis auroque rigentem / et circumtextum croceo velamen acantho, / ornatus Argivae Helenae*, etc.; but Conington (*ad loc.*) thinks that the reference is rather to 4, 496; 4, 507–508, and this may well be.

648. *cubile*: cf. 4, 496, n. (*lectumque iugalem*); *Sil.* 8, 88–90: *mox turbida anhelum / rettulit in thalamos cursum subitoque timore / substitit et sacrum timuit tetigisse cubile*.

649. *lacrimis*, etc.: 'in tears and thought'; cf. *Val. Fl.* 2, 169: *lacrimisque iterum visuque morantur*.

649. *mente morata*: cf. 5, 207: *magno clamore morantur*; *Serv.*: *et mente: consilio*.

650. *incubuitque*: cf. *Ov. H.* 10, 51: *saepe torum repeto, qui nos acceperat ambos*; etc.; 10, 55–56: *incumbo lacrimisque toro manante profusus / 'pressimus,' exclamo, 'te duo; redde tuos'*; *Ep.* 15, 149: *incubui tetigisse locum qua parte fuisti*; etc.

650. *dixitque novissima verba*: = 6, 231; cf. *Ecl.* 8, 20: *extrema moriens tamen adloquor hora*; *Ov. Ars am.* 1, 539: *rupitque novissima verba*; *Aug. De Unit. Eccles.* 28: *cum verba novissima hominis morientis audiuntur*; *C. I. L.* VI, 6976, 3 (*Carm. Lat. epigr. no.* 1033 Bücheler): *hic verba novissima dixit*; also 4, 30, n. (*sic effata*).

651. *dulces*, etc.: *Donat.*: *hic suspendenda pronuntiatio est nec iungendum 'dum fata deusque sinebant,' ne expressum mire moriturae vexemus adfectum, ut putetur illas vestes amare desisse, quas in tantum diligebat*

651. 'dulces exuviae, dum fata deusque sinebat,  
accipite hanc animam meque his exsoluite curis.

651-688: FMP. <d>ulces P. exuuiae (u pr. in ras.) F. sinebat MPb, sinebant FP<sup>2</sup>p.  
<a>ccipite P. me γ<sup>2</sup>, ne γ<sup>1</sup> (ut uid.). absolute c.

651. dulces . . . sinebat: Macrob. Sat. 4, 6, 10 — exuuiae P<sup>1</sup>; sinebant —. 651. dulces exuviae: Serv. Aen. 4, 496. 651. dum . . . sinebat: Anth. Lat. no. 15, 118 (1, p. 54 Riese) — sinebant —; no. 17, 43 (1, p. 63 Riese) — deusquae A; sinebant —.

652. meque . . . curis: Schol. Dan. Aen. 4, 1 — absolute —.

ut earum favillas suis voluerit misceri cineribus. amat igitur has ostendens quod illas non odii sed amoris causa secum decreasset incendi . . . sensus ergo integer sic est . . . : dulces exuviae, vixi quamdiu deus et fata sinebant et quem dederat cursum fortuna peregi, accipite hanc animam meque his exolvite curis. quoniam, inquit, estis dulces vos debetis excipere sanguinem meum et anima mea vobis debet infundi. But this explanation seems forced; I think the true one is that the *exuviae* have been dear to her during her life; after it is over she will, presumably, not care for such matters. The variations in the monologue, by narrative, etc., are discussed by Heinze, *Virgils epische Technik*, 3 ed. (1915), 137-138. For neums for lines 651-658 in a MS of S. X/XI cf. 4, 424, n. (i, etc.). Chaucer, *Legend of good Women, Dido*, 413-415: "O swete clooth, while Jupiter hit leste, / Take my soule, unbynde me of this unreste, / I have fulfilled of fortune al the course." On the rhetorical character of this speech cf. Sikes, *Roman Poetry* (1923), 24.

651. *exuviae*: cf. 4, 496, n. (*exuvias*); 4, 507; Mar. Victor, *Aleth.* 3, 179: *exuvias* . . . *dulces*.

651. *dum*, etc.: cf. 11, 701: *dum fallere fata sinebant*; Carm. Lat. epigr. 1067, 3 Bücheler: *dum fata sinebant*.

651. *fata deusque*: possibly sneering; cf. 4, 14, n. (*fatis*); 4, 614, n. (*fata Iovis*). Certainly Dido is not speaking in purely philosophic terms, and she may use *fata*, as Gercke (*Die Entstehung der Aeneis* (1913), 116) suggests, merely in the sense of good or bad 'luck,' and hence not in sharp contrast to *Fortuna* in line 653; cf. 4, 109, n. (*fortuna*),

and the combination of the two terms in 1, 239-240; 2, 653-656; 3, 493-494; 5, 709-710; 8, 334: *fortuna omnipotens et ineluctabile fatum*; 10, 112-113; 10, 435-438; 12, 147: *qua visa est Fortuna pati Parcaeque sinebant*; 12, 676-677.

The combination of fates and gods (or *deus*) is found several times in Virgil; Haeckermann, *Comm. in Aeneidis Lib. alterum* (1863), 19, cites 4, 440; 5, 707; 8, 398; 8, 512; 8, 574-575. Here the idea perhaps is that the fates ordain and the god declares and executes; cf. Henry, *Aeneidea*, 2 (1878), 435. On the use of *deus* in the singular cf. 1, 199; 1, 303; 3, 715; 4, 440, and n. (*deus*); 5, 467; 6, 749; Serv.: *aut Iuppiter qui Aeneam abscedere compulit, aut amor, aut necessitas fati*.

651. *sinebat*: evidence is rather evenly balanced between the singular and the plural; Servius supports the plural and Donatus appears to, though the MSS vary. If the singular is retained it is not because *fata deusque* form a single concept (as Wagner, Conington, and others hold), but because the verb agrees with the nearer subject (as in 3, 269: *ventusque gubernatorque vocabat*); cf. Dietsch, *Theologum. Vergilian. Particula* (1853), 27. The whole line, with the reading *sinebant*, is quoted by Castiglione, *De Eliz. Gonzaga*, 1; cf. above, 1, 18: *si qua fata sinant*; Molsa, *Ad Sodalem in Morbo mortifero*, 9: *dum fata sinebant*.

652. *accipite* . . . *animam*: the converse of *animam dare* (G. 4, 204; Aen. 10, 854).

652. *exsoluite*: cf. 4, 479: *vel eo me solvat amantem*; 4, 703: *teque isto corpore solvo*.

652. *curis*: cf. 4, 1, n. (*cura*).

653. vixi et quem dederat cursum Fortuna peregi,  
et nunc magna mei sub terras ibit imago.

uix *F* (uixi *F*<sup>1</sup>). peregi *F* (peregi *F*<sup>1</sup>).  
magna. γ. meis *M* (mei *M*<sup>1</sup>).

653. vixi . . . peregi: *Sen. Ep.* 12, 9; *Dial.* 7, 19, 1; *De Benef.* 5, 17, 5; *Anth. Lat. no.* 15, 96 (1, p. 53 *Riese*) — *furtuna peregit A* —. 653. vixi . . . de(derat): *C. I. L. XI*, 3752, 4 (= *Carm. Lat. epigr.* 385 *Bücheler*). 653. quem . . . peregi: *Mythogr. Vat. III*, 9, 10. 653. quem . . . fort(una): *C. I. L. XII*, 287 (= *Carm. Lat. epigr.* 814 *Bücheler*).

654. et . . . imago: *Porphyr. in Hor. C.* 1, 24, 15 — *terris M* —; *Comm. Cruq. in Hor. C.* 1, 24, 15; *Charis. Inst. gram.* 2 (G. L. K. 1, 235) — *et non NP*; *mei PC*, *meis N*; *iret NPC* —. 654. sub . . . imago: *Anth. Lat. no.* 15, 112 (1, p. 54 *Riese*).

653. *vixi*: "I have finished my life"; so *Plaut. Bacch.* 151 and *Mos.* 1002 uses *vixisse* of being dead; cf. *Plut. Cic.* 22: 'ἔησαν' εἶπεν. οὕτω δὲ Ῥωμαίων οἱ δυσφαιεῖν μὴ βουλόμενοι τὸ τεθνάναι σημαίνουσιν. Thus 10, 861-862: *Rhaebe, diu, res si qua diu mortalibus ulla est, / viximus*; cf. *Hor. C.* 3, 29, 43-45: *vixi; cras vel atra / nube polum pater occupato, / vel sole puro*, etc.; *Schiller, Des Mädchens Klage*, 14: *Ich habe gelebt und geliebt*; *Byron, Letters* (quoted by *Henry, Aeneidea*, 2 (1878), 826): "I have lived, and am content"; *Tennyson, Passing of Arthur, sub fin.*: "I have lived my life"; cf. also 2, 325: *fuimus Troes, fui Ilium*. *Serv.*: *excusat vitae abruptiōnem, quia dicit Plato magna poena adfici animas eorum qui vitam ante tempus relinquunt*. There should be noted in these lines both their pathetic quality (*Cic. De Invent.* 1, 107: *primus locus est misericordiae per quem quibus in bonis fuerint et nunc quibus in malis sint ostenditur*), which lies in that *περιτέτεια* so characteristic of tragedy (*Arist. Poet.* 11), and also their epigraphic terseness (*Penquitt, De Didonis Vergilianae Exitu* (1910), 64, compares the inscriptions on the Tombs of the Scipios; cf. *C. I. L. I*, 29-38 = *Dessau nos.* 1-9; see *Masera, ad loc.*; *Knight, Vergil's Troy* (1932), 13).

653. *quem*, etc.: cf. 10, 49: *et quamcumque viam dederit Fortuna, sequatur*; *Pind. Nem.* 4, 41-43: ἐμοὶ δ' ὁποῖαν ἀρετὰν / ἔδωκε Πότμος ἄναξ, / εὖ οἷδ' ὅτι χρόνος ἔρπων πεπρωμένην τελέσει; *Cic. Pro Milone*, 95: *quemcumque cursum fortuna dederit*; *C. I. L. VI*, 5953, 1 (= *Carm. Lat. epigr.* 1068): *iter . . .*

*peregi*; *XIV*, 316, 1-2 (= *Carm. Lat. epigr.* 1105): *vixi / et quem mi dederat cursum Fortuna peregit* (sic); *Dialogus Agii*, 481 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 3, 383): *villae stadio cursuque peracto*; *Tolman, A Study of the sepulchral Inscr. in Buecheler's Carmina Latina epigraphica* (1910), 42, for other passages, in which life appears as a journey completed.

653. *Fortuna*: *Serv.*: *non natura nec fatum. tribus enim humana vita continetur: natura, cui ultra centum et viginti solstitiales annos concessum non est; fato, cui nonaginta anni, hoc est, tres Saturni cursus, exitium creant . . . fortuna, id est, casu, qui ad omnia pertinet quae extrinsecus sunt, ut ad ruinam, incendia, naufragia*, etc. If we should here emphasize the literal meaning of *Fortuna*, *Dido* would sum up her life as owed to it, as *Aeneas* would have ascribed his to fate; cf. 1, 14, n. (*fatis*); 1, 109, n. (*fortuna*); 4, 651, n. (*fata deusque*). *Dietsch (Theologum. Vergilian. Particula* (1853), 25) explains *Fortuna* here as the whole series of events by which one attains what fate destines for him.

653. *peregi*: cf. 3, 493-494: *vivite felices, quibus est fortuna peracta / iam sua*; *Luc.* 4, 361: *turba haec sua fata peregit*; 2 *Tim.* 4, 7: τὸν δρόμον τετέληκα. *Dido's* assertion that she has completed her course seems contrary to *Virgil's* own view that she dies prematurely (4, 696: *nec fato*) and is later placed in the next world with the untimely dead.

654. *nunc*, etc.: cf. 12, 648-649 (said by *Turnus*): *sancta ad vos anima atque istius inscia culpa / descendam, magnorum haud umquam indignus avorum*; *Sil.* 8, 143-145:

## 655. urbem praeclaram statui, mea moenia vidi,

Vers. 655-656 inuerso ordine codd. Mentel., Menag. alt., Sprot. perclaram *M* (praeclaram *M*<sup>2</sup>). statui *P* (statui *P*<sup>2</sup>), stui *c*.

655-658. urbem . . . carinae: Schol. Dan. Aen. 4, 696 — praeclarum *F*; inimica *F*; nummum *F*; tatum *F*; danie *F*; nostradi charine *F* —. 655-656. urbem . . . virum: Schol. Lucan. 5, 660 — u. u. uirum (u. uirum om. *G*<sup>1</sup>) —. 655. urbem . . . vidi: Schol. Dan. Aen. 4, 75. 655. statui: Gl. Ansil. 536, 63; q.v. 655. mea moenia: Gl. Aa, 290, 211.

Aeneae coniux, Veneris nurus, ulta maritum, / vidi constructas nostrae Carthagini arces. / nunc ad vos magni descendet corporis umbra; 10, 288: nec manis tam parva intramus imago; 15, 370-373: circumdata postquam / nil restare videt virtus, quod debeat ultra / iam superis, magnum secum portare sub umbras / nomen mortis avel; Carducci, Odi barbare, 14, 60 (Da Desenzano): e discendemmo grandi ombre tra gl' inferi. Virgil here ascribes to Dido a respect for her own regal office and dignity which earlier rumor had denied her (4, 193: regnorum immemores), and which suggests both the appeals of Polyxena in Eur. Hec. 550-552 (ἐλευθέραν δέ μ', ὡς ἐλευθέρα θάνατο, / πρὸς θεῶν, μεθέντες κτείναν· ἐν νεκροῖσι γὰρ / δοῦλην κεκλησθαι βασιλῆς οὐσ' αἰσχύνομαι) and the queenly dignity of Cleopatra which Horace admires despite himself (C. 1, 37, 29-32: deliberata morte ferocior, / saevius Liburnis scilicet invidens / privata deduci superbo / non humilis mulier triumpho.

654. magna: Schol. Dan.: cogitatione eorum qui me non viderunt, sed factis cognoverunt. The allusion may be to greatness of character, though the physical appearance of the shade after death is not infrequently described, sometimes as larger than in life (e.g., 2, 773 (the shade of Creusa): nota maior imago), while in Sen. Tr. 33 the shades of Hecuba's children are called umbrae minores. Cf. also Plat. Gorg. 524 C: οἷον εἴ τις ὁ μέγα ἦν τὸ σῶμα φύσει ἢ τροφῇ ἢ ἀμφοτέρω, τοῦτον καὶ ἐπειδὴν ἀποθάνῃ ὁ νεκρὸς μέγας, κτλ. Buscaroli (ad loc.) considers magna as here predicative rather than attributive in use.

654. mei: cf. 4, 237, n. (nostri nuntius). For the touch of egoism in this genitive and the first person of the verbs statui, vidi, and

recepī, cf. DeWitt, The Dido Episode in the Aeneid of Virgil (1907), 47.

654. sub terras: cf. 4, 660: ire sub umbras; 6, 459: si qua fides tellure sub ima est.

654. ibit imago: cf. 8, 671: ibat imago. Servius treats at length the nature of the imago (simulacrum, εἰδωλον); we consist of (1) anima, which at death goes aloft (cf. 4, 684), (2) corpus, which returns to earth, and (3) umbra, a likeness of our body, which goes to the underworld. sciendum tamen abuti poetas et confuse vel simulacrum vel umbras dicere.

655. urbem, etc.: Donat.: non dixit 'perfecti' sed 'statui'; statuere est enim instituere aliquid novum et quod fuerit numquam; and Servius tries to reconcile this line with 4, 88-89. Cf. 1, 573: urbem quam statuo vestra est; 2, 294-295: his moenia quare / magna, pererrato statues quae denique ponto; 12, 193-194: mihi moenia Teucric / constituent; Ov. H. 7, 119-120: urbem constitui lateque patentia fixi / moenia finitimis invidiosa locis; Vell. Pat. 1, 1, 2: tris ibi urbis statuit; Sil. 8, 143-144: ulta maritum, / vidi constructas nostrae Carthagini arces; [Auson.] Epigr. 2, 11-12 (p. 420 Peiper): sic cecidisse iuvat. vixi; sine vulnere famae, / ulta virum positis moenibus oppetii; Dracont. De Laud. Dei, 3, 512-513: dives Dido fugax extincti coniugis ultrix / urbis Elissaeae perfectis moenibus amplexae. Dido, in time to come, will be famed as the κτίστρις (conditrix) of the new city; cf. Serv. Aen. 7, 303: 'condi' proprie dicuntur qui sibi statuunt civitatem (Carpino, Virgile et les Origines d'Ostie (1919), 298, n. 4); Tert. Apol. 50 (for Dido as the conditrix of Carthage).

The transposition of this line and the next,



656. ulta virum poenas inimico a fratre recepi,  
felix, heu nimium felix, si litora tantum

uita *M* (*pro* ulta). a (*corr. in* ab) c, ab π.

[655\*] 656. ulta . . . recepi: *Prisc. Inst.* 18, 204 (G. L. K. 3, 307) — a fratre *in ras.* V; recipi V —; 18, 219 (G. L. K. 3, 316); 18, 292 (G. L. K. 3, 365) — ultra V; penas D; a *add. sup. n* —; *Lupus Ferrar. Ep.* 34 (*Mon. Germ. hist., Epist.* 6, 43). 656. ulta virum: *Donat. in Ter. Phorm.* 189; *Eugraph. in Ter. Phorm.* 189; *Serv. Aen.* 1, 363. 656. recepi: *Gl. Ansil.* 486, 68; q.v.

[655\*] 657-658. felix . . . carinae: *Macrobian. Sat.* 6, 1, 42 — nimia P<sup>1</sup>; littora —. 657. felix . . . felix: *Anth. Lat. no.* 17, 42 (1, p. 63 Riese) — eu A —; *C. I. L. VI*, p. 389 (*Carm. Lat. epigr. no.* 1347A, 17 Bücheler).

found in some poorer MSS, seems to be an old variant, for the imitations in the Pseudo-Ausonius and Dracontius show that they were familiar with it. It is doubtless due to someone who wished to reduce Dido's reminiscences to a more logical order.

**655. statui:** Servius (on line 656) quotes with approval the explanation *urbem praedaram et mea moenia statui vidi, hoc est, videri clam statuerentur*, but this seems forced and unnatural.

**655. moenia:** cf. 1, 437: *o fortunati, quorum iam moenia surgunt*.

**656. ulta virum:** cf. 4, 655, n. (*urbem, etc.*), for imitations of this phrase. *Donat.*: *putant enim Sychaei mortem defensam non esse, quia Pygmalion occisus non est, cum non sit unum genus ultionis. nam defendisse est occisi mortem praedam propter quam mactatus est abstulisse; quo in facto Pygmalion homo profundae avaritiae et reus remansit et pauper*; *Serv.*: *puniendo eius interfectorem . . . et re vera nulla avari maior est poena quam amittere pecuniam propter quam commiserat scelus. . . alii haec quasi per interrogationem volunt accipi, ut nihil dicat esse perfectum: 'numquid urbem statui? numquid ulta sum virum? numquid a fratre poenas recepi? felix tamen fuisset si vel hoc tantum contingeret ut Carthaginem non veniret Aeneas*. Kvíčala (*Neue Beitr. z. Erkl. d. Aeneis* (1881), 207-210) considers this line an early interpolation, for, he thinks, Dido did not adequately avenge the death of Sychaeus, taking away the treasure from Pygmalion being too mild a punishment and Venus (1, 340-368) not emphasizing this feature of the story. He

and others are troubled by the transposition of lines 655 and 656 in some poorer MSS, and by the interruption in the natural connection of lines 655 and 657. He admits, however, that Silius presents in his imitation (8, 143-144, quoted in n. on *urbem, etc.*, above) the same (or an even greater) difficulty. And, as Servius says, the carrying away of the treasure was a blow to Pygmalion (1, 363-364: *portantur avari / Pygmalionis opes pelago*), while, more than that, it should be observed that Dido had drawn away some of his subjects and had founded with their aid a city which was not to be obedient to him but an independent rival (Burmman's conjecture of *Poenos* for *poenas* fits this sense, though I cannot accept it); in thus reestablishing, on a new site, the city of Sychaeus she had vindicated her dead husband, and line 656 does not form a case of *hysteron proteron* after 655 but is the natural result of its action. Nor, thus interpreted, does 656 seem unpleasantly petty, as Kvíčala thinks, after the recital of the great achievement of line 655. Nor, again, is the mention of Sychaeus inappropriate here; as the episode of her love for Aeneas fades into the past her early devotion to Sychaeus reemerges.

**656. poenas . . . recepi:** like *poenas sumere* (2, 103; 2, 576; 2, 585-586; 6, 501; 11, 720: *poenas inimico ex sanguine sumit*), the complementary expression to *poenas pendere* (6, 20; 7, 595; 8, 668-669), *expendere* (10, 669; 11, 258), or *dare* (G. 1, 405; *Aen.* 2, 366; 4, 386; 6, 585; 8, 538; 10, 617; 11, 592).

**656. fratre recepi:** cf. 4, 47, n. (*surgere regna*).

658. numquam Dardaniae tetigissent nostra carinae.  
dixit, et os impressa toro 'moriemur inultae,

hos γ. inpressa *codd.* moriamur *b<sup>1</sup>*, moriēmur *O. P. 1099* (*sed glossa ἀποθάνωμεν [sic] uerbum moriamur explicare uidetur*).

[655\*, 657] 658. carinae: *Gl. Ansil.* 99, 723; *q.v.*

659-660. moriēmur . . . ait: *Macrob. Sat.* 4, 2, 2; *Serv. Aen.* 11, 847 — multae *F* —.

659. os . . . toro: *Gl. Ansil.* 417, 38.

657. felix, etc.: cf. *Prop.* 2, 32, 43-44: *o nimium . . . felicem . . . Romam / si, etc.*; *Luc.* 8, 139: *heu nimium felix*; *Stat. Silv.* 2, 7, 24: *felix (heu nimis)*, etc.; 3, 3, 25: *felix, at nimium felix*; 5, 5, 59: *o nimium felix*; *Prud. Cont. Symm.* 2, 1020: *o felix nimium*; *C. I. L. VI*, 1756 A, 17 (*Carm. Lat. epigr.* 1347 A, 17 Bücheler): *felix, heu nimium felix, dum vita maneret*; XIII, 5657, 3-4 (*Carm. Lat. epigr.* 362 Engström): (*felix*) *o nimium, tanti si munere voli / (li)quissim natos incolumemque virum*; *Alcuin, Ep.* 216, p. 713 Wattenbach and Dümmler: *tunc felix nimium quo non felicius ullus* (cf. *Aen.* 9, 772); *Hrabanus Maurus, Carm.* 48, 4, 1 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 2, 214): *felices nimium*; *Walahfridus Strabo, Vita S. Galli*, 177 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 2, 433): *o nimium felix*; *Paul. Diac. Carm.* 19, 3: *o nimium felix*; *Anon. De Poeta*, 8 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 2, 668: *o felix nimium*; *Pope, Rape of the Lock*, 4, 149-150: "Happy, ah! ten times happy had I been, / If Hampton Court these eyes had never seen." The use of *felix* contrasts powerfully with Dido's real state; cf. 4, 68, n. (*infelix*).

657. heu nimium: = 6, 189.

657. nimium felix: cf. *G.* 2, 458: *o fortunatos nimium, sua si bona norint*.

657. si litora, etc.: cf. *Eur. Med.* 1-15 (1-2: εἰθ' ὦφελ' Ἀργεῖς μὴ διαπράσθαι σκάφος / Κόλχων ἐς αἶαν, κτλ.; 6-8: οὐ γὰρ ἂν δέσποινα' ἐμῇ / Μῆδεα πύργους γῆς ἔπλευσ' Ἰωλκίας / ἔρωτι θυμὸν ἐκπλαγείσ' Ἰάσονος, κτλ.; cf. *Enn. Sc.* 246-254 Vahlen: *utinam ne in nemore Pelio*, etc.; *Christus Patiens*, 1-3 (*Patr. Gr.* 38, 137): εἰθ' ὦφελ' ἐν λεμῶνι μῆδ' ἔρωται ὄφει, / μῆδ' ἐν νάπαισι τοῦδ' ἐφεδρεύσειν δράκων / ἀγκυλομήτης); *Apoll. Rh.* 4, 32-33: αἰθε σε πόντος, / ξείνε, διέρραισεν, πρὶν Κολχίδα γαῖαν ἰκῆσθαι; *Catull.* 64, 171-172: *utinam ne tempore primo / Gnosia*

*Cecropiae tetigissent litora puppes*; *Ov. H.* 7, 139-140: *vellem veluisset (sc. deus) adire / Punica nec Teucris pressa fuisset humus*; *Val. Fl.* 8, 432-433: *vellem equidem nostri tetigissent litora patris / te sine duxque illis aliis quicumque fuisset*; *Stat. Theb.* 1, 573-574: *felix si Delia numquam / furta nec occultum Phoebo sociasset amorem*; *Juven.* 4, 441-442: *quanto felicius esset / si numquam terris tetigisset lumina vitae*; *Patin, Études sur les Tragiques grecs. Euripide*, 1 (1894), 123, n., on the way in which passion naturally attacks imaginary causes and overlooks the real ones; also cf. *Ecl.* 6, 45: *et fortunatam si numquam armenta fuissent*.

658. Dardaniae: cf. 4, 626, n. (*Dardanos*); *Ov. F.* 1, 519: *et iam Dardaniae tangit haec litora pinus*. In Dido's words there is perhaps a bitter reminiscence of those of Anna in 4, 45-46: *dis equidem auspiciis reor et Iunone secunda / hunc cursum Iliacas vento tenuisse carinas*.

659. dixit: cf. 4, 30, n. (*sic effata*).

659. os impressa toro: cf. 4, 650: *incurruitque toro*; *Serv.*: *adplicito ore ad lectulum*; *aut quasi amatrix, ut* (4, 82-83) *'stratisque relictis incubat'*; *aut certe quasi peritura insensibili rei dat sensum, et sic ad lectulum loquitur, ut ad hastam Turnus* (12, 97) . . . *Mezentius ad equum* (10, 861), etc. For kissing a couch once dear cf. *Eur. Alc.* 183: *κυνεί δὲ προσπίπνουσα*; *Apoll. Rh.* 4, 26: *κύσσε δ' ἐόν τε λῆχος, κτλ.*; *Ov. M.* 8, 538; *Val. Fl.* 2, 168-169: *oscula iamque toris iamque oscula postibus ipsis / ingeminant*; 8, 6-9: *ultima virgineis tunc flens dedit oscula villis; / quosque fugit complexa toros, crinemque genasque / ante per antiqui carpsit vestigia somni; / atque haec inpresso genuit miseranda cubili*; and on customs connected with kissing cf. *Kroll in P.-W.* 5 Supplbd. (1931), 511-520, who

## 660. sed moriamur' ait. 'sic, sic iuvat ire sub umbras.

set *M.* moriemur *F* (moriamur *F*<sup>1</sup>). et *F* (ait *F*<sup>1</sup>). si sic (*corr. in sic sic*) γα. iubat *M*, iualere *F*, iuuat ire *F*<sup>1</sup>. sub (b m. 2) γ.

[659] 660. sed . . . ait: *Anth. Lat. no. 15, 107* (1, p. 54 Riese). 660. sic sic . . . umbras: *Anth. Lat. no. 15, 128* (1, p. 54 Riese) — iubat *A* —; *Isid. Elym. 1, 36, 10* — per umbras —; *Iulian. Tolet. De Vitiis et Figuris, 5, 28*; cf. *Alberic, Flor. rhet. (Willard in Anniv. Essays . . . by Students of C. H. Haskins (1929), 362)*. 660. iuvat . . . umbras: *Charis. Inst. gram. 2 (G. L. K. 1, 235)* — uolat ire —. 660. ire . . . umbras: *Gl. Ansil. 318, 21*.

compares (517) *Aen. 2, 490* and other cases of the kissing of inanimate objects. Heyne (*ad loc.*) and others have thought it inappropriate that Dido should kiss the couch at the moment when she is to die unavenged upon Aeneas, and Pascal (*ad loc.*) thinks that she bit the couch in rage; but Kvičala (*Neue Beitr. z. Erkl. d. Aeneis* (1881), 211) well explains the kiss as a farewell to the couch (cf. Deianira in *Soph. Trach. 920-922*), to which, according to the third suggestion of Servius (quoted above), her words are addressed, as to a faithful friend; cf. also Rébelliau, *De Vergilio in inform. muliebr. quae sunt in Aen. Personis Inventore* (1892), 91, n. 2; 92, n. 1.

Yet there is perhaps in the act of Dido more than a mere kiss, for she seems partly to bury her face in the couch, if we may judge from similar phrases cited by Henry (*Aeneidea, 2* (1878), 829-830): *Ov. M. 10, 410-412: exsiluit gremio furibunda, torumque / ore premens, 'discede . . . / . . .'* ait; *Petron. 18: lacrimas rursus effudit gemitibusque largis concussa tota facie ac pectore torum meum pressit*; *Stat. Theb. 5, 252: hic inpressa toris ora*; (perhaps) *Apul. M. 8, 9: toro (faciem impressa)*; *Flor. 16, 66* (of the corpse of Philemon): *iacebatque incumbens toro, similis cogitanti, adhuc manus volumini implexa, adhuc os recto libro impressus*. This gesture of Dido is, however, very inappropriately compared by Thiel (cf. Kvičala, *op. cit.*, 211, n.) with *Suet. Caes. 82*, where Caesar at his murder veils his face with his toga.

659. moriemur: on the plural cf. Conway, *New Studies of a great Inheritance* (1921), 14, n. 2; also Donat.: *plurali numero dixit 'moriemur inultae' vel quia cum vestibus vel quia etiam cum soli aliquid faciunt aut dicunt, pluralem solent sibi numerum vindicare*.

In *Oxyrh. Papyri, 8* (1911), no. 1099 (cf. Moore in *Cl. Philol. 19* (1924), 319-321) Hunt publishes a fragment of a vocabulary to the *Aeneid*, in which Greek translations are given for certain words in *Aen. 4, 659-705* and in the beginning of the fifth book, the Latin words being also provided with acute accents on stressed syllables, and *moriemur* being marked with a macron over the *e*. The evidence from the Latin part of this vocabulary, inaccurate as it is, I have given in the apparatus criticus, cited as *O. P. 1099*.

659. inultae: as yet unavenged, though she had prayed for a later ultor (4, 625). In 2, 670 the line ends *moriemur inulti*, which seems to have been imitated by Virgil here, as also (in parody) by Hor. *Serm. 2, 8, 34* (Plessis and Lejay on that passage think the phrase is perhaps Ennian); *Ov. M. 9, 131* (cf. *F. 2, 233: moriuntur inulti*); *Dracont. Orest. 168*. La Cerda (*ad loc.*), Voss (*Anmerk. u. Randglossen z. Gr. u. Römern* (1838), 211), Conington (*ad loc.*), and others place an interrogation point after *inultae*; cf. Prop. 2, 8, 17-18: *sic igitur prima moriere aetate, Properti? / sed morere*. The interpretation of Donatus, however (*etiamsi inultae morimur tamen, quoniam hoc expedit, moriamur*), does not indicate that he so punctuated the line.

660. sic, sic: Serv.: *quasi interrogatio et responsio* (as Bell, *The Latin Dual* (1923), 368, says, this would be right if the caesural pause came between *sic sic*, which it does not): *et placet sic inultam perire? placet. et hoc eam se loco intellegimus percussisse; unde alii dicunt verba esse se ferientis*, i.e., that they correspond to two stabs with the sword, as some scholars hold and as is apparently the meaning of *Anth. Lat. no. 634, 4* (2, p. 100 Riese), in a poem on the contents of the

## 661. hauriat hunc oculis ignem crudelis ab alto

crudelis γ.

661-662. hauriat . . . Dardanus: *Non. pp.* 487-488 *M.* (p. 783 *L.*) — auriat —; *Charis. Inst. gram.* 4 (*G. L. K.* 1, 266); *Prisc. Inst.* 17, 167 (*G. L. K.* 3, 192); *Donat. Ars gram.* 3 (*G. L. K.* 4, 393); *Serv. in Donat.* (*G. L. K.* 4, 446); [*Serg.*] *Explic. in Donat.* 2 (*G. L. K.* 4, 563); *Pomp. Comm.* (*G. L. K.* 5, 291); *Sacerd. Art. gram.* 1 (*G. L. K.* 6, 450); [*Acro*] in *Hor. C.* 4, 6, 12 — hauriat . . . alto *om. a* —; *Porphy. in Hor. C.* 4, 6, 12 — ignem *om.* —; *Donat. Aen.* 4, 383 — nunc *LR* —; *Serv. Aen.* 4, 159; 12, 946; *Schol. Veron. Aen.* 9, 363; *Julian. Tolet. De Vitiis et Figuris*, 2, 9. 661. hauriat . . . ignem: *Schol. Dan. Aen.* 4, 359 — aurit *F* —. 661. hauriat . . . oculis: *Gl. Ansil.* 275, 140 — auriat —. 661. hauriat: *Gl. Ansil.* 275, 120; *q.v.*; *Gl. Abba*, 68, 22.

*Aeneid*: quartus (*sc. liber*) item miserae duo vulnera narrat *Elissae*; cf. also the use of *vulnera* in 4, 683, though whether Anna at that line could yet have learned the facts is doubtful. This explanation, however, seems too melodramatic, and gives inadequate opportunity for Dido to utter the next two lines, so that the phrase *sic, sic* probably anticipates the manner of her death, without actually accompanying the stabs. Further, the references in 4, 689 and 6, 450 to a single wound should not be overlooked.

Virgil nowhere else uses exactly this repetition of *sic*, though a partial parallel is 2, 644: *sic, o sic positum adfati discedite corpus*. Others, however, have imitated it; e.g., *Sen. H. F.* 1218 (= *H. O.* 846): *sic, sic agendum est*; *Med.* 90: *sic, sic, caelicolae, precor*; *Thy.* 102: *sic, sic ferantur*; *Sil.* 4, 506: *infelix animae, sic, sic vivasque*, etc.; 9, 25: '*sicine, sic*,' inquit, '*grates pretiumque rependis*'; 16, 125: *sic, sic, caelicolae*; *Sidon. Ep.* 2, 10, 4, 28: *sic, sic psallite*; *Anth. Lat.* no. 700, 6 (2, p. 171 Riese): *sed sic sic sine fine feriat*; *Waltharius*, 946 (cf. *Creizenach, Die Aeneis, die vierte Eclogie, u. d. Pharsalia im Mittelalter* (1864), 15, n. 87): *sic, sic*; *Shakesp. Mids. Night's Dream*, Act 5, Sc. 1, 305: "Thus die I, thus, thus, thus"; *Tennyson, Lucretius, sub fin.*: "Thus — thus: the soul flies out and dies in the air"; and the phrase *sic, sic iuvat ire sub umbras* is quoted in *Thomas Kyd's Spanish Tragedy* by Hieronimo as he "sets his breast unto the sword" (1901 ed., p. 35). For such repetitions due to pathos or to earnestness cf. 5, 189: *nunc, nunc insurgite remis*; *Hor. C.* 2, 17, 10: *ibimus, ibimus*; 3, 3, 18: *Ilion, Ilion*; 4, 1, 2:

*precor, precor*; 4, 4, 70: *occidit, occidit*; 4, 13, 18: *illius, illius*; *Epod.* 4, 20: *hoc, hoc*; 5, 53: *nunc, nunc*; 5, 71: *a, a*; 7, 1: *quo, quo*; 14, 6: *deus, deus*; in *Seneca* they form a common mannerism; cf. *Wölfflin in Sitzb. d. k. bayr. Akad.* 3 (1882), 438 (= *Ausgewählte Schriften* (1933), 294-295); *Canter, Rhet. Elements in the Trag. of Seneca* (1925), 156-157.

In this line *sic* has been variously interpreted (cf. *Kvřčala, Neue Beitr. z. Erkl. d. Aeneis* (1881), 213), as meaning (1) 'even though I am unavenged'; (2) 'like a heroine'; (3) 'in a decent posture'; (4) 'in this place,' i.e., on the couch *quo perii* (4, 497); (5) in the view of *Heyne, Kvřčala*, et al., as construed with what follows, i.e., *hoc modo ut crudelis Dardanus ab alto hunc ignem oculis hauriat* (as an unhappy omen). Anna's words (4, 681): *sic te ut posita . . . abessem* may point to the third or fourth explanation noted above, but this is uncertain.

660. iuvat: cf. *Mart.* 12, 18, 26: *sic me vivere, sic iuvat perire*; *Sen. H. O.* 344: *ire, ire ad umbras Herculis nuptam libet*; [*Auson.*] *Epigr.* 2, 11 (p. 420 *Peiper*): *sic cecidisce iuvat*. For *iuvat ire* (of a pleasure journey) cf. *G.* 3, 292; *Aen.* 2, 27; 3, 606: *hominum manibus periisse iuvabit*.

660. sub umbras: cf. 4, 25, n. (*ad umbras*); 4, 654: *sub terras ibit*; 6, 461: *has ire per umbras*; 6, 578: *tenditque sub umbras*; 11, 831 (= 12, 952): *fugit indignata sub umbras*; *Stat. Theb.* 2, 608: *iubet ire sub umbras*; *Carm. Lat. epigr.* 743, 5 *Bücheler*: *ire sub umbras*; *Gualterus, Alexandreis*, 9, 417: *talem decet ire sub umbras*.

661. hauriat: *Schol. Dan.*: *aut videat*

## 662. Dardanus et nostrae secum ferat omina mortis.'

secum nostrae *M* (nostrae secum *M*<sup>2</sup>, secum nostrae *M*<sup>2</sup>). omnia  $\gamma^1$  (omina  $\gamma^2$ ).

[661]

*omina tempestatis futurae, quia navigantibus malum omen est si rogalis flamma videtur; aut certe satisfaciatur suae crudelitati.* With the figurative use of *haurire* cf. *G.* 2, 340: *lucem pecudes hausere*; *Aen.* 10, 899: *suspiciens hausit caelum*; 12, 945-946: *ille oculis postquam saevi monumenta doloris / exuviasque hausit*; *Liv.* 27, 51, 1; *Stat. Silv.* 5, 3, 32; *Sil.* 11, 282: *oculis mirantibus haurit*; *Ambr. Ep.* 18, 31: *hauriant, inquit, hauriant vel inviti fumum*; *Aug. Conf.* 10, 13: *per oculos haustum*; *De Gen. ad Lit.* 12, 22: *quod hauerunt oculi*; in *Cir.* 163 (*venis hausit sitientibus ignem*) the figure is different. Cf. also 4, 359, n. (*vocemque, etc.*).

661. *ignem*: cf. 5, 3-5: *moenia respiciens quae iam infelicis Elissae / conlucent flammis. quae tantum accenderit ignem / causa latet.* Whether Dido herself kindled the pyre or it was later lighted by attendants to burn her body has been disputed; cf. Kvíčala, *Neue Beitr. z. Erkl. d. Aeneis* (1881), 213-217. For the former view there are as reasons (1) the adjective *hunc*; (2) 4, 639-640, with her intention to end her cares and to burn the couch, etc. — a purpose misunderstood by Barce (and Anna) at the time, but later seen in its real meaning; (3) 4, 676: *hoc rogos iste mihi, hoc ignes araeque parabant*; (4) Dido's expectation that Aeneas will not yet be out of sight of the flames (5, 3-7 shows this expectation to be justified), though, if she had left the lighting to be done — without specific orders from her — after her death she could not have been sure that in the interval the Trojan fleet would not have passed out of sight (Aeneas apparently crosses to Sicily in one day; cf. Kvíčala, *op. cit.*, 215-216); (5) the argument that Silius (2, 422-425) makes Dido stand *pyram super ingentem* as she utters her curses seems weak, since we cannot assume that Silius exactly followed Virgil and his words do not specifically state that she kindled the flame. Contrary arguments are (1) the lack of an express statement

by Virgil that Dido applied the torch — a detail fully described in 6, 224, when Misenus is cremated; (2) such kindling was usually the work of menials; and (3), most important, lines 685-692 refer to events which would have taken place with difficulty if the pyre were already burning (though lines 667-671 suggest a parallel to the lamentation at a burning pyre from that at a burning city). Kvíčala's conclusion, which is not free from difficulties, but perhaps as simple as any, is that Dido had prepared everything for the final application of the torch; that Anna on her arrival at once understood the real intention of lines 639-640 and promptly executed it, so that Aeneas was able from a distance to see the flames; and that *hunc . . . ignem* here means "the fire that is presently to consume this pyre."

On instances, however, of death on the pyre cf. Kowalski, *De Didone Graeca et Latina* (1929), 11, n. 3, and works there cited; 14; noteworthy were the cases of Sardanapalus, Croesus, and Heracles; add also Callanus (Pease on *Cic. De Div.* 1, 47), Peregrinus, who imitated Heracles (*Luc. De Morte Peregrini*; *Hier. Chron.* A.D. 167), a barbarian general in Armenia (*Flor.* 2, 32, 45: *oppressus gladio et pyra, in quam se percussus inmisit, . . . Caesari satisfecit*), and the wife of Hasdrubal, who at the destruction of Carthage in 146 B.C. cast herself and her sons into the flames. So, says Otto of Freising (*Chron.* 2, 41), the last queen of Carthage and the first had a similar fate and a like exit from life.

661. *crudelis*: cf. 4, 311.

662. *Dardanus*: *Schol. Dan.*: *pro 'Dardanius' . . . vel quia ipse Aeneas ante Dardanus dictus est* (not, however, in the *Aeneid*, though *Dardanius* has been used; e.g., 4, 224; 4, 640; 4, 647). The numerous citations of this word by the grammarians (see the testimonia for 4, 661) are chiefly made to illustrate this use of *Dardanus* for

663. dixerat, atque illam media inter talia ferro  
conlapsam aspiciunt comites ensemque cruore

adque *F*, ast *p*. illa *F* (illam *F*<sup>1</sup>).

conlapsam *FMP*, conlapsam *O.P.* 1099. accipiunt *Menag. alt.*

663. media . . . talia: *Gl. Ansil.* 361, 59.

664-665. ensem . . . manus: *Donat. in Ter. Ad.* 316 — ensemque c. s. s. q. m. —.

*Dardanius*, in which Virgil probably imitates the Δάρδανος ἄνθρωπος of *Il.* 2, 701; 16, 807. Cf. 2, 618: *Dardana . . . arma*; 6, 57: *Dardana . . . tela*; *Sil.* 1, 14. In 12, 14 *Dardanium* is applied to Aeneas, as *Dardanus* here, with some feeling of contempt.

662. *nostrae*: cf. 4, 659, n. (*morietur*). The order *nostrae secum* seems not only a little better attested by the MSS than the reverse, but also by the testimony of Donatus and the Scholia Danielis, and avoids a cacemphaton; cf. Unterharnscheidt, *De Veterum in Aeneide Coniecturis* (1911), 14; also Wagner, *Lectionum Verg. Libellus* (1859), 81.

662. *omina*: Schol. Dan.: *ut Aeneas quoque per vim maturius obeat. et bene infausta omnia (sic) inprecatur ei, quia ad novi regni auspicia properat.* Cf. also 4, 384: *sequar atris ignibus absens*; 5, 7: *triste per augurium Teucrorum pectora ducunt.* On omens at the beginnings of enterprises cf. Pease on *Cic. De Div.* 1, 65; *Hor. C.* 3, 27, 1-7; etc. For the plural cf. Spitta, *Quaest. Vergilianae* (1867), 12, who compares 2, 691: *haec omnia firma*; 9, 21: *sequor omnia tanta*.

663. *dixerat*: cf. 4, 30, n. (*sic effata*); Gladow, *De Vergilio ipsius Imitatore* (1921), 13; *Stat. Theb.* 9, 481: *dixerat, atque illi*, etc.; for the repetition (*-at at-*) 4, 47, n. (*surgere regna*).

663. *atque*: cf. 4, 261, n. (*atque*); Knapp in *Cl. Weekly*, 26 (1933), 199, n. 8, who translates 'and at once.'

663. *illam*, etc.: *Sil.* 8, 148 baldly states: *haec dicens ensem media in praecordia adegit*; but Virgil, with a reticence like that of Greek tragedy, leaves the actual stabbing to be inferred by the reader; cf. *Donat.*: *non descripsit ictum quo Dido confossa est, sed quae fecisset demonstravit ut ostenderet celeritatem facti; nam nullus vidit percutientem sed cadentem et ferrum spumare inundatione*

*sanguinis. tanta autem vis fuit ut exanimis manus defectione celerrima spargerentur*; Schol. Dan. 4, 664: *non induxit occidentem se sed ostendit occisam. et hoc tragico fecit exemplo, apud quos non videtur quemadmodum fit caedes, sed facta narratur.* Henry (*Aeneidea*, 1 (1873), 481-482; 2 (1878), 84; 833-834) cites other cases in which the principal fact must be inferred from the context: *G.* 4, 458-461; *Aen.* 1, 86; 2, 105-107; 6, 77; 6, 529; 11, 858-864; 12, 603-604 (in the suicide of Amata): *nodum informis leti trabe necit ab alta. / quam cladem*, etc. It may be noted, however, that later (4, 689) the wound is described as *sub pectore*, and if the explanation of Mackail cited in 4, 689, n. (*stridit*) is correct, the wound pierced one of Dido's lungs.

663. *media inter talia*: cf. 6, 183: *opera inter talia*; 12, 318: *media inter talia verba*.

663. *ferro*: on suicide by stabbing cf. 4, 475, n. (*decrevitque mori*). Virgil's own friend, Cornelius Gallus, in his suicide *stricto incubuit ferro* (*Amm. Marc.* 17, 4, 5). With *ferro conlapsam* cf. *Soph. Aias*, 828: πεπτῶτα τῷδε περὶ νεορράντῳ ξίφεϊ; 899: κρυφαίῳ φασγάνῳ περιπτυχῆς. *Ov. M.* 14, 79-81 describes the present incident: *non bene discidium Phrygii latura mariti, / Sidonis; inque pyra sacri sub imagine facta / incubuit ferro, deceptaque decipit omnes*.

664. *conlapsam*: cf. 4, 391-392: *suscipiunt famulae conlapsaque membra / . . . referunt*; 8, 584: *famuli conlapsum (sc. Evandrum) in lecta ferebant*; 9, 708: *conlapsa ruunt immania membra*. They apparently did not touch the body before the arrival of Anna, but merely gazed upon it (*aspiciunt*); cf. *Sil.* 8, 150-151: *viderunt comites tristisque per atria planctu / concurrunt; magnis resonant ululatibus aedes*; in *Soph. Trach.* 930 the nurse relates how the attendants beheld

665. spumantem sparsasque manus. it clamor ad alta  
atria; concussam bacchatur Fama per urbem.  
lamentis gemituque et femineo ululatu

id *P* (it *P*<sup>2</sup>), et *FM* (it *F*<sup>1</sup>*M*<sup>1</sup>). iit *O.P.* 1099. at *P*, ab *O.P.* 1099.

concussam (cu *ex corr.*) *F*<sup>1</sup>, concussam *O.P.* 1099. bacchatur *p*.

lamentis *O.P.* 1099. cumgemituque *M* (gemituque *M*<sup>1</sup>). femine *P* (femineo *P*<sup>1</sup>). ululato *M*, *O.P.* 1099 (ululatu *M*<sup>1</sup>).

[664\*] 665-666. ad . . . atria: *Gl. Ansil.* 24, 6. 665. sparsasque manus: *Schol. Lucan.* 2, 30.

[665]

667. lamentis gemituque: *Anth. Lat. no.* 83, 102 (1, *p.* 117 *Riese*) — lamenta *A* —. 667. lamentis: *Gl. Ansil.* 328, 240; *q.v.* 667. femineo ululatu: *Gl. Ansil.* 239, 170.

(δρῶμεν) the body of Deianira after her suicide. In the present case it is not clear how they learned of Dido's death; in *Eur. Hipp.* 776-778 (cf. 790-791) the shrieks of a hand-maid give the alarm to others.

664. *ensemque, etc.*: cf. *Ov. H.* 7, 185-186: *perque genas lacrimae strictum labuntur in ensem, / qui iam pro lacrimis sanguine tinctus erit.*

665. *sparsasque*: *Serv.*: *aut perfusas sanguine aut morte resolutas*; probably the former (supplying *cruore* from the preceding line), though Henry (*Aeneidea*, 2 (1878), 835) adopts the second and explains it of hands outspread, comparing *Mart.* 3, 82, 14; *Alc. Avit. Poem.* 1, 91, and some other, rather poor, parallels.

665. *it clamor*: cf. 4, 130, n. (*it*), and, for the use with *clamor* and similar nouns, 4, 443: *it stridor*; 5, 451: *it clamor caelo*; 8, 595: *it clamor*; 9, 499: *it gemitus*; 9, 664: *it clamor*; 11, 192: *it caelo clamorque virum clangorque tubarum*; 12, 409: *it tristis ad aethera clamor*; *Luc.* 1, 388: *it tantus ad aethera clamor*; *Val. Fl.* 3, 277: *it gemitus toto . . . caelo*; *Stat. Theb.* 3, 593 (= *Sil.* 2, 417; *Vida, Christias*, 1, 425): *it clamor ad auras*; *Sil.* 8, 150-151: *tristitiae per atria plancu / concurrunt; magnis resonant ululatibus aedes*; also *Apoll. Rh.* 3, 708-709: ὄπτο δ' ἰωὴ / λεπταλή διὰ δώματ' ὀδυρομένων ἀχέουσιν. For the formal *conclamatio* after death cf. *Mau in P.-W.* 3 (1899), 347-348, to which add *Liv.* 1, 58, 12 (after *Lucretia* had stabbed herself): *conclamat vir paterque*.

Crump (*Growth of the Aeneid* (1920), 97)

observes that the remaining forty lines bring the book to a quiet ending, like the close of a Greek tragedy, and compares the last eighteen lines of Book VI after the climax in the apostrophe to *Marcellus* (6, 883).

665. *alta*: cf. 1, 725-726: *fit strepitus lectis vocemque per ampla volutant / atria*; 12, 474: *alta atria lustrat*.

666. *atria*: for the plural cf. *Spitta, Quaest. Vergilianae* (1867), 8-9; on the use of the word cf. also *Magoun in Proc. Am. philol. Assoc.* 27 (1896), lvii-lx.

666. *concussam*: cf. 12, 594: *quae totam luctu concussit funditus urbem*.

666. *bacchatur*: cf. 4, 300-301: *totamque incensa per urbem / bacchatur* (sc. *Fama*); 4, 302, n. (*Baccho*); 10, 41: *medias Italum bacchata per urbes*; 12, 608: *hinc totam infelix volgatur fama per urbem*; *Sil.* 7, 504: *Fama furit*. The word may be translated 'riots'; cf. *Henry, Aeneidea*, 4 (1889), 14.

666. *Fama*: cf. 4, 173, n. (*Fama*).

666. *per urbem*: *Rumor* has passed from the inner rooms (cf. 4, 645, n. (*interiora*), above) to the semipublic halls (*atria alta*) of the palace, from which it spreads wildly through the whole city. For *urbs* = *incolae Lünzner* (*Über Personificationen in Vergils Gedichten* (1876), 7) compares 9, 473-474: *pennata per urbem / nuntia Fama ruil*; 11, 26: *maestam . . . ad urbem*; 11, 350: *con-sedissee urbem luctu*; cf. also 7, 104: *volitans iam Fama per urbes*.

667. *et femineo ululatu*: = 9, 477; *Serv.*: *proprio feminarum*. *Horatius* (*Epod.* 10, 17): *'et illa non virilis eiulatio'*; also 2, 487-488:

668. tecta fremunt, resonat magnis plangoribus aether,  
non aliter quam si immissis ruat hostibus omnis

tremunt *F* (fremunt *F*<sup>1</sup>). clangoribus *Pa*, plangoribus (*p e corr. m. ant.*) *b*.  
alter *F* (aliter *F*<sup>1</sup>). immissa *F* (immissis *F*<sup>1</sup>), inmissis *Pp*, inmissis *O. P.* 1099. ruat *P* (ruat *P*<sup>2</sup>).

668. resonat . . . aether: *Arus. Ex. Eloc. (G. L. K. 7, 505)* — magnis *om.*; clangoribus *G* —.

669–670. non . . . Tyros: *Macrob. Sat. 4, 6, 5* — carthago (cartago *P*); tiros *P* —; *Iul. Rufin. p. 45 Halm* — carthago —. 669–670. non . . . Karthago: *Iulian. Tolet. De Vitiis et Figuris, 6, 106* — inmissis; kartago —. 669. immissis hostibus: *Gl. Ansil. 305, 1092* — inmissis ostibus —.

penitusque cavae plangoribus aedes / femineis ululant; 11, 878: femineum clamorem ad sidera tollunt; *Aesch. Agam. 594–596: γυναικεῖον νόμος / δολογμὸν ἄλλος ἄλλοθεν κατὰ πτόλιν / ἔλασεν, κτλ.*; *Val. Fl. 1, 318: femineis . . . ululatus*; 8, 143: inpletque ululatus auras; *Stat. Theb. 7, 677: femineis ululatus*; 10, 567: atria femineis trepidant ululata querellis; 12, 790: femineus quatit astra fragor; *Sil. 1, 318: femineis . . . ululatus*; 13, 313: femineum . . . ululatum; *Tac. Hist. 4, 18: feminarum ululatu* (cf. *Germ. 7; Pfister in P.-W. Supplbd. 4 (1924), 338*); *Oros. 4, 6, 13: infelicitium matrum ululatus*; *Anth. Lat. no. 483, 19 (2, p. 4 Riese): ululans mulier*; *Vida, Scacchia, 420: lacrimis et femineo ululatu*; also *Il. 22, 409: κωκυτῶ τ' εἴχοντο καὶ οἰμωγῇ κατὰ ἄστυ* (where scholia assign οἰμωγῇ to men and κωκυτὸς to women); *Pacuv. Trag. 268–269 Ribbeck: conqueri fortunam adversam non lamentari decet; id viri est officium, fletus muliebri ingenio additus* (cf. *Cic. Tusc. 2, 50; 2, 55*); *Hor. Epod. 16, 39: muliebrem tollite luctum*; *Plin. Ep. 6, 20, 14: audires ululatus feminarum, infantum quiritatus, clamores virorum*. The words *ululare* and *ululatus* sometimes denote martial or ritual cries, but often the wailings after a death or at a funeral; e.g., 11, 190; *Curt. Ruf. 4, 15, 29; Dares, 35; Dict. Cret. 4, 1; Hier. Ep. 108, 29, 1; Dracont. Orest. 458; Hist. Apollon. Reg. Tyr. 25*. On laments at funerals cf. 11, 37–38; *Henry (Aeneidea, 2 (1878), 838)* cites *Eus. Hist. eccl. 4, 65* for those at the death of Constantine the Great. It will be recalled that the nymphs at Dido's 'wedding' had raised an *ululatus* (4, 168); its portentous

significance can now be seen; cf. *Ov. H. 7, 95–96: nymphas ululasse putavi; Eumenides fatis signa dedere meis*.

On the hiatus (*femineo ululatu*), possibly to suggest the gasping effect of such laments, *ululatus* itself being onomatopoeic (4, 168, n. (*ulularunt*), above), cf. 4, 235, n. (*spe*); it is imitated by *Val. Fl. 4, 393: et Tariaeo ululatu*; cf. *Ov. M. 11, 17: Bacchei ululatus*; *Sannazaro, De Partu Virg. 1, 341: luctisono ululatu*; *Norden, ed. of Book VI, Anhang IX, 1*, who thinks it represents γυναικεῖον δολογμῶ — “der Hiatt und Rhythmus gleichzeitig malerisch.”

668. tecta, etc.: the line is repeated by *Albertus Stadensis, Troilus, 6, 413*.

668. fremunt: of grief also in 6, 175; the house is here personified as in 2, 487–488: *aedes . . . ululant*.

668. resonat, etc.: cf. *G. 3, 150: furit mugilibus aether*; *Aen. 2, 487–488* (quoted above); 5, 228: resonatque fragoribus aether; 12, 607: resonant late plangoribus aedes (*Roiron, Étude sur l'Imagination auditive de Virgile (1908), 190–192; 306–308*); *Stat. Theb. 5, 697–698: resonant ululatus aedes / femineis*; *Sil. 8, 151: magnis resonant ululatus aedes*; *Oros. 4, 6, 12: omnia ululatus personabant*; *Vida, Christias, 5, 771: resonant plangoribus aedes*. *Lucr. 5, 973* speaks of *plangore . . . magno*.

668. aether: in hyperbole a sound is often raised to the stars, the sky, or the aether; cf. the examples cited above; also 2, 338: *sublatus ad aethera clamor*; 5, 140: *ferit aethera clamor*; 7, 395: *ululatus aethera complent*; 12, 409: *il tristis ad aethera clamor*; 12, 724: *ingens fragor aethera complet*; *Hun-*



670. Karthago aut antiqua Tyros, flammaeque furentes  
culmina perque hominum volvantur perque deorum.

*Versum 670 post 677 transposuit, dein ad locum suum revoc. F. carthago FMP, c(art)ha(go) O. P. 1099, cartago ac. tyros a, del., Donat., tyros (corr. in tyrus) γ. <cu>l(mi)na O. P. 1099. uolantur M (uoluantur M'), uoluuntur (corr. in uoluantur) P, uol-uuntur γ<sup>2</sup>c<sup>1</sup>, uoluentur a<sup>1</sup>, <uoluuntur> O. P. 1099 (vers. Graec. exhibet κωλιονται). deo(rum) P.*

[669\*]

ziker, *Die Figur der Hyperbel in den Gedichten Vergils* (1896), 93, who compares Aesch. Sept. 155: δοριτινακτος αλθρη δ' επιμαίνεται.

669. non aliter: cf. Il. 9, 591-594: κατέλεξεν ἀπαντα / κήδε', δσ' ἀνθρώποισι πέλει τῶν ἄστυ ἀλώη, κτλ.; 22, 408-411 (the likeness noted by Macrobi. l.c.): ἤμωξεν δ' ἐλεεινὰ πατήρ φίλος, ἀμφὶ δὲ λαοὶ / κωκυτῷ τ' εἶχοντο καὶ οἰμωγῇ κατὰ ἄστυ. / τῷ δὲ μάλιστα' ἄρ' ἔεν ἐναλγικιον, ὡς εἰ ἀπασα / Ἰλῖος ὀφρυόεσσα πυρὶ σύμχοιτο κατ' ἄρκης; Aesch. Sept. 320-368; Eur. Phoen. 1033-1039; Polyb. 2, 56, 7-10; Cic. 2 Verr. 4, 52: quem concursum in oppido factum putatis? quem clamorem? quem porro fletum mulierum? qui viderent equum Troianum introductum, urbem captam esse dicerent; Catull. 62, 24: quid faciunt hostes capta crudelius urbe? (cf. Aen. 2, 746: quid in eversa vidi crudelius urbe?); Ov. H. 8, 11-12: quid gravius capta Lacedaemone serva tulissem, / si raperet Graias barbara turba nurus; M. 12, 225: captivaeque erat urbis imago; 14, 578-579: et sonus et macies et pallor et omnia captam / quae deceant urbem; Tr. 1, 3, 25-26: si licet exemplis in parvis grandibus uti, / haec facies Troiae cum caperetur erat; Liv. 1, 29, 2: tumultus ille nec pavor qualis captarum esse urbium solet, etc.; 3, 26, 5: tantus pavor, tanta trepidatio fuit quanta si urbem, non castra, hostes obsiderent; 23, 10, 7: quid violentius capta Capua fieret; Prop. 5, 8, 56: spectaclum capta nec minus urbe fuit; Sen. De Clem. 1, 26, 2: quale eius regnum est? non aliud quam captarum urbium forma, etc.; Stat. Theb. 7, 599-600: templa putes urbemque rapi facibusque nefandis / Sidonios ardere lares, etc.; App. B. C. 4, 22: βοαὶ καὶ διαδομαὶ μετ' οἰμωγῆς ὡς ἐν ἀλίσκομένη πόλει; Justin, 19, 2, 8: quae res (a pestilence) cum nuntiata Karthagini esset non secus ac si urbs ipsa capta esset maesta civilis fuit (cf. Oros.

4, 6, 11); Chariton, 1, 5: πανταχόθεν ὁ θρήνος ἤκοιτο, καὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα ἐφόκει πόλεως ἀλώσει; Opp. Hal. 5, 553-555 (after the harpooning of a young dolphin): φαῖης κεν ὀδυρομένην ὀράσθαι / μητέρα περθομένης πόλιος περὶ δυσμετέσσι / παίδων θ' ἐλκομένων, κτλ.; Tasso, Ger. lib. 12, 100, 3-8: in ogni canto / della città smarrita il romor erra / misto di gridi e di femminile pianto, / non altrimenti che se presa in guerra / tutta ruini, e'l foco e i nemici empì / volino per le case e per li tempi; Tennyson, Passing of Arthur, 43-45: "As of some lonely city sack'd by night, / When all is lost, and wife and child with wail / Pass to new lords, etc."; Princess, 4, 147: "There was a shriek as of a city sack'd." Quintil. 8, 3, 67-70 discusses the rhetorical description of the capture of a city. With non aliter quam si cf. G. 1, 201; Liv. 21, 63, 9; 23, 4, 4; Suet. Aug. 40.

669. immissis: cf. 2, 495: immissi Danai.

669. ruat: cf. 2, 290: ruit alto a culmine Troia; 2, 363: urbs antiqua ruit; 12, 610: urbisque ruina. The tragedy of Dido, like that of Turnus, is not merely individual but also involves the whole nation, and this makes the present expression more significant than as a mere simile.

670. Karthago, etc.: as noted by Glover (Virgil, 2 ed. (1912), 130, and n. 3), there had been, before Virgil's time, great historic sieges of both Tyre and Carthage, which would doubtless have occurred to the reader.

670. antiqua: Serv.: vel nobilem dicit; vel illud ostendit, quia Carthago ante Byrsa, post Tyros dicta est, post Carthago a Cartha oppido, unde fuit Dido, inter Tyron et Beryton. Tyre was, of course, old as contrasted with Dido's 'New Town' (1, 298; 1, 366: novae Karthaginis arcem; 1, 522). Eiselen (Sidon (1907), 25-26) concludes that in antiquity

672. Audiit exanimis trepidoque exterrita cursu,  
unguibus ora soror foedans et pectora pugnīs,

audit π. que add. sup. γ, om. α.

(u)nguibus: O. P. 1099.

673. unguibus . . . pugnīs: Donat. in Ter. Eun. 859 — unguibus (uirginibus TC) o. (ex T)  
s. f. et p. p. —.

Tyre was looked upon as older than Sidon and as having the political preeminence. Cf. also 4, 75; n. (*Sidonias*).

670. *Tyros*: for the form cf. *Ecl.* 6, 13: *Mnasyllōs*; etc. In the case of this word the poets commonly use the -*os* ending; cf. *Tib.* 1, 7, 20; 2, 3, 58; 4, 2, 16; *Prop.* 3, 13, 7; *Ov. Ep.* 17, 149; *M.* 15, 288; *Mart.* 6, 11, 7; 10, 16, 7; *Stat. Silv.* 3, 2, 139.

670. *flammaeque furentes*: note the alliteration.

671. *culmina*: cf. 12, 569; *Val. Fl.* 2, 178-179; *Sil.* 17, 506: *volucris spargit per culmina flammās*; *Kunz, Realien in Vergils Aeneis*, 1 (1894), 19. Possibly the word may suggest lofty buildings (cf. *Buscaroli, ad loc.*), but it is also appropriate in that the roofs would be the parts of the buildings, both public and private, which contained the greatest amount of inflammable material, the stone or (sundried) brick walls offering little to the hostile torch.

671. *perque*: cf. *Ecl.* 10, 23: *perque nives alium perque horrida castra*; *Aen.* 1, 537: *perque undas . . . perque invia saxa*; 2, 364-367: *perque vias sternuntur inertia passim / corpora perque domos et religiosa deorum / limina*; 7, 499: *perque ulerum sonitu perque ilia venit harundo*; also 9, 556-557: *inter et hostis / inter et arma*; and, for the position of *per*, 4, 257, n. (*ad*); 5, 663: *transtra per et remos*.

671. *hominum . . . deorum*: grief for Dido, like the conflagration of a city, affects both secular and ecclesiastical interests; cf. 4, 186-187. With *deorum* there is, of course, an ellipsis of *culmina*; cf. *Bell, The Latin Dual* (1923), 368.

671. *volvantur*: cf. 2, 706: *propiusque aestus incendia volvant*; 2, 758-759: *ignis edax summa ad fastigia vento / volvitur*; 12, 672-673.

672. *audiit*, etc.: the punctuation of this passage is disputed. Sparrow (*Half-Lines and Repetitions in Virgil* (1931), 145-146) summarizes the possibilities: (1) a colon after *audiit* (cf. Donat. *ad loc.*) and no other punctuation till the period after *ruit* (but then *soror* must be supplied with *audiit* from line 673, and the asyndeton *audiit, ruit* is awkward); (2) a semicolon after *pugnīs* (but there is the same asyndeton and *exanimis . . . pugnīs* seems nonsensical with *audiit* rather than with *ruit*); (3) a comma after *exanimis* (-*que* joining *audiit* and *ruit* rather than *exanimis* and *exterrita*; but he thinks *exanimis* in Virgil means 'dead' except in 5, 669, where it means 'out of breath'; Anna here, he believes, is not out of breath; accordingly he would emend to *audiit Anna minas*. The real clue, I think, is found in Servius, who glosses *exanimis* by *territa*; cf. *Hor. Sermones* 1, 1, 76: *an vigilae metu exanimem*; 2, 6, 114: *exanimēs trepidare*; *Liv.* 1, 25, 6: *exanimēs vice unius*; Hunziker, *Die Figur der Hyperbel in den Gedichten Vergils* (1896), 129, and n. 225. Yet the literal meaning is not excluded; in line 635 Dido gave orders that Anna should hurry; Virgil here refers to her *trepido . . . cursu*; and during the next speech, at least, she climbed a long flight of stairs (4, 685), all of which would explain breathlessness. For a similar passage cf. *Sil.* 8, 152-156: *accepi infelix dirisque exterrita fatis, / ora manu lacerans, lymphato regia cursu, / tecta peto celsoque gradus evadere nitor. / ter diro fueram conata incumbere ferro, / ter cecidi exanimae membris revoluta sororis* (despite Anna's reference to Dido as *exanimae* it is hardly possible to connect *exanimis* in our passage with Dido).

673. *unguibus*, etc.: this line is repeated at 12, 871; cf. 11, 86: *pectora nunc foedans pugnīs, nunc unguibus ora*. Servius remarks:

## 674. per medios ruit ac morientem nomine clamat:

numine *m.* clumae *F* (clamat *F*<sup>1</sup>).

674. nomine clamat: *Gl. Ansil.* 394, 118.

*cruentans, sanguine foedans*; cf. *Il.* 19, 284–285 (of Briseis): *χερσὶ δ' ἄμυσσε / στήθεά τ' ἥδ' ἀπαλὴν δειρὴν ἰδὲ καλὰ πρόσωπα*; *Eur. Androm.* 826–827; *Suppl.* 76–77; 826; *Tr.* 280: *ἔλκ' ὀνύχεσσι διπτυχὸν παρεῖαν*; *Hel.* 373–374; *Or.* 961–962; *Orac. ap. Hdt.* 6, 77: πολλὰς Ἀργείων ἀμφιδρόφας τότε θήσει; *Leg. XII Tab.* 10, 4 (*ap. Cic. De Leg.* 2, 59; cf. *Fest. p.* 273 *M.* = *p.* 338 *L.*; *Plin. N. H.* 11, 157; *Serv. Aen.* 12, 606 (quoted below)): *mulieres genas ne radunt*; *Cic. Tusc.* 3, 62: *illa varia et detestabilia genera lugendi, paedores, muliebres lacerationes genarum, pectoris, feminum, capitis percussiones*; *Varr. ap. Schol. Dan. Aen.* 3, 67: *Varro quoque dicit mulieres in exsequiis et luctu ideo solitas ora lacerare, ut sanguine ostenso inferis satisfiant. quare etiam institutum est ut apud sepulcra et victimae caedantur* (cf. *Lact. Plac. ad Stat. Theb.* 6, 204); *Aen.* 2, 285–286: *quae causa indigna serenos / foedavit vultus*; 12, 606: *et roseas laniata genas*, where *Servius* says: *moris fuit ut ante rogos humanus sanguis effunderetur, vel captivorum vel gladiatorum; quorum si forte copia non fuisset laniantes genas suum effundebant cruorem ut rogis illa imago restitueretur. tamen sciendum cautum lege duodecim tabularum ne mulieres carperent faciem, his verbis: mulier faciem ne carpiat*; *Tib.* 1, 1, 68: *teneris, Delia, parce genis*; *Prop.* 2, 9, 10; 2, 13a, 27; *Ov. Am.* 2, 6, 3–4: *ile, piaevolucres, et plangite pectora pinuis / et rigido teneras ungue notate genas*; 3, 6, 48; *H.* 12, 154; *Ars am.* 3, 708; *M.* 11, 726; *Tr.* 3, 3, 51; *Curt.* 8, 2, 5; *Petron.* 111, 8: *faciemque unguibus sectam*; *Plut. Solon*, 21, 4: *ἀμυχὰς δὲ κοπτομένων . . . ἀφείλεν*; *Stat. Achill.* 1, 77; *Theb.* 6, 624–625: *pectora nunc maerens, nunc ora indigna cruento / ungue secat meritamque comam*; 12, 109–110; *Il. Lat.* 28–29: *maerens secat unguibus ora / dilaceratque comas annosaeque pectora plangit*; 845: *unguibus ora secat*; 1017: *saevisque arat unguibus ora*; *Mart.* 2, 11, 5; *Lucian, De Luctu*, 12: *οἰμωγαὶ δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖσι καὶ κωκυτὸς γυναικῶν*

*καὶ . . . στέρνα τυπτόμενα καὶ σπαρattoμένη κόμη καὶ φοινισσόμεναι παρειαί, κτλ.*; *Apul. M.* 5, 11; *Opp. Hal.* 4, 259; *Philostr. Imag.* 2, 4; *S. Zeno*, 1, 16, 6 (*Patr. Lat.* 11, 378): *lanialis crinibus, lanialis et genis, totum crebris ictibus livida pectus*; *Commod. Instr.* 73, 8: *os laceras, tundis pectus*; *Dict. Cret.* 4, 1: *foedantesque ora laniatibus*; *Claud. In Eutrop.* 2, 193: *secar ungue genas*; *Prud. Peristeph.* 10, 557–558: *charaxat ambas ungulis scribentibus / genas cruentis et secat faciem notis*; *Dracont. De Laud. Dei*, 3, 108–109: *unguibus ora / dilacerans*; *Carol.* 3, 390: *ungue secans vultus*; *Romul.* 9, 41; *Anth. Pal.* 7, 487, 3; 7, 491, 3–4; 7, 711, 8; *Anth. Lat. no.* 29, 2–3 (1, p. 100 *Riese*): *ne candida laedas / unguibus ora*; no. 475, 2 (1, p. 347 *Riese*): *consecuitque genas*; *Isid. Etym.* 11, 1, 123: *proprie aulem sanguis animae possessio est; inde genas lacerare mulieres in luctu solent*; *Eustath. De Hysm. et Hysm. Amor.* 6, 11, 1: *τὴν παρεῖαν αὐλακίζουσα, διαρρήσσουσα τὴν ἐσθῆτα, λίθω πλήσσουσα τὸ στέρνον καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν καταράσσουσα*; *Ermoldus, In Hon. Hludowici*, 1, 411–412 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 2, 18): *percussit pectora pugnis / ora uncis foedans unguibus*; *Gualterus, Alexandreis*, 10, 397: *arantes unguibus ora*; *Dante, Inf.* 9, 49–50: *con l'unghie si fendea ciascuna il petto; / batteansi a palme*; 18, 131: *che là si graffia con l'unghie merdose*; *Spenser, Faerie Queene*, 2, 1, 15, 5: “And scratcht her face with ghastly dreriment”; *Shakesp. Troil. and Cress.* Act 4, Sc. 2: “Tear my bright hair and scratch my praised cheeks”; *Hartland, Legend of Perseus*, 2 (1895), 320–325; *Rohde, Psyche*, 4 ed. 1 (1907), 221; *Samter, Geburt, Hochzeit u. Tod* (1911), 177–179 (on such blood offerings); *Frazer, Folk-Lore in the Old Testament*, 3 (1918), 270–303 (Greek examples on p. 274), who thinks the blood drawn is to feed the dead (301–302) and the hair is to strengthen them (302–303); *Westermarck, Ritual and Belief in Morocco*, 2 (1926), 437; 515; 519.

673. foedans: cf. 3, 241: *pelagi ferro*

*foedere volucres*; Dict. Cret. 4, 1, quoted above.

673. *pectora pugnīs*: on the plural *pectora* cf. the Greek *στήθεα*, English 'breasts'; Löfstedt, *Syntactica* (1928), 33; 42. For beating of the breast in lamentation or grief cf. 1, 481: *tusae pectora palmis*; 4, 589: *pectus percussa*; 7, 503: *palmis percussa lacertos*; 11, 36-37: *gemilum latus ad sidera tollunt / pectoribus*; 11, 877: *percussae pectora matres*; 11, 18, 30-31: *χερσὶ δὲ πᾶσαι / στήθεα πεπλήγοντο*; Sappho, 62, 2: *καττύπτεισθε, κόραι*; Soph. O. C. 1600: *στέρνων ἀραγμούς*; El. 90: *στέρνων πληγὰς αἱμασσομένων*; Aias, 631-634; Eur. Alc. 87; 103-104; Tr. 794; Bion, 1, 4-5: *πλατάγησον στήθεα*; Plaut. M. G. 202: *pectus digitis pulsat*; Rud. 1290; Catull. 64, 351: *varia—bunt pectora palmis*; Auct. ad Herenn. 4, 45: *pectora maerore pulsabat*; Dion. Hal. 3, 21, 4: *ταῖς χερσὶν ἀμφοτέραις παύουσα τὸ στήθος ἔθρηνει καὶ ἀνεκαλεῖτο τὸν ἀνεψιόν*; 7, 67, 2; 11, 31, 3; Diod. 1, 83; Prop. 3, 24, 52: *plangas pectora*; Ov. H. 11, 91-92; M. 2, 584: *plangere nuda meis conabar pectora palmis*; 5, 473: *percussit pectora palmis*; 6, 248; 8, 536: *liventia pectora tundunt*; 11, 682: *pectoraque ipsa ferit*; 13, 491; 13, 688-689; Tr. 3, 3, 48: *series pavida pectora fida manu*; Philo Jud. De Abr. 260; In Flacc. 157; Sen. H. F. 1100-1101; 1112-1113; Tr. 64: *ferite palmis pectora*; 93-94; 106; 114; 410; Thy. 1045-1046; H. O. 1857-1858; Oct. 736; 745: *pulsata palmis pectora*; Dial. 6, 6, 6; Apocol. 12, 3; Luc. 2, 38; 3, 733; 4, 182; 7, 128; 7, 608; Petron. 111, 9: *laceravit vehementius pectus*; Plut. Ant. 77, 3; 82, 1; Cons. ad Apollon. 26: *στερνοντοβόμενοι*; De Garrul. 11; De Superst. 13; Calpurn. 3, 30; Stat. Theb. 9, 399-400; Silv. 3, 5, 53; 5, 1, 179-180; 5, 5, 16-17; 11. Lat. 29 (quoted above); 1052; Tac. Ann. 1, 23, 1: *pectus atque os manibus verberans*; Mart. 2, 11, 5; 5, 37, 19; 10, 50, 2; Juv. 13, 127: *pugnīs caedere pectus*; Apul. M. 4, 25; 4, 34; 5, 7; 7, 27; 8, 7; 9, 31: *pugnīs obtundens ubera*; Luc. De Syr. Dea, 6; De Luctu, 12; Dio Cass. 78, 23; Arnob. 5, 16; 5, 17; Juvenc. 2, 377; Lact. Inst. 1, 21, 20; Firm. Mat. De Errore, 2, 3; Avien. Descr. Orb. Terr. 427; Hier. Vit. Hilar. 5: *pectus pugnīs verberans*; Ep. 14, 11, 1; 22, 7, 3; 39, 5, 5;

Licent. Ad Aug. 48 (Frag. Poet. Rom. 415 Baehrens); Claud. De Rapt. Pros. 3, 129; 3, 405; Sedul. Pasch. Carm. 2, 124-125; Dracont. De Laud. Dei, 3, 388; 3, 648; Anth. Pal. 5, 193, 2; 7, 574, 7; C. I. L. XIII, 2397, 7 (Carm. Lat. epigr. no. 361 Engström); also Luke, 23, 48: *τύπτοντες τὰ στήθη*; Paul. Diac. Carm. 9, 15 (Poet. Aevi Carol. 1, 47): *tundimus, heu, maesti pro plausu pectora pugnīs*; Anon. In Trono S. Ceciliae, 6, 11 (Poet. Aevi Carol. 2, 663): *tundamus pectora pugnīs*; Anon. Vita Leudigarii, 2, 37 (Poet. Aevi Carol. 3, 26): *pugnīs pectora tundens*; Johannes Canaparius, Vit. S. Adalberti, 2 (in Bierlowski, Mon. Polon. hist. 1 (1864), 163; Olbert of Gembloux, 4 (Acta Sanctorum, March, 3, 847). Songs accompanying the beating of the breast are known as *κομμοί*; cf. Diehl in P.-W. 11 (1922), 1195. Probably the breast (as at times also the head) was beaten because it was regarded as the seat of the emotions; cf. 4, 4, n. (*pectore*). The Scholia Danielis on Aen. 5, 78 give, however, a different explanation: *umbrae autem sanguine et lacte satiantur; unde feminae quae mortuos prosequuntur ubera tundunt ut loc expriment, cuncti autem se lacerant ut sanguinem effundant*. On Virgil's portrayal of feminine lamentation cf. Kunz, *Realien in Vergils Aeneis*, 1 (1894), 33. For the alliteration (*pectora pugnīs*) cf. 4, 589, n. (*terque quaterque*).

674. *per medios*: = 1, 440; 1, 504; 10, 21. The masculine is generic; probably most of the immediate attendants were women.

674. *nomine clamat*: cf. 4, 30, n. (*sic effata*); 4, 383-384. Donat.: *quaeritur cur dixerit 'nomine clamat' et cur secutum sit non Didonis vocabulum sed 'hoc illud, germana, fuit?' aut quid necesse fuerit eam clamari cum nomine. cum nomine igitur vocari oportuit eam quae maxima leti parte oppressa vanescens iam morte oculis nesciret quae loqueretur; quia tamen accipere aliquid auribus potuit addi vocabulum debuit, cuius integra ratio est quod non Didonem sed germanam dixit. . . . debuit enim morientem germanae nomine appellare ut sentiret sororem suam esse praesentem; Serv.: aut Didonem vocal . . . aut 'nomine clamat' nominat; sicut et Homerus dicit (Il. 1, 361, etc.) ἔκ τ' ὀνόμαζεν . . . aut certe vero nomine, ut solent dolentes . . . et*

675. 'hoc illud, germana, fuit? me fraude petebas?  
hoc rogos iste mihi, hoc ignes araeque parabant?  
quid primum deserta querar? comitemne sororem

frude P.

isti M (iste M<sup>3</sup>). ignis π. arae add. sup. F<sup>1</sup>.

priamum M (primum M<sup>3</sup>). quaerar F (querar F<sup>1</sup>), querar (r post. m. 2) γ. comitemue γ<sup>1</sup> (comitemque γ<sup>2</sup>). sorore M (sororem M<sup>3</sup>).

675. hoc . . . fuit: *Donat. in Ter. Andr.* 125 — g. f. (i. c. f. A, e. i. c. f. TC, a. r. r. f. V); [*Prob.*] *De ult. Syll.* (G. L. K. 4, 258); *Terent. Maur.* 1667 (G. L. K. 6, 375). 675. hoc . . . germana: [*Prob.*] *De ult. Syll.* (G. L. K. 4, 221). 675. fraude petebas: *Gl. Ansil.* 253, 76.

676. hoc rogos . . . parabant: *Non. p.* 221 M. (p. 327 L.). 676. rogos iste: *Gl. Ansil.* 500, 103. 676. hoc ignes . . . parabant: *Anth. Lat. no.* 17, 48 (1, p. 63 Riese).

677-678. comitemne . . . moriens: *Non. p.* 399 M. (p. 641 L.). 677. quid . . . sororem: *Macrob. Sat.* 4, 6, 12. 677. quid . . . querar: *Anth. Lat. no.* 17, 8 (1, p. 61 Riese).

*multi quaerunt quomodo procedat hoc, cum eius nomen nusquam sequatur . . . dicendo 'hoc illud, germana, fui' quasi nomen dixit. sane sciendum bene eum perturbatae integrum non dedisse sermonem;* Kvíčala, *Neue Beitr.* z. *Erkl. d. Aeneis* (1881), 217. Cf. also G. 4, 356: *te crudelem nomine dicit;* *Aen.* 4, 383-384: *nomine Dido / saepe vocaturum.*

On the transitive use of *clamat* cf. *Ecl.* 6, 43-44: *Hylan . . . relictum / clamassent;* *Aen.* 7, 504: *duros conclamat agrestis;* *Moretum*, 31: *clamat Scybalen;* *Thes. Ling. Lat.* 3 (1912), 1253, 33-73.

675. *hoc illud*: cf. 2, 664-665: *hoc erat . . . quod me . . . eripis;* 3, 558: *haec illa Charybdis;* 7, 128: *haec erat illa fames;* 7, 255-256: *hunc illum fatis . . . / portendi;* 7, 272: *hunc illum poscere fata;* *Ter. Andr.* 125-126: *hoc illud est, / hinc illae lacrimae, haec illast misericordia;* Wagner, *Quaest. Vergilian.* 20, 8 (4 ed., 4 (1832), 478); Kvíčala, *Neue Beitr.* z. *Erkl. d. Aeneis* (1881), 218-219, who compares τούτ' ἐκεῖνο ἦν, etc.

On Anna's former incredulity cf. 4, 436, n. (*quam, etc.*); for Dido's deception of Anna 4, 479, n. (*quae, etc.*). Dido's selfishness recalls that of Amata, which brings grief to her family (12, 605-611), Anna being introduced partly for the effect of pathos; cf. Heinze, *Virgils epische Technik*, 3 ed. (1915), 128. With her laments Heinze (*op. cit.*, 431) compares those of the mother of Euryalus (9, 481-497), of Aeneas (11, 42-58), and of Evander (11, 152-181). The position of *hoc*

and its repetition at the beginning of the next line make it very emphatic.

675. *me*: also emphatic (cf. 4, 314: *mene fugis*); the magic rites which Anna had supposed directed toward Aeneas she now feels were primarily to deceive her, Dido's own dear sister; cf. 4, 8, n. (*unanimam*); also 4, 477; 4, 500-501.

675. *fraude petebas*: cf. 12, 359-360: *quam bello, Troiane, petisti / Hesperiam;* Liv. 40, 55, 3: *petitus fraude et insidiis*. The verb *petere* by itself also has often the idea of hostility. In *Ov. M.* 14, 81 it is said of Dido *deceptaque decipit omnes*.

676. *ignes*: on the plural for words denoting fire or flames (*ignes, incendia, lumina*) cf. Braumüller, *Ueber Tropen u. Figuren in Vergil's Aeneis*, 1 (1877), 12.

676. *arae*: cf. 4, 509; 4, 517.

677. *quid primum*: cf. 4, 284: *quae prima exordia sumat;* 4, 371: *quae quibus anteferam;* Mackail (*ad loc.*) paraphrases: "I was the first to whom you carried all your complaints; is it my first complaint now, that you have deserted me?" Grief-stricken survivors in the *Aeneid* may pray for death but they do not commit suicide; cf. Knapp and Hahn in *Cl. Weekly*, 27 (1934), 146, n. 18.

677. *deserta*: cf. Dido's own complaint in 4, 330: *non . . . capta ac deserta viderer*.

677. *comitemne*: Serv.: *deest 'illudne quod sprevisti comilem sororem?' et semiplene loquitur;* cf. 9, 199-200: *mene igitur socium*

678. sprevisi moriens? eadem me ad fata vocasses;  
idem ambas ferro dolor atque eadem hora tulisset.  
his etiam struxi manibus patriosque vocavi

spraeuisti *F.* adem *M* (eadem *M*<sup>1</sup>). mea *M* (mead *M*<sup>1</sup>).  
fero *F* (ferro *F*<sup>1</sup>). adque *Fa.* ora *Pγ.*  
uocauit (*corr. in* uocauit) π.

[677]

679. idem . . . tulisset: *Prisc. Inst.* 12, 21 (*G. L. K.* 2, 589) — ferre *R*; ora *LK Pal.* —;  
*Schol. Dan. Aen.* 4, 456 — decor *F* —. 679. idem dolor: *Gl. Ansil.* 287, 31. 679. eadem  
hora: *Gl. Ansil.* 191, 9.

680. his . . . manibus: *Anth. Lat. no.* 11, 158 (1, p. 47 *Riese*).

*summis adiungere rebus, / Nise, fugis, solum  
te in tanta pericula mittam;* *Sil.* 8, 66: *quod  
se non dederit comilem in suprema sorori;* 8,  
82–83: *ille — / heu cur non idem mihi tumt —  
rogus.*

677. sororem: cf. 4, 31, n. (*sorori*).

678. eadem . . . ad fata: = eandem . . . ad  
mortem; cf. *Dietsch, Theologum. Vergilian.*  
*Particula* (1853), 27, who contrasts the use of  
*fato* in 4, 696.

678. vocasses: either (1) the apodosis  
accompanying a protasis to be completed  
from *comilem sprevisi moriens* (= *nisi me  
comilem sprevissem*) and to be translated 'you  
might have called me,' or (2) an unfulfilled  
wish, without the usual *utinam*, to be rendered  
'oh, if you had only called me'; cf. 8,  
643; 10, 443; 10, 854; 11, 162–163; *Catull.*  
2, 9; *Cir.* 447; *Ov. H.* 10, 77; *Tr.* 4, 3, 41–  
47; *Sil.* 17, 559–560; *Walahfridus Strabo,*  
*De Vita . . . Mammae*, 19, 22 (*Poet. Aevi*  
*Carol.* 2, 289): *aliena ad fata vocasses*; *Kvi-  
čala, op. cit.*, 219; *Sonnenschein in Cl. Rev.*  
25 (1911), 244; *Kühner-Stegmann, Ausf.*  
*Gram. d. lat. Spr.* 2, 1, 2 ed. (1912), 184–185;  
*Riemann-Ernout, Syntaxe latine*, 7 ed. (1927),  
295, §167, who call it the subjunctive  
of regret; but cf. also *Blase in Glotta*, 10  
(1919), 36.

With the thought cf. *Eur. Orest.* 1052–  
1053: *πῶς ἂν ξίφος πῶ ταυτόν, εἰ θέμις, κτά-  
ναι / καὶ μνήμα διέξαιθ' ἐν;* *Ov. M.* 8, 709:  
*auferat hora duos eadem, etc.*

679. ferro: whether Anna uses this for  
suicide in general or already knows the  
method of Dido's death (4, 663–664) is un-  
certain.

679. eadem hora: *Donat.*: *quas unus  
vinxerat germanitatis adfectus unum genus  
mortis, eadem simul momenta consumerent  
perindeque fieret ut altera alterius durum non  
videret exilium;* cf. *Soph. Trach.* 719–720:  
*καίτοι δέδοκται, κείνος εἰ σφαλήσεται, /  
ταύτη σὺν ὀρμῇ καμὲ συνθανεῖν ἅμα;* *Heliod.*  
*Aethiop.* 8, 11: *εἴθε γ' ἅμα κατ' ἀμφοτέρων  
καὶ θάνατον ἔνα καὶ ἐν ὥρᾳ μὴ καταδικάσειεν,  
ὥς οὐδὲ τελευτῇ ἂν τοῦτ' ἐθέμην, ἀλλὰ πάντων  
κακῶν ἀνάπαυλιν.*

679. tulisset: *Schol. Dan.*: *abstulisset*;  
cf. *Ecl.* 5, 34; *Aen.* 2, 555; 2, 600; 5, 356:  
*ni me quae Salium Fortuna inimica tulisset*;  
10, 652; etc.

680. his . . . manibus: = 8, 426; cf.  
*Donat.*: *manus meas parricidii crimine pol-  
luisti*; *Schol. Dan.*: *quasi sceleris contaminata  
et quasi ipsa interitum sororis adiuerit.* *Henry*  
*(Aeneidea*, 2 (1878), 841) compares *Stat.*  
*Theb.* 12, 336–337: *ipsa dedi bellum maestum-  
que rogavi / ipsa patrem, ut talem nunc te  
complexa tenerem.* *Eitrem* (in *Festskrift til H.*  
*Kohi* (1933), 40) thinks Anna's statement  
opposed to 4, 504–521, where there is no  
mention of her presence. Yet cf. Dido's  
command to her in 4, 494–497; 4, 503.

680. struxi: *Serv.*: *subaudis 'rogos.'*

680. patrios . . . deos: why Servius calls  
these Saturn and Jupiter is not clear.

680. vocavi voce: a solemn ritual use of  
the *figura etymologica*; cf. *G.* 1, 388; *Aen.* 5,  
860 (= 12, 638): *voce vocantem*; 6, 247: *voce  
vocans*; 6, 506: *voce vocavi*; 10, 873: *voce  
vocavit*; 12, 483: *voce vocat*; 12, 638; *Enn.*  
*Ann.* 50: *voce vocabam*; *Lucr.* 4, 711: *voce  
vocare*; *Tib.* 2, 1, 83–84: *vocale voce*; *Ov. H.*

681. voce deos, sic te ut posita crudelis abessem.  
 exstincti te meque, soror, populumque patresque

positam *Mb* (posita *M<sup>2b</sup>*).

extincti *P*, extincti *P*, extincti *M* (extincti *M<sup>2</sup>*), exstincti *F*, extincti *γα*, extincti (csi *m. rec. in ras.*) *b*, extincti *xi π*.

681. sic posita: *Gl. Ansil.* 522, 76.

682. exstincti . . . soror: *Charis. Inst. gram.* 4 (*G. L. K.* 1, 278) — extincti (extincteque *L*, extincti *N*); me soror *L* —; *Diomed. Art. gram.* 2 (*G. L. K.* 1, 441) — extincti (extincti *M*); me teque —. 682. exstincti: [*Prob.*] *De ult. Syll.* (*G. L. K.* 4, 263) — extincti —; *Gl. Ansil.* 227, 1246 — extincti —.

10, 34: voce *voco*; *M.* 10, 3: voce *vocatur*; 10, 507: voce *vocavi*; Löfstedt, *Syntactica*, 2 (1933), 185. The added ablative indicates clearly that the invocation is uttered aloud rather than silently; cf. Landgraf in *Act. Sem. philol. Erlang.* 2 (1881), 26; Appel, *De Romanorum Precationibus* (1909), 68; 209; Pease on Cic. *De Div.* 1, 129.

681. sic . . . posita: cf. 4, 660, n. (*sic*, *sic*); also *Ecl.* 2, 55: *sic posita quoniam suavis miscetis odores*; *Aen.* 2, 644: *sic o sic posilum adfati discedit corpus*; 11, 30: *corpus . . . exanimi posilum Pallantis*. Palmer (on *Ov. H.* 10, 122) thinks *positus* is used of one who lies down to die and *compositus* of one laid out on his death-bed by his friends; cf. *Ov. M.* 9, 503–504: *toroque / mortua componar posilaeque del oscula frater*; also *Stat. Theb.* 8, 651–652: *positusque beata / morte pater*.

681. ut: cf. Kvíčala (*Neue Beitr. z. Erkl. d. Aeneis* (1881), 220–221), who places a colon after *deos* and interprets the rest of the line as an indignant question, since he thinks it ‘too modern’ a touch to explain it as a purpose-clause. But it is rather a clause of result, and Klouček (*Vergiliana* (1883), 22–24), attacking the view of Kvíčala, cites as parallel 11, 160–161 (*Evander to his son's corpse*): *contra ego vivendo vici mea fata, superstes / restarem ut genitor*; *Ov. H.* 3, 53–56; *Liv.* 40, 13, 4; *Sil.* 7, 628–630; *Curt.* 8, 2, 6.

681. crudelis: is this a vocative (of Dido), or a nominative (in apposition with the subject of *abessem*), as Donatus understands it (the Scholia Danielis are in doubt)? It

seems more in keeping with Anna's complaining disposition to suppose that she makes the charge against herself rather than against Dido (as in *G.* 4, 356; *Aen.* 9, 483), and in 12, 873 Juturna, as Cartault (*L'Art de Virgile dans l'Énéide*, 2 (1926), 887) observes, like Anna, *unguibus ora soror foedans et pectora pugnis*, charges herself with being *dura* towards Turnus because she can no longer assist him and must consequently appear insensible to his calamity. Henry (*Aeneidea*, 2 (1878), 841) draws somewhat weak conclusions from the word-order, yet points out that Anna in this sentence, with its emphasis upon her own part in preparing for the tragedy, would but confuse the question if she turned to reproaches against Dido. Cf. also *Sil.* 8, 65–66: *divis inimica sibi que, / quod se non dederit comilem in suprema sorori*; 13, 655–657: *cur / ulla fuere adeo, quibus a te saevus abessem, / momenta*; *Claud. De Rapt. Pros.* 3, 420–421: *ego te, fateor, crudelis ademi, / quae te deserui*, etc.

682. exstincti: cf. *C. I. L.* VI, 9685 (*Carm. Lat. epigr.* no. 1786 Bücheler): *extinxisti hic meque simul matremque patremque*; also *Soph. Ant.* 751: ἡδ' οὖν θανέεται καὶ θανοῦσ' ὀλεῖ τινά; 871: θανῶν ἐτ' οὔσαν κατήναρς με; 1288: αἰαῖ, ὀλωλότ' ἄνδρ' ἐπεχειργάσω; *El.* 808: Ὀρέστα φίλταθ', ὥς μ' ἀπόλεσας θανῶν; *Aias*, 901–902: ὦμοι, κατέπεφνες, ὦναξ, / τόνδε συννάβταν; *Eur. Orest.* 195–200: ἔκανες θῆαρες, ὦ / τεκομένα με, / μᾶτερ, ἀπὸ δ' ὤλεσας / πατέρα τέκνα τε τάδε / σέθεν ἀφ' αἵματος / δόλομεθ' ἰσονέκτες, δόλομεθα; Hunziker, *Die Figur der Hyperbel in den Gedichten Vergils* (1896), 127, for the use of hyperbole in ex-

## 683. Sidonios urbemque tuam. date volnera lymphis

uulnera *Ppy<sup>2</sup>abc.*683. urbemque tuam: *Serv. Aen. 4, 655.*

pressions of extreme grief. On the form and figurative use of *extincti* cf. 4, 606, n. (*extinctum*).

682. meque: Schol. Dan.: *Varro ait non Didonem sed Annam amore Aeneae impulsam se supra rogum interemisse*; cf. above, introd., p. 20.

682. *populumque patresque*: a distinctly Roman phrase, suggesting the familiar *S. P. Q. R.*; cf. Hahn, *Coordination of non-coordinate Elements in Vergil* (1930), 187, n. 816. Virgil does in 8, 679 use the order *patribus populoque*, yet generally he and other poets employ the reverse; cf. G. 2, 509: *plebisque patrumque*; *Aen. 9, 192: populusque patresque*; Lucil. 1229 Marx: *populusque patresque*; Ov. *M. 15, 486-487: extinctum Latiaeque nurus populusque patresque / deflevit Numam*; 15, 590: *populumque gravemque senatum*; Stat. *Silv. 1, 4, 115: populi que patrumque*; 2, 5, 25: *populusque patresque*; Mart. 7, 5, 1: *populi que patrumque*; 8, 50, 7: *populusque patresque*; 9, 48, 7: *populumque patresque*; Sil. 10, 634 (= 11, 496): *populusque patresque*; Auson. *Mosella*, 409: *populumque patresque*; Priscian. *Carm. 1, 312: populi sanctique senatus*; Sadoletto, *De Q. Curtio*, 47: *populusque patresque*. Norden (*Ennius u. Vergilius* (1915), 45, n. 1) thinks the expression originated in a lost passage of Ennius. The order is occasional in prose; e.g., Sall. *Iug. 41, 2: populus et senatus Romanus*; 88, 1: *plebi patribusque*; *C. I. L. II, 5041* (= Dessau 15): *populus (sic) senatusque Romanus*; Mon. *Ancyrae*. 8: *iussu populi et senatus*. Schol. Dan.: *quidam hoc loco volunt tres partes politicae comprehensas, populi, optimatum, regiae potestatis; Cato enim ait de tribus istis partibus ordinatam fuisse Carthaginem*. As noted by Cartault (*L'Art de Virgile dans l'Énéide*, 1 (1926), 335), the whole nation is represented as perishing with Dido, giving thus a national color to the event. On the double *-que* cf. 4, 83, n. (*audique videtque*); on the alliterative

pair Wölflin in *Sitzb. d. k. bayr. Akad.* 2 (1881), 77 (= *Ausgewählte Schriften* (1933), 271).

683. Sidonios: cf. 4, 75, n. (*Sidonias*).

683. date: *Serv.*: *aut aquam aut 'date', id est, permittite. lavare autem cadavera satis proximis concedebatur; unde queritur mater Euryali* (9, 487-488) '*nec vulnere lavi/veste tegens*.' Bell (*The Latin Dual* (1923), 280) and others explain as *date* (*lymphas*), *volnera lymphis abluam*, while Geist (*Erkl. einiger Stellen aus d. Äneide Vergils* (1878), 43) and others suggest a case of hypallage, *date volnera lymphis* being for *date volneribus lymphas*; cf. 3, 61: *dare classibus austros*. With *dare* in the second sense suggested by Servius Sabbadini (in *Riv. di Filol.* 60 (1932), 498) well compares 2, 660-670: *sinile instaurata revisam / proelia*, and especially 6, 883-884: *manibus date lilia plenis / purpureos spargam flores* (where *lilia* is the object, not of *date*, but of *spargam*; yet cf. Haeckermann in *Philologus*, 20 (1863), 517-518); cf. also Auson. *Ephem.* 2, 5-6: *da rore fontano abluam / manus et os et lumina* (and Housman in *Cl. Rev.* 16 (1902), 282); Prud. *Cont. Symm.* 2, 732: *date, vincula demam*; *Peristeph.* 4, 193: *pio fletu, date, perluamus*. The confusion of construction and compression of thought are made possible, as Mackail (*ad loc.*) observes, by the fact that in the first person the future indicative and the present subjunctive (*abluam*) are identical. With the general thought cf. Ov. *M. 13, 531-532: quid moror interea crudelia vulnere lymphis / abluere*; Stat. *Theb.* 3, 398: *vulnere dum lymphis Epidaurius eluit Idmon*; also G. 4, 376: *manibus liquidos dant ordine fontis*.

683. *volnera*: perhaps meaning one *volnus letale* (cf. Spitta, *Quaest. Vergilianae* (1867), 16) or else with reference to more than one wound (cf. 4, 660, n. (*sic, sic*), above); yet cf. 4, 689: *volnus*; 6, 450: *recens a vulnere Dido*.



## 684. abluam et, extremus si quis super halitus errat,

et m. 2 *supr. P.* halitus (h *add. supr.*) γ, alitus *abπ.* erret *dell.*

683. *lymphis*: on the washing of bodies before burial cf. the Greek custom seen in Eur. *Alc.* 158-160; Plat. *Phaedo*, p. 115A: δοκεῖ γὰρ δὴ βέλτιον εἶναι λουσάμενον πῖν τὸ φάρμακον καὶ μὴ πράγματα ταῖς γυναῖξι παρέχων νεκρὸν λοβεῖν; in Virgil the same is seen at 6, 219 (of the washing of the corpse of Misenus). Death brought a certain pollution to all connected with it, which had to be removed by ritual washing; cf. Penquitt, *De Didonis Vergilianae Exitu* (1910), 66. For the plural *lymphis* cf. 1, 701; 9, 23; 10, 834: *volnera siccabat lymphis*; Braumüller, *Ueber Tropen u. Figuren in Vergil's Aeneis*, 1 (1877), 11.

684. *extremus*, etc.: Donat.: *observare* (query: *servare*?) *enim volo exeuntem spiritum; ideo hoc dixit quia hunc carissimi colligere se posse arbitrantur, licet teneri non possit*; Schol. Dan.: *muliebriter, tamquam possit animam sororis excipere et in se transferre*. Just before death the soul was supposed to hover in the throat or the nose of the dying man; cf. such expressions as *anima in faucibus* (Querolus, p. 46, 5 Peiper), *in primis labris animam habere* (Sen. N.Q. 3, praef. 16), ἡ ψυχὴ ἐπὶ χειλέων (Herond. 3, 3-4; *Anth. Pal.* 5, 78, 1; 5, 197, 5-6), *anima in naso* (Petron. 62, 5; cf. *Anacreont.* 29 (7), 7-8: κραδίη δὲ ρινὸς ἄχρως / ἀνέβαινε), and other passages collected by Headlam on Herond. 3, 4. At last it made its escape (cf. Plin. N. H. 7, 174), sometimes in the shape of a bird (Frazer, *Golden Bough*, 3 ed., 3 (1911), 33-36) or in other forms which the hand might catch (cf. Harrison, *Prolegom. to the Study of Gr. Relig.* (1908), 632), but more commonly breathed forth into the air (4, 705; Sil. 10, 152-153: *dum supremam Telesinus in auras / exhalat lucem*; Hier. *Vit. Paul.* 16: *extremum halitum fundam*; Serv. *Aen.* 12, 395 (= Isid. *Etym.* 10, 72): *ut extremum spiritum redderent terrae*), so that it might be caught in the mouth of kinsmen or successors of the dying; e.g., Cic. 2 *Verr.* 5, 118: *quae nihil aliud orabant nisi ut filiorum extremum spiritum ore excipere sibi*

*liceret*; Cons. ad Liv. 95-97: *at miseranda parens suprema nec oscula legi, / frigida nec fovit membra tremante sinu; / non animam apposito fugientem excepit hiatu*; 157-158: *tu mea condas / lumina et excipias hanc animam ore pio*; Ov. *Ars am.* 3, 745-746: *exil et incauto paulatim pectore lapsus / excipitur miseri spiritus ore viri*; M. 7, 860-861: *et in me / infelicem animam nostroque exhalat in ore*; perhaps M. 12, 424-425: *oraque ad ora / admovet atque animae fugienti obsistere temptat* (but the idea may be a different one; cf. 2 *Kings*, 4, 34-35); Sen. *Ep.* 78, 4: *non effundere mihi spiritum videbar sed tradere*; H. O. 1341-1342: *o nate, liceat, spiritus fugiens meo / legatur ore*; Stat. *Silv.* 5, 1, 195-196: *haerentemque animam non tristis in ora mariti / transtulit*; Justin, 23, 2, 8: *ut extremos viri spiritus exciperet*; Ambr. *De Exc. Satyr.* 1, 19: *o amplexus miseri inter quos . . . halitus supremus evanuit . . . ultimam si tuam nequivi meo spiritu vitam producere, vel ultimi anhelitus tui vigor transfundi potuisset in meam mentem et illam tui animi, puritatem atque innocentiam noster spirasset affectus*; C. I. L. X, 7567: <ῥδ>ε γὰρ ἡνικα πνεῦμα μελῶν ἀπέλθῃ Φιλίππος, / <ψυχ>ὴν ἀκροτάτοις χεῖλεσι προσπελάσας, / στ(ᾶ)σα λι(π)οψυχ(ο)ῦντος ὑπὲρ γαμέτου Πώμπτιλλα / τὴν κείνου ζωὴν ἀντέλαβεν θανάτου; *Epigrammata Gr.* no. 327, 1-2 Kaibel: ἔρθαδε κείμει / ἐν χρηστῆς ἀλόχου πνεῦ(μ)α λιπὼν παλάμαι; Ariosto, *Orl. fur.* 24, 82, 5-8: *le reliquie estreme / dello spirto vital, che morte fura, / va ricogliendo con le labra meste, / fin ch' una minima aura ve ne reste*; Tasso, *Ger. lib.* 2, 35, 3-6: *s' impetrerò che giunto seno a seno / l' anima mia nella tua bocca io spiri; / e venendo tu meco a un tempo meno, / in me fuor mandì gli ultimi sospiri*; Mau in *P.-W.* 3 (1899), 347; Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, 4 ed., 1 (1903), 432-433; Smith, *Relig. of the Semites*, 2 ed. (1894), 40, n. 1; Kroll in *Rhein. Mus.* 52 (1897), 338-339; Rohde, *Psyche*, 4 ed., 1 (1907), 23, n. 1; Oldfather in *Trans. Am. philol. Assoc.* 39 (1908), 55, n. 2; Frazer, *op. cit.*, 3 ed., 3 (1911), 30-33; 4 (1914), 198-200, for the

685. ore legam.' sic fata gradus evaserat altos,  
semianimemque sinu germanam amplexa fovebat

auaserat (*corr. in euaserat*) *P*, euaserat (*e add. supr.*) *γ*.

semianimam *p*, sem. animem (*i eras.*) *b*. geramnam *F* (*germanam F<sup>1</sup>*). plexa *m*. tenebat *p* (*fovebat p<sup>1</sup>*).

685. ore legam: *Gl. Ansil. 416, 157; Gl. Aa, 311, 569.* 685. sic . . . altos: *Schol. Dan. Aen. 4, 646* — effata; efata gradus *F* —. 685. evaserat: *Gl. Ansil. 213, 23; q.v.*

686. semianimemque . . . fovebat: *Schol. Lucan. 9, 57 — om. UG<sup>1</sup> —.* 686. semianimemque . . . germanam: *Schol. Dan. Aen. 4, 683* — sinum *F*, signum *T* —.

son of the chief in the island of Nias (west of Sumatra) catching the breath of his dying father; Cumont, *After Life in Roman Paganism* (1922), 59, who observes that Virgil is here ascribing a Roman belief and custom to the early Carthaginians; Frazer, *Belief in Immortality*, 2 (1922), 298, who cites a usage in the Society Islands, by which the son of a dying sage inhales, as it were, his father's departing spirit; Rose, *Primitive Culture in Italy* (1926), 152, who considers it an Italic rather than a Greek custom, and thinks the survivors are catching, not the soul, but the *genius* of the family; Duncan in *Cl. Journ.* 25 (1929), 230–234; Rüsche, *Blut, Leben, u. Seele* (1930), 94–95 (in *Stud. z. Gesch. u. Kultur d. Altertums*, 5 Ergänzbd.); McCartney in *Papers of the Mich. Acad. of Sci., Arts, and Letters*, 16 (1931), 179–182, who compares Pope, *Eloisa to Abeldard*, 324: "Suck my last breath and catch my flying soul"; Shelley, *Elegy on the Death of Adonis*, 44–45: "Oh, let thy breath flow from thy dying soul / Even to my mouth and heart, that I may suck"; Kroll in *P.-W.* 5 Supplbd. (1931), 517, who connects with this custom various references to kissing the dying (to which add Oldfather, *l.c.*; Duncan, *op. cit.*, 232–233; Heller in *Cl. Weekly*, 25 (1932), 194, and n. 5; Eur. *Alc.* 404; Sen. *Dial.* 6, 3, 2; and the custom of the kiss in the funeral liturgy of the Greek Church, noted by Plessis and Lejay, *ad loc.*). Crawley-Besterman, *Mystic Rose*, 2 ed., 2 (1927), 197, cite a case of the transfer of characteristics from one person to another by the breath (cf. also *Gen.* 2, 7; John, 20, 22). In the present instance there is evident a desire to keep the soul within the family; so Petron. 141, 3, mentions

a custom of kinsmen eating the flesh of the deceased, perhaps for the same reason. Kiesow (in *Miscellanea di Studi critici in Onore de E. Stampini* (1921), 222) would find in the Dido story three conceptions of the *anima*: (1) as *sanguis* (4, 683–687), (2) as breath (here and in 4, 705), and (3) as residing in the hair (4, 698–705). Conington (*ad loc.*) suggests that 4, 686 may also refer to Anna's attempt to catch the last breath of Dido. With the phraseology cf. Cic. *Tusc.* 2, 22: *efflavit . . . extremum halitum.*

684. *super*: 'remaining,' rather than 'above (the mouth)'; cf. 2, 567; 3, 489: *o mihi sola mei super Astyanactis imago*; 7, 559: *si qua super fortuna laborum est.*

685. *sic fata*: cf. 4, 30, n. (*sic effata*); that passage doubtless influenced the incorrect quoting of our phrase by the Scholia Danielis. *Fata* is essentially present in meaning; cf. 6, 335: *vectos.*

685. *gradus . . . altos*: cf. Sil. 8, 153–154: *ora manu lacerans, lymphato regia cursu / lecta peto celsosque gradus evadere nilor*; Serv.: *ascenderat, rogi scilicet, qui pro qualitate fortunarum fiebant*; Schol. Dan.: *aut quia lecti antiquorum alti erant et gradibus ascende-bantur, quibus superalis Anna amplectitur sororem*; Herodian, 4, 2, 5 (of imperial pyres at Rome): *ἐκατέρωθεν δὲ βάθρα τινὰ σύγκειται ἐν κλίμακος σχήματι*. Though the pyre was high (cf. 4, 504–505; 4, 645–646), however, it is here more natural to understand that it was built in a high part of the palace to which Anna, while speaking these lines, had ascended, and that she had now got beyond the stairs themselves to the flat space in which the pyre stood. On the transitive use of *evaserat* cf. Rantz, *Der Accusativus bei*

687. cum gemitu atque atros siccabat veste cruores.  
illa gravis oculos conata attollere rursus

attros *P.* iccabat *P* (siccabat *P*<sup>1</sup>). ueste *add. supr. m. post π.*  
graves *c.* attollere *b*<sup>1</sup>.

687. atque . . . cruores: *Serv. Aen. 8, 106* — sicabam *H* — ; *Beda, De Orthogr. (G. L. K. 7, 268)* — siccauat *P*, significabat *L*; ueste cruores *om. L* —. 687. veste cruores: *Schol. Dan. Aen. 4, 683* — cruorem —. 687. cruores: *Charis. Excerpt. (G. L. K. I, 548)*.

*Vergil*, 1 (1871), 18, who compares 2, 731; 3, 282; 5, 689; 6, 425; 9, 386; 9, 560; 12, 907; contrast 2, 458: *evado ad summi fastigia culminis*.

686. *semianimem*: literally of Dido, while the stronger *exanimis* is used (4, 672) figuratively of Anna. The first *i* of the word is here consonantal as in 10, 396; 10, 404; 11, 635; 12, 356 (all perhaps imitating *Enn. Ann. 473: semianimesque micant oculi lucemque requirunt*) and like *semihominis* in 8, 194; cf. also *G. 4, 221: omnia; Aen. 1, 2: Laviniaque; 2, 16: abiete; 5, 589: parietibus; 6, 33: omnia; 7, 237: precantia*.

686. *sinu*: cf. *Cons. ad Liv. 96: frigida nec fovit membra tremante sinu*. Conington (on 4, 684) thinks this line may represent Anna's attempt to catch the last breath of Dido; cf. 4, 684, n. (*extremus, etc.*).

686. *fovebat*: *Schol. Dan.: bene non 'fovit' sed 'fovebat', ut id diu factum ostenderet*; cf. 1, 718: *gremio foveit inscia Dido*; 8, 388: *cunctantem amplexu molli foveit*; *Tib. 1, 6, 6: nescio quem tacita callida nocte foveit*.

687. *atros*: of slightly clotted blood, but also as an epithet of death; cf. 4, 384, n. (*atris ignibus*); 9, 333: *atro lepefacta cruore*; 11, 646: *ater . . . cruor*.

687. *siccabat*: *Schol. Dan.: exprimebat vel abluebat, ut (10, 834) 'vulnera siccabat lymphis.' an suam vestem vulnere Didonis intersertam*. The imperfect is probably connative.

687. *cruores*: *Serv.: usurpavit; nam nec 'sanguines' dicimus numero plurali, nec 'cruores'*; cf. also the citations of the line by the grammarians, noted above.

688. *illa, etc.*: on descriptions of death in Roman poetry see the elaborate study of Blümner in *Neue Jahrb. f. d. kl. Alt. 43* (1919), 244–272.

688. *gravis oculos*: cf. *Cic. Post Red. in Sen. 13: gravibus oculis*; *Ov. M. 4, 144–146: vultusque attolle iacentes. / ad nomen Thisbes oculos iam morte gravatos / Pyramus erexit*; *Sen. Ep. 122, 2: oculos hesterna graves crapula*; *Apul. M. 6, 15: graves oculos*; *Avian. 24, 9: ille graves oculos . . . retorquens*; *Eur. Alc. 385: καὶ μὴν σκοτεινὸν ὄμμα μὲν βαπτύεται*. Such heaviness is most often due to overeating or drunkenness (cf. *Ov. H. 14, 33*; *Curt. 7, 6, 18*), but sometimes, as in Ovid and here (cf. *G. 4, 496*), to the oncoming of death.

688. *conata attollere*: Loewe (*Symbolae ad enarr. Serm. Poet. Lat. (1873)*, 37, and n. 2) maintains that in Virgil cases in which a final vowel elides with an identical initial vowel are infrequent and usually for special effects, as here of Dido's weary struggle (cf. 4, 694–695) with death; he compares also the threefold case in 12, 720–722. For *attollere* of raising the eyes cf. 5, 847: *attollens . . . lumina*; *Lucr. 1, 66–67*; *Thes. Ling. Lat. 2* (1906), 1149, 62–1150, 4; *Vasold, Augustinus quae hauserit ex Vergilio*, 2 (1908), 15; *Ekkehard, Waltharius*, 53.

689. *deficit*: a 'run-over' word as in *G. 3, 96*; Dido's ebbing strength just exceeds the full line and then fails; cf. also 11, 231: *deficit ingenti luctu rex ipse Latinus*.

689. *infixum*: cf. *C. I. L. VI, 5302, 8* (= Dessau 8513): *infixumq. viro vulnus perpetuumq. dedidit*. The participle properly referring to the weapon is here figuratively transferred to the wound; *Buscaroli (ad loc.)* compares a similar transfer in the verb *adigere* (of the weapon in 9, 431; 12, 319–320, and the wound in 10, 850: *alte vulnus adactum*).

689. *stridit*: cf. *Ov. M. 4, 121–124: ut iacuit resupinus humo, cruor emicat alte; /*

689. deficit; infixum stridit sub pectore volnus.  
ter sese attollens cubitoque adnixa levavit,

689-705: *MP.* defecit *Mγ*, deficit *FM³Pabcr*, *O. P.* 1099. stridet *bcπ*, *Donat.* uulnus *MPabcr³*.

attollit et (?) *P* (attollit *P¹*, attollens *P²*). cobito (*corr. in* cubito) *b*, cubito *a*. adnixa (*m. 2 in ras.*) *γc*, innixa *m.* leuabit *Mγ* (leuauit *M¹*), leuauit (*m. 2 in ras.*) *c*, laeuauit *O. P.* 1099.

689. infixum . . . volnus: *Serv. Aen.* 9, 576 — sup *L*; uulnus —; *Anth. Lat. no.* 17, 15 (1, *p.* 62 *Riese*) — uulnus —.

690-691. ter . . . est: *Auson. Cento nupt.* 122-123 (*p.* 217 *Peiper*) — innixa; thoro *Tλ* —.  
690. ter . . . levavit: *Iulian. Tolet. De Viliis et Figuris*, 6, 77 — ter se esse *E*; adtollens —.  
690. levavit: *Gl. Ansil.* 337, 322; *q.v.*

*non aliter quam cum viliato fistula plumbo / scinditur, et tenui stridente foramine longas / ei aculatur aquas atque ictibus aëra rumpit* (Cima (in *Riv. di Filol.* 16 (1888), 300) improbably thought that in our line the words *infixum . . . volnus* were made up by an ancient emender from the Ovidian passage, but in 18 (1890), 484 he admitted his mistake and recognized the Virgilian authorship); *Hier. Adv. Rufin.* 1, 11: *stridet vulnus in pectore*. The verb *stridere* (in Virgil always of the third conjugation) is used of various somewhat related sounds, illustrated by examples at 4, 185, n. (*stridens*). These would support Mackail (*ad loc.*) in referring *stridit* to "the whistling sound with which breath escapes from a pierced lung" (cf. *Buscaroli ad loc.*), rather than Papillon and Haigh, who explain it of the gurgling of spurting blood, and with this agrees *Cels.* 5, 26, 9 (cited by Maiocchi ap. Cima in *Riv. di Filol.* 18 (1890), 484): *pulmone vero icto spirandi difficultas est; sanguis ex ore spumans, ex plaga ruber, simulque etiam spiritus cum sono fertur*. Kappes-Wörner (*ad loc.*) compare *Soph. Aias*, 918; *Antig.* 1238. Perhaps we should also cf. *Ov. M.* 8, 417 (of the Calydonian boar): *stridentemque novo spumam cum sanguine fundit*.

689. sub pectore, etc.: *Serv.*: *nunc per transitum dicū vulneris locum*. For parallel expressions cf. 1, 36: *sub pectore volnus*; 4, 67, n. (*vivil, etc.*); also 4, 660, n. (*sic, sic*); 4, 683, n. (*volnera*) on the question of the number of wounds.

690. ter: *Serv.*: *aut 'saepius' (cf. Serv. Aen.* 1, 116), *aut promanteusis est, propter*

*bella Carthaginis* (a fanciful bit of symbolism on the part of *Servius*); cf. *Apoll. Rh.* 3, 654-655: *τρίς μὲν ἐπειρήθη, τρίς δ' ἔσχετο, τέτρατον αὖθις / λέκτροισιν πρηγῆς ἐνκαίπασεν εἰλιχθεῖσα*; *Tasso, Ger. lib.* 3, 46, 1-3: *gli aprì tre volte, e i dolci rai del cielo / cercò fruire, e sovra un braccio alzarsi; / e tre volte ricadde*, etc. Virgil is fond of such anaphora with numeral adverbs; cf. the repetition of *ter* in *G.* 1, 281-282; 4, 384-385; *Aen.* 2, 792-793; 3, 566-567; 6, 700-701; 8, 230-232 (a triple case); 10, 685; 10, 885-886 (triple); 11, 188-189; also *Cir.* 371-373 (triple); *Hor. C.* 3, 3, 65-67; *Ov. H.* 4, 7-8 (triple); *M.* 2, 270-271; *F.* 2, 823; *Stat. Theb.* 9, 140-141; *Achill.* 1, 99; *Sil.* 8, 155-156; repetition of *bis*: *G.* 1, 48; 2, 150; 2, 410-411; *Aen.* 2, 218; 6, 32-33; 6, 134; 9, 799-800; 11, 629-630; and of *quater* (2, 242-243; *Ov. M.* 8, 462-463). Several of these instances describe a repeated attempt followed, as here, by a repeated collapse or failure; cf. especially *Sedul. Pasch. Carm.* 2, 199-200: *ter sese adtollens animo perstare superbo, / lerque volutus (ter revolutus T¹) humo*, etc.; *Vida, Christiast.* 3, 229-230. The slow spondaic movement of the first part of this line seems appropriate to the labor of Dido's effort, as the quicker rhythm of the next line is to her sudden collapse.

690. attollens: awkwardly repeated after *attollere* in 4, 688.

690. cubitoque adnixa: cf. *Cir.* 348: *cubito subnixa*; *Ov. M.* 7, 343-344; *ille, cruore fluens, cubito tamen allevat artus, / semilacerque toro temptat consurgere*. Mackail (*ad loc.*) remarks upon the fusing into one

691. *ter revoluta toro est oculisque errantibus alto  
quaesivit caelo lucem ingemuitque reperta.*

*Versum 691 om., in marg. m. rec. add. c. reuolata (corr. in reuoluta) γ. reuoluta est O. P. 1099. torost Pc, toro est MP<sup>2</sup>γab.*

*quaesiuuit P. reperta . . . M<sup>2</sup>, reperta P, O. P. 1099, repertam MP<sup>2</sup>γbc<sup>2</sup>π.*

[690\*] 691-692. alto . . . lucem: *Serv. Aen. 10, 781. 691. errantibus: Gl. Ansil. 207, 17; q.v.*

[691]

expression of two ideas: *sese attollens levavit* and *sese attollens cubito adnixa*.

**691. revoluta:** cf. 5, 336: *spissa iacuit revolutus harena*; 11, 671.

**691. errantibus:** Schol. Dan.: *vicinitate mortis*; hence 'wild' or 'swimming' (the *natantia lumina* of G. 4, 496; *Aen. 5, 856*), as in Val. Fl. 6, 277: *extremus cum lumina corripit error*; Stat. *Silv. 5, 1, 170: oculisque novissimus error*; rather than as in *Aen. 4, 363-364* and Prop. 3, 14, 27, where the eyes merely wander over all the details, i.e., scan carefully; cf. Mahne, *Miscellanea Latinitatis* (1845), 107 (on epithets applied to the eyes).

**692. quaesivit . . . lucem:** cf. Eur. *Hec. 411-412*: (δός) νῦν πανόστατον / ἀκτῖνα κλύκλον θ' ἡλίου προσέβομαι; Alc. 206-207: βλέψαι πρὸς αὐγὰς βοῦλεται τῆς ἡλίου / ὥς οὐ παῖρ' αἰθῆς, ἀλλὰ νῦν πανόστατον; I. A. 1509: χαῖρέ μοι, φίλον φάος; Enn. *Ann. 473: semianimesque micant oculi lucemque requirunt*; *Aen. 10, 781-782: caelumque / adspicit et dulcis moriens reminiscitur Argos*; 10, 898-899: *auras / suspiciens hausit caelum*; Ov. *Tr. 4, 3, 43-44: supremoque die notum spectantia caelum / texissent digiti lumina nostra tui*; Sen. *H. O. 519: ille, iam quaerens diem*; Val. Fl. 6, 561-562: *dulces iam cassus in auras / respicit ac nulla caelum reparabitur gaza*; Stat. *Silv. 5, 1, 174-175: nec sole supremo / lumina sed lucis mavult satiare marito* (cf. *Theb. 8, 649-650*); Sil. 6, 10-11: *nec cernere deerat / frustra seminecum quaerentia lumina caelum*; 7, 729: *solemque pavent agnoscere visu*; Hier. *Ep. 1, 12, 2: oculis quaerentibus lucem*; Amm. Marc. 16, 12, 53: *alii semineces labente iam spiritu, lucis usuram oculis morientibus inquirebant*; Foscolo, *Dei Sepolcri*, 121-123: *gli occhi dell' uom cercan*

*morendo / il sole*. Light typifies life, and is contrasted with the oncoming darkness of death (cf. Eur. *Hipp. 1444: αἰαῖ, κατ' ὄσσω κυχάθει μ' ἥδη σκότος*; G. 4, 496: *conditque natantia lumina somnus*); cf. *Aen. 6, 721: quae lucis miseris tam dira cupido?*

**692. ingemuitque:** so Turnus dies (12, 952) *cum gemitu*. *Serv.: atqui dixit (4, 631) 'invisam quaerens quam primum abrumpere lucem,' sed ostendit morientes sua inprobare desideria, ut in sexto (436-437) 'quam vellent aethere in alto / nunc et pauperiem et duros perferre labores.'* Henry (*Aeneidea*, 2 (1878), 848-849) discusses the sentimental connotations of this word, which he thinks the most touching in the whole *Aeneid*. Thus Virgil sums up the whole Dido episode in a single word, more effective and tasteful than any enlargement upon her physical suffering or than any further speech of hers could be.

**692. reperta:** cf. Boeth. *Cons. 3, poet. 9, 23-24: da luce reperta / in te conspicuos animi defigere visus*.

**693. tum, etc.:** from this point on the calmer ending of the story suggests a Greek tragedy and is contrasted with that of the Turnus tragedy which closes, at the end of the twelfth book, without any such relief. Norden (on 6, 854-886) has remarked that the death of Creusa falls almost at the end of Book II, that of Anchises at the end of III, that of Palinurus at the end of V, that of Marcellus near the end of VI, while Mezentius dies at the end of X and Turnus at that of XII. So Tacitus ends books of the *Annals* with the deaths of Arminius, Sejanus, Messalina, Claudius, and Octavia. Is it mere chance that Iris, typifying the rainbow, makes her first appearance in the story at this point, after the tempest of the preceding

693. Tum Iuno omnipotens longum miserata dolorem  
difficilisque obitus Irim demisit Olympo

omnipudens c. dolore *M* (dolorem *M*<sup>2</sup>), laborem *detl*.

(*diff*)cilis *P*, difficilis *O. P.* 1099, difficiles *a.* dimisit γ<sup>1</sup>α. olimpo *a.*

693. tum . . . omnipotens: [*Prob.*] *De ult. Syll.* (G. L. K. 4, 221). 693. longum dolorem: *Gl. Ansil.* 345, 155.

694. difficilis obitus: *Gl. Ansil.* 177, 262. 694. dimisit: *Gl. Ansil.* 178, 462; q. v.

lines? Cf. *Amm. Marc.* 20, 11, 30: *quoniam indicium est permutacionis aurae . . . ideo apud poetas legimus saepe Irim de caelo tunc mitti cum praesentium rerum verti necesse est status.*

693. Iuno omnipotens: *Serv.*: aut pronuba aut inferna. Juno is so characterized in 7, 428; cf. *Val. Fl.* 1, 81: *omnipotens regina*; cf. also 4, 107-108, above: *quis talia demens / abnuat aut tecum malit contendere bello?* Juno now appears for the last time as the patroness of Carthage and its queen, though it seems ironical that she should be described as *omnipotens* when her plans have been so completely frustrated.

693. miserata: for the divine pity cf. 10, 758-759: *di Iovis in lectis iram miserantur inanem / amborum et tantos mortalibus esse labores*; *Sen. Apocol.* 3, 1: *tum Mercurius . . . unam e tribus Parcis seducit et ait: 'quid, femina crudelissima, hominem miserum torqueri pateris . . . annus sexagesimus quartus est ex quo cum anima luctatur,'* etc. With the verse-ending cf. *Stat. Theb.* 3, 679: *miserata dolorem*; *Vida, Christias*, 5, 833. *Pichon, Hist. de la Litt. Lat.*, 5 ed. (1912), 357, quotes Fénelon's observation that Virgil never represents anyone as dying without coupling with that fact some touching circumstance, so that his poem is "a book of pity and of death."

693. dolorem: cf. 4, 393: *dolentem*; 4, 419: *dolorem*; 4, 474: *evicta dolore*; 5, 5-6: *duri magno sed amore dolores / polluto*. On the slow separation of Dido's soul and body cf. *Hirzel in Archiv f. Religionswiss.* 11 (1908), 440, n. o, who thinks Virgil is here following popular rather than philosophic beliefs.

694. difficilisque obitus: *Serv.*: *quia supererat vita ei quae casu, non aut fato aut*

*natura moriebatur* (cf. *Mythogr. Vat.* III, 9, 11). Juno acts to save Dido from having to wander about after death until the balance of her allotted time is completed (cf. *Plaut. Most.* 499-500; *Tert. De An.* 56: *aiunt et inmatura morte praeventas eo usque vagari istic donec reliquatio compleatur aetatis quam tum pervixissent si non inlempesive obissent*; *Porphyr. ad Hor. Ep.* 2, 2, 209: *umbras vagantes hominum ante diem mortuorum et ideo metuendas*; *Nettleship, Suggestions introductory to a Study of the Aeneid* (1875), 44, n. o); now at death she may pass directly to her abode in the underworld; cf. *Prescott, Development of Virgil's Art* (1927), 290. The plural *obitus* avoids hiatus with the following vowel; cf. *Norden*, 2 ed. of *Book VI* (1916), 409; yet see also *Braumüller, Ueber Tropen u. Figuren in Vergil's Aeneis*, 1 (1877), 16. *Sabbadini (ad loc.)* thinks that the plural designates the different moments of her dying agony. With the phrase cf. also *Vida, Christias*, 5, 415.

694. Irim: *Serv.*: *trahit hoc de Alceste Euripidis, qui inducit Mercurium ei comam secantem quia fato peribat mariti* (it is really Thanatos who performs this office; cf. *Eur. Alc.* 73-76; and, on the errors of *Servius*, *Dessau in Hermes*, 49 (1914), 521-525). Iris is sometimes the messenger of Jupiter (e.g., 9, 803-804: *caelo nam Iuppiter Irim / demisit*) but in Virgil usually of Juno (5, 606: *Irim de caelo misit Saturnia Iuno* (= 9, 2); cf. 10, 38; 10, 73); cf. *Ov. M.* 1, 270: *nuntia Iunonis*; 11, 585; 14, 85: *Iris Iunonia*; 14, 829-830; *Stat. Theb.* 10, 81; *Anth. Lat. no.* 550, 1 (2, p. 71 Riese): *nuntia Iunonis*. In the *Iliad* she often appears as the messenger of Zeus; e.g., 3, 121; 8, 398; 11, 185; 15, 55; 15, 156; 24, 77; 24, 143; while in 18, 166-184 she is sent by Hera (as in *Apoll. Rh.*

695. quae luctantem animam nexosque resolveret artus.  
nam quia nec fato merita nec morte peribat,

(*qu*)ae P. nexaeque O. P. 1099 (καί [*sic*] δεδεμέναι). absolueret cm. artos p.  
quea P (quia P<sup>2</sup>). merito c, mérita O. P. 1099. peribit O. P. 1099 (ἀπόλλυτο [*sic*] corr. in ἀπόλλυται [*sic*]).

695. nexosque . . . artus: Serv. Aen. 4, 703.

696. nam . . . peribat: Gell. 13, 1, 5; Schol. Dan. Aen. 4, 450; Serv. Aen. 4, 694.

696. nam . . . merita nec: [Prob.] De ult. Syll. (G. L. K. 4, 252). 696. nam . . . fato: Anth. Lat. no. 15, 134 (1, p. 55 Riese).

4, 753-782); for her service to other gods cf. Weicker in *P.-W.* 9 (1916), 2038-2039; 2041; in Eur. *Herc.* 823 she calls herself the servant of the gods; cf. also Mayer in Roscher, *Ausf. Lex.* 2 (1890), 325-332; Baldemair, *Quae Hom. atque Verg. de Iride . . . finxerunt*, etc. (1894), I have not seen. The distinction according to which Iris is sent to produce discord and Mercury to produce concord (Serv. Aen. 5, 606; 9, 2; Lact. Plac. ad Stat. *Achill.* 1, 220; Mythogr. Vat. II, 6; III, 4, 6) rests on a folk-etymology (ἰρις ἑρις); cf. Mayer, *op. cit.*, 331; 337. In the *Iliad* she is the regular messenger and in the *Odyssey* Mercury; cf. Schol. *Od.* 5, 29. For the artistic representation of Iris cf. Friedrichs, *De Iride Dea* (1892), 3-33. In a painting by Carracci in the Palazzo Zambeccari at Bologna (Zabughin, *Vergilio nel Rinascimento ital.* 2 (1923), 396) showing the cutting of Dido's lock the place of Iris is not inappropriately taken by an angel. Virgil regularly uses *Irim* rather than *Irin*; cf. Cottino, *La Flessione dei Nomi greci in Virgilio* (1906), 30-31.

694. demisit Olympo: cf. Braumüller, *op. cit.*, 2 (1882), 16 for this use of *Olympus*; also Val. Fl. 4, 77: *demisit nubibus Irim*; Sil. 9, 471: *demittit propere succinctam nubibus Irim*; 9, 551: *Irim propere demittit Olympo*.

695. luctantem animam: cf. Sen. Oed. 344: *animamque fessus vix reluctantem exprimit*; Luc. 3, 578: *hi luctantem animam lenta cum morte trahentes*. Here, however, the *anima* is less concerned with the notion of breathing; the body constrains the soul, which, impatient to escape from its prison (cf. the old σῶμα σῆμα concept of the Orphics, recognized by Virgil himself in 6, 734: *clausae*

*tenebris et carcere caeco*), wrestles with the body which restrains it; cf. 11, 828-829 (Camilla dying): *frigida toto / paulatim exsolvit se corpore*; Lucr. 2, 949-950: *donec materies, omnis concussa per artus, / vitalis animae nodos a corpore solvet*; Ov. M. 11, 787-789 (Aescalus): *indignatur amans invilum vivere cogi, / obstarique animae, misera de sede volenti / exire*; 12, 425: *animae fugienti obsistere templat*; Sil. 6, 125-126: *nec virtutem exiit ullam / ante reluctantis liquit quam spiritus artus*; 10, 577 (Paulus): *aetherias anima exultans evasit in auras*; Henry, *Aeneidea*, 2 (1878), 849-855; and, for the figure from the palaestra, Ov. M. 6, 242-243: *et iam contulerant arto luctantia nexu / pectora pectoribus*.

695. nexos, etc.: we perhaps have here expressed not merely the separation of the soul from the limbs but the dispersion of these from one another and the destruction of the organism which they compose; cf. Eur. *Hipp.* 199: *λέλυμαι μέλεων σύνδεσμα*; Claud. *In Rufin.* 2, 412-413: *amputat ille pedes, umerum quatit ille solutis / nexibus*. Buscaroli (*ad loc.*) emphasizes, by various passages (including *Ecl.* 6, 23-24), the essential opposition of *necto* and *solvo*.

696. nec fato: Schol. Dan.: *cum dicit Vergilius* (10, 467) *'stat sua cuique dies,' quomodo hic dicit 'nam quia nec fato merita nec morte peribat sed misera ante diem'?* *nam si fato vivimus quid agunt merita? si pensamur meritis quae vis fati?* Their following lengthy attempt to reconcile these ideas on a theory of *fata denuntiativa* contrasted to *fata condicionalia* assumes a metaphysician rather than a poet as the author of the passage (cf. Mackail, *ad loc.*). Virgil here speaks

697. sed misera ante diem subitoque accensa furore,

(s)ed P.

697. sed . . . furore: *Non. p. 526 M. (p. 845 L.)*. 697. sed . . . diem: *Serv. Aen. 4, 620; 10, 467; Anth. Lat. no. 15, 135 (1, p. 55 Riese); [Acro] in Hor. C. 1, 3, 17; Mythogr. Vat. III, 9, 9*. 697. subitoque . . . furore: *Anth. Lat. no. 11, 69 (1, p. 43 Riese)* — accensa forore A —.

in practical rather than philosophic language; cf. Conway, *The Vergilian Age* (1928), 102, n. 2, who remarks that the will of Heaven is carried out by human beings stirred by feelings which they imagine are their own. Miss Matthaei (in *Cl. Quart.* 11 (1917), 25) says: "the suicide of Dido is at once the greatest inconsistency and also the crowning achievement of Vergil's philosophy"; cf. *id.*, 26, where Dido is described as defying not Aeneas but the whole ordering of fate. Yet only by the divine grace (in this case of Juno) can she die, so that we return to the supremacy of law and order.

Deaths may be roughly divided (cf. Plat. *Tim.* 81 e; Arist. *De Respirat.* 478 b 24) into those arising from natural causes (*fato*; κατὰ φύσιν), such as old age, when one has completed his appointed years (Tib. 1, 3, 53: *si fatales iam nunc explevimus annos*; Ov. *Tr.* 3, 3, 29: *si tamen inplevit mea sors quos debuit annos*; Tac. *Ann.* 2, 71: *si fato concederem*; Gaius, 4, 81: *eum . . . qui fato suo vita excesserit*), and those nec *fato* (κατὰ φύσιν, θάνατος βίαιος; cf. Plat. *Legg.* 9, 873 c: τὴν τῆς εἰμαρμένης βίαν ἀποστερῶν μοῖραν), and the latter class into the deaths of those punished for criminal acts (*merita . . . morte*; their souls are placed in Tartarus, according to 6, 548-625) and those whose life is ended untimely (*ante diem*; ἄωποι, ἄροθάνατοι, πρόμοιροι), who in 6, 426-547 include infants, those condemned on false charges, suicides, and deaths from love and in war (so Norden, in *Hermes*, 28 (1893), 375, n. 1, cites Ammon. *De Diff. Voc.* p. 116 Valck. for a distinction between those who die πρὸ μοίρας (i.e., βίαιως) and those who die πρὸ ὥρας (i.e., ἐν νεότητι); also cf. Wide in *Archiv f. Religionswiss.* 12 (1909), 224-233 on ἄωποι, βιαιοθάνατοι). Cf. also Tert. *De An.* 56: *aiunt et immatura morte praeventas eo usque vagari istic donec reliquatio compleatur aetatum*

quas tum pervixissent si non intempestive obiissent. Typical passages contrasting the two main groups are Tac. *Ann.* 2, 42: *finem vitae sponte an fato implevit*; 6, 23: *sponte vel necessitate incertum*; 6, 25; 14, 7; Plin. *Ep.* 1, 12, 1 (of the suicide of Corellius Rufus): *est enim luctuosissimum genus mortis quae non ex natura nec fatalis videtur*; Justin, 39, 4, 5: *non fato sed parricidio*; Anon. ap. Quintil. 8, 6, 10: *ferro non fato moerus Argivom occidit*. To the unphilosophic mind it may seem possible to retard the approach of death (e.g., 11, 160: *vivendo vici mea fata*, where Servius says: *id est, naturalem ordinem vita longiore superavi*; 12, 395; also Hdt. 1, 91; Hor. *C.* 2, 17, 24-25: *volucrisque fati / tardavit alas*; Apul. *M.* 11, 6; Heinze, *Virgils epische Technik*, 3 ed. (1915), 296, n. 1), but one who dies a natural death at a ripe age is described as *fato functus* and by similar terms (cf. Vell. Patern. 2, 48, 6; Val. Max. 1, 8, Ext. 5; 2, 10, 3; etc.; Tac. *Ann.* 1, 3; 2, 71; 6, 10; 11, 2; 14, 12; 14, 14; 14, 62; H. 5, 10; Justin, 9, 8, 3: *partim fato, partim ferro periere*; Suet. *Calig.* 6; C. I. L. IX, 944: *fato cessit*; etc.). Although, as Gellius (13, 1) in his discussion of this question remarks, when speaking of the Homeric ὑπὲρ μοῖραν (*Il.* 20, 336; cf. ὑπέρμορα in *Il.* 2, 155, and other references in Leaf's n.), *nihil autem dubium est quin violentam et inopinatam mortem significaverit, quae quidem potest recte videri accidere praefer naturam*, yet the thoughtless might consider such a death as not only *praefer naturam* but also *praefer* (or extra) *fatum*; cf. Cic. *Ad Fam.* 6, 7, 1; Phil. 1, 10: *si quid mihi humanitus accidisset — nulla autem impendere videntur praefer naturam etiam praeferque fatum*; Carm. Lat. *epigr.* no. 152, 3-4 Engström; Donat. *Interp. Verg.*, proem. p. 3 Georgii; also Eur. *Hipp.* 1143: *πῶτμον ἀποτμον*; *Phoen.* 1305-1306: *ἀ-/ποτμος ἀποτμος ὁ φόνος*. Suet. *Caes.*



## 698. nondum illi flavom Proserpina vertice crinem

(n)ecdum *P*, necdum γ, nōndum *O. P.* 1099 (οὐδῶπω, *fortasse correctum*), nondum *cell.* flauum *Mabc*, flāuum *O. P.* 1099. proserpina *O. P.* 1099. crine *M* (crinem *M*<sup>1</sup>).

698-699. nondum . . . Orco: *Macrob. Sat.* 5, 19, 1 — flauum; stigioq. *P* —; *Non. p.* 276 *M.* (p. 424 *L.*) — flauum; canum damnauerat *A*<sup>a</sup> —.

89 says that of the murderers of Caesar none died *sua morte*.

696. *merita nec*: on the position of *nec* cf. 4, 33, n. (*Veneris nec*); with *morte* . . . *merita* 2, 433-434: *si fata fuissent / ut caderem, meruisse manu*; 11, 849: *morte luel merita*; *Cir.* 277: *quam merui . . . mortem*; 456-457: *vel fato fuerit nobis haec debita pestis, / vel casu incerto, merita vel denique culpa*; *Ov. F.* 3, 707: *morte iacent merita*; also *Od.* 1, 46: *ἐοικότε κείται δέθρηρα*.

697. *misera*: cf. 4, 20, n. (*miseri*); 4, 117; 4, 420, n. (*miseræ . . . mihi*).

697. *ante diem*: cf. 4, 68, n. (*infelix*); 4, 308, n. (*crudeli funere*); 4, 696, n. (*nec fato*). Dido had prayed that Aeneas might die *ante diem*, and she does this herself; cf. 4, 620, n. (*cadat ante diem*). Lier (in *Philologus*, 62 (1903), 453) states that of the extant Roman tombstones about a fifth contain such expressions as *mors praematura, immatura, acerba*, etc. With *ante diem* cf. *Porphyr.* ad *Hor. Ep.* 2, 2, 209: *umbras vagantes hominum ante diem mortuorum*; *Drac. Orest.* 169-170: *mactabit utrumque / turbidus ante diem*; also *Soph. Ant.* 461-462: *εἰ δὲ τοῦ χρόνου / πρόσθεν θανοῦμαι*; 896: *πλὴν μοι μοῖραν ἐξήκειν βίον*; *Shakesp. Macbeth*, Act 5, Sc. 5: "She should have died hereafter" (as contrasted with the "timely-parted ghost" of *II Hen. VI*, Act 3, Sc. 2). Cicero remarks (*Tusc.* 1, 93): *pellantur ergo istae ineptiae paene aniles, ante tempus mori miserum esse. quod tandem tempus? naturaenel?* etc.; *Ov. Ars am.* 3, 18: *fertur et ante annos occubuisse suos*. Dido, though classed in 6, 450-476 with the untimely dead, is placed, not among the suicides (6, 434-439), but among those who died of love, the wrong she had suffered prevailing over that which she had done. Sychaeus belongs in the same large class of the untimely dead, though since he had not died of love he should hardly be placed in

the subdivision where he is, if we depended on logical classification alone. But with the poet art must be allowed to prevail over logic.

697. *subito . . . furore*: cf. *G.* 4, 488: *subita . . . dementia*; *Aen.* 12, 599: *subito mentem turbata dolore*. To what extent Dido's suicide can be laid to a sudden impulse it is hard to say, the latter half of the book having shown alternations of hope and suicidal intentions. The whole time involved, however, is so short in actual days, and the time since the sailing of the fleet (4, 581-583), which terminated Dido's last hopes, so short in hours, that her final resolve might be ascribed to a sudden impulse. *Donat.*: "subito furore" dixit non tantum repentino verum etiam non pertractato; furentes enim consilium non habent et mox quicquid occurrerit faciunt.

697. *accensa furore*: *Schol. Dan.*: *quia pudica in amorem devenerat*; cf. 7, 392: *furiisque accensas*; *Catull.* 64, 253: *tuoque incensus amore*; *Aug. Serm.* 276, 3: *facibus furoris accensus*.

698. *nondum*: cf. *Stat. Theb.* 8, 9-11: *necdum illum aut trunca lustraverat obvia taxo / Eumenis, aut furvo Proserpina poste notarat / coetibus adsumptum functis*.

698. *flavom*: cf. 4, 590, n. (*flaventis . . . comas*); *Serv.*: *matronis numquam flava coma dabatur, sed nigra, unde Iuvenalis* (6, 120) 'et nigro flavum [Juv. really says *nigrum flavo*] *crinem abscondente galero*' (where the scholia: *ideo flavo, nigro nam crine matronae utebantur*); *Sextus Amarius, Serm.* 4, 51: *flavos detecto vertice crines*.

698. *Proserpina*: *Macrob. Sat.* 5, 19, 2-5 (after quoting lines 698-699): *hanc Vergilius non de nihilo fabulam fingit, sicut vir alias doctissimus Cornutus existimat, qui adnotationem eius modi adposuit his versibus: 'unde haec historia ut crinis auferendus sit morientibus ignoratur, sed adsuevit poetico more aliqua fingere ut de aureo ramo.' haec Cornutus, sed*

*me pudet quod tantus vir, Graecarum etiam doctissimus litterarum, ignoravit Euripidis nobilissimam fabulam Alcestim. in hac enim fabula (73-76) in scaenam Orcus inducitur gladium gestans quo crinem abscidat Alcestidis, et sic loquitur: ἡ δ' οὖν γυνὴ κάτεισιν εἰς Ἄιδου δόμους. / στείχω δ' ἐπ' αὐτὴν ὡς κατάρξωμαι ξίφει, / ἱερὸς γὰρ οὗτος τῷ κατὰ χθονὸς θεῷ / δῖφ τόδ' ἔγχος κρατὸς ἀγνίστη τρίχα. proditum est, ut opinor, quem secutus Vergilius fabulam abscidendi crinis induxerit, ἀγνίσται autem Graece dicunt 'dis consecrare,' unde poeta vester ait ex Iridis persona 'hunc ego Dili,' etc.; cf. Serv. Aen. 3, 46: obicitur Vergilio . . . cur Iris Didoni comam secuerit. sed hoc purgatur Euripidis exemplo, qui de Alcesti hoc dixit cum subiret fatum mariti. Elsewhere this function is 'assigned to Proserpina; cf. Hor. C. 1, 28, 19-20: nullum / saeva caput Proserpina fugit; Stat. Silv. 2, 1, 147: iam complexa manu crinem tenet infera Iuno; Mart. 3, 43, 3-4: scilicet le Proserpina canum; / personam capiti detrahet illa tuo; Himer. Or. 23, 7: τίς ἀπέκειρε δαίμων τῆς ἡμῖς ἐστίας τὸν χρυσοῦν βόστρυχον; Etym. magn. s.v. ἀπεσκολυμμένος: σκόλλυς γὰρ ἡ θριξ ἡ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἄκρου ἦν ἐφύλαττον ἀκόρευτον, θεοῖς ἀνατιθέντες; a figurative use is found in Demades, 12: ἀπέκειρε γὰρ τὴν ἀκμὴν τῆς Σπάρτης ὁ Θηβαῖος; Gesta Apollonii, 257 (Poet. Aevi Carol. 2, 492): signavit rapto mortem Proserpina cirro.*

698. *vertice crinem* = *Cir.* 281 (cf. 122); Ov. *M.* 13, 427; cf. Catull. 64, 350; Luc. 1, 188; Sil. 3, 284.

In Homeric sacrifices first fruits (*ἀπαρχαί*) of some part of the victim, especially the hair, were first removed and thrown into the fire; cf. *Il.* 3, 273: ἀρνῶν ἐκ κεφαλῶν τάμνε τρίχας; 19, 254: κάπρου ἀπὸ τρίχας ἀρξάμενος; *Od.* 3, 446: εὔχετ' ἀπαρχόμενος, κεφαλῆς τρίχας ἐν πυρὶ βάλλων (cf. 14, 422); for later practice *Hdt.* 4, 188 (of the ear); Eur. *El.* 811-812: μοσχεῖαν τρίχα / τεμὼν ἐφ' ἀγνὸν πῦρ ἔθηκε δεξιῇ; Aen. 6, 245-246: et summas carpens media inter cornua sectas, / ignibus imponit sacris libamina prima; 12, 173-174: tempora ferro / summa notant pecudum; Phryn. Attic. s.v. μετωπίδια θριξ: ἡ τῶν θομμένων ἱερῶν, ἣν πρὸ τοῦ θύεσθαι ἀποκείροντες εἰς τὸ πῦρ ἐμβάλλουσιν; Mythogr. Vat. III, 6, 32: *scelas etiam de capite hostiae ante*

*immolationem vulsas aris prima libamina imponebant, sicque iam victima immolationi praesignabatur; C. I. L. VI, 32328, 73: pilum de fron(te) hos(tiae) secavit; Eitrem, Opferritus u. Voropfer d. Gr. u. Römer (1915), 407-410. The use of wool in sacrifices shows analogies to that of other forms of hair (Eitrem, *op. cit.*, 404-405; Kroll in *P.-W.* 12 (1924), 616).*

The use of human hair, as a substitute for an offering of the whole person (cf. Rohde, *Psyche*, 4 ed., 1 (1907), 17, n. 1; Stengel, *Opferbräuche der Gr.* (1910), 46; Samter, *Geburt, Hochzeit u. Tod* (1911), 179-185; Sommer in *P.-W.* 7 (1912), 2108; Eitrem, *op. cit.*, 407), appeared not only in Jewish ritual (*Numbers*, 6, 18; Philo Jud. *De special. Leg.* 1, 254), but also when the gymnosophist Callanus ascended the pyre, ἐπευξάμενος καὶ κατασπέσας ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τῶν τριχῶν ἀπαρξάμενος (Plut. *Alex.* 69, 3), when Iphigenia prepared to sacrifice Orestes (Eur. *I. T.* 622), and on the part of Orestes himself (Strab. 12, 2, 3; Procop. 1, 17, 13-19 — aetiological explanations of the name Comana). Cf. also Paus. 2, 3, 7. Like the cutting of the nails, this act, though unattended by pain to the individual (Philo, *l. c.*), was regarded as a sort of νέκρωσις τῶν ἐν ἡμῖν μορίων (Plut. ex *Comm. in Hes.* 76 (7, 91 Bernardakis)), and the hair was taken from the most vulnerable spot on the body; cf. *Il.* 8, 84.

Further, the hair is closely associated with physical strength, as in the story of Samson, and with the seat of life itself (Knaack, in *Rh. Mus.* 57 (1902), 217, n. 3; Abt, *Die Apol. des Apul.* (1908), 107; Penquitt, *De Didonis Vergilianae Exitu* (1910), 67; Hopkins in *Proc. Am. philos. Soc.* 49 (1910), 31-34; Schredelseker, *De Superstitionibus Graecorum quae ad Crines pertinent* (1913), 22-48; Kie-sow in *Miscellanea di Studi critici in Onore di E. Stampini* (1921), 222; Hopkins, *Origin and Evolution of Religion* (1925), 115-128; Williams, *Oriental Affinities of the Legend of the hairy Anchorite*, 1 (1925), 25; 33; 50-51; and works there cited), as in the stories of the purple lock of Nisus (G. 1, 405; *Ciris, passim*; Roscher in *Ausf. Lex.* 3 (1897), 426-428; Schmidt in *P.-W.*, 2 ser. 3 (1927), 655-658) and the golden lock of Pterelaus (Höfer

## 699. abstulerat Stygioque caput damnaverat Orco.

abstulerat O. P. 1099. damnaverat O. P. 1099. Orco O. P. 1099.

[698\*]

in Roscher, *Ausf. Lex.* 3 (1909), 3263; Cook, *Zeus*, 1 (1914), 344), as well as with certain Slavic nymphs (*Vilas*) who die when one of their golden hairs is plucked out (Reinach, *Orpheus*, Engl. tr. (1909), 146); cf. also Ariosto, *Orl. fur.* 15, 79-87; other parallels are noted by Frazer, *Golden Bough*, 3 ed., 11 (1913), 103-104; 148; Cook, *op. cit.*, 1, 343-344. Eitrem (*op. cit.*, 410) considers the lock of hair as magically binding the soul to the body, like a magic bond or knot, and compares the custom in ancient India of cutting the hair and the nails of the deceased before cremation.

With the concept of hair as a temporary or a permanent substitute for the entire person it is easy to understand the frequent use of such locks in offerings to deceased friends, either immediately after death or later, at the tomb; e.g., *Il.* 23, 45-46; 23, 135-136; 23, 141; *Od.* 4, 198; Aesch. *Choeph.* 167-180; *Soph. El.* 52-53; 448-451; 900-901; *Aias*, 1173-1174 (and Jebb's n.); *Eur. Alc.* 103-105; 215; 427-429; 512; 818; 827; *Hipp.* 1425-1427; *Suppl.* 97; 973-974; *Tr.* 279; 480; 1182-1183; *I. T.* 703; 820; *Hel.* 367-368; 1054; 1087; 1124; 1188; 1224; *Phoen.* 322-323; *Orest.* 96; 113; 128; 458; 966; *I. A.* 1437; *Hdt.* 2, 66; 6, 21; 9, 24; *Isaeus*, 4, 7; *Callim. Hymn.* 3, 126; *Apoll. Rh.* 4, 1533-1534; *Dion. Hal.* 11, 39; *Strab.* 12, 2, 3; *Ov. M.* 13, 427-428; *F.* 3, 561 (and Frazer's n.); *Cons. ad Liv.* 435-436; *Petron.* 111, 9; *Sen. De Ben.* 5, 5, 3; *Plut. De Is. et Os.* 4; 14; *Quaest. Rom.* 14; *Thes.* 5; *Pelop.* 34; *Ael. V. H.* 7, 8; *Lucian, De Sacrif.* 15; *Paus.* 1, 43, 4; 2, 32, 1; 7, 17, 8; 8, 34, 3 (and Frazer's nn. on these passages); *Suet. Calig.* 5; *Athen.* 15, 16; *Philostr. Ep.* 16, 3; *Solin.* 9, 14; *Dict. Cret.* 4, 21; *Heliod. Aethiop.* 6, 8; 7, 14; *Donat. ad Ter. Phorm.* 91; *Hier. Comm. in Ezech.* 2, p. 73 Vall.: *calvitium quoque capitis luctus est signum*; *Anth. Pal.* 7, 412, 2; 7, 489, 3-4; 7, 528, 1-2; 7, 593, 3-4; also *Jeremiah*, 7, 29; *Glötz, L'Ordalie dans*

*la Grèce primitive* (1904), 71, n. 1; *Gruppe, Gr. Myth. u. Relig.* 2 (1906), 913; *Eitrem, Opferritus u. Voropfer d. Gr. u. Römer* (1915), 344-351; *Crawley-Besterman, Mystic Rose*, 2 ed., 1 (1927), 275; *Bächtold-Stäubli in Hoffmann-Krayer, Handwörterbuch d. deutsch. Aberglaubens*, 3 (1931), 1267-1271.

Other forms of the sacrifice of substitutes for the person himself are probably to be seen in the tonsure of a part — or, in the case of priests of Isis (Roeder in *P.-W.* 9 (1916), 2130), of the whole — of the head, the cutting of the hair of nuns (thought of as dead to the world), or hair-offerings as a substitute for the giving up of virginity (Toy, *Introd. to the Hist. of Relig.* (1913), 518, n. 4; *Eitrem, op. cit.*, 362-367; *Crawley-Besterman, op. cit.*, 2, 49-50). Offerings of hair to divinities, often presented by boys and girls near the age of marriage, are found in Aesch. *Choeph.* 6; *Hdt.* 4, 34; *Callim. Coma Berenices* (cf. *Catull.* 66); *Hymn.* 4, 296-298; *Apoll. Rh.* 4, 27-28; *Plut. Thes.* 5, 1; *Lucian, De Dea Syr.* 60; *Paus.* 1, 37, 3; 1, 43, 4 (and Frazer's n.); 2, 11, 6; 8, 41, 3; *Sallustius, De Diis*, 16; *Xen. Eph.* 5, 11; *Lact. Plac. in Stat. Theb.* 6, 184; in *Achill.* 1, 629; *Anth. Pal.* 6, 173, 5; 6, 201, 2; 6, 210, 3; 6, 217, 10; 6, 234, 6; 6, 237, 1; 6, 277, 4; 6, 278, 1-2; 6, 279, 1-2; *Ballentine in Harv. Stud. in cl. Philol.* 15 (1904), 101-102; *Schredelseker, op. cit.*, 48-63.

Shorn hair often appears in magic rites (cf. *Riese in P.-W.* 1 (1894), 86-87; *Sommer in P.-W.* 7 (1912), 2109; *Schredelseker, op. cit.*, 65-79; *Crawley-Besterman, op. cit.*, 1, 162-163; 223; *Frazer on Ov. F.* 6, 229-230), and hence special precautions were taken to prevent it from falling into the hands of enemies or witches.

Whether Virgil here archaizes (or even invents, as Cornutus ap. *Macrobius I. c.* held) is disputed; cf. *Wundt, Völkerpsychologie*, 2 ed., 4 (1910), 132; *Sommer, Das Haar in Relig. u. Aberglaube der Gr.* (1912), 62-63.

700. ergo Iris croceis per caelum roscida pinnis  
mille trahens varios adverso sole colores,

crocaeis *M* (croceis *M*<sup>2</sup>). poscida (*corr. in* roscida) *P*, poscida *Donati codd. LR* (*in* roscida *corr. L*<sup>2</sup>). pennis *ab*.

mille *O. P. 1099*. aduerso *O. P. 1099*. aduersa luce *p*.

701. mille . . . colores: *Lact. Plac. in Stat. Theb. 10, 81* — trahit —; *Mythogr. Val. III, 4, 2*; *Iulian. Tolet. De Vitiis et Figuris, 6, 45* — trahit; auerso —. 701. aduerso sole: *Gl. Ansil. 33, 903*.

In any case the act seems to symbolize the release of the soul from the body (McCartney in *Papers of Mich. Acad. of Sci., Arts, and Letters*, 16 (1931), 183), and the taking possession by the powers of death of the person dedicated (*sacra*) to them; Sommer, *op. cit.*, 63-64, citing modern Greek parallels.

699. Stygio . . . Orco: cf. 4, 242, n. (*Orco*); 4, 638, n. (*Iovi Stygio*).

699. damnauerat: Schol. Dan.: *potest accipi 'Stygioque caput damnaverat Orco,' ut Didonem volo liberaret, quod semper omnes optant, ut sine cruciatu moriantur . . . vel illud ab Orco nondum liberauerat, cum illa devotum crinem adhuc retinens inter reos esset. ergo cuiuscumque debili, id est, realus, damnatio finem facit. 'damnare' autem est damno adficere, id est, debilo liberare. ideo et cum vota suscipimus, rei voti dicimur, donec consequamur beneficium et donec condemnemur, id est, promissa solvamus, ut (Ecl. 5, 80) 'damnabis tu quoque volis.' Cf. Hor. C. 3, 3, 22-23: *mihi / castaeque damnatum Minervae*; Prop. 4, 6, 21: *classis . . . Teucro damnata Quirino*; Luc. 6, 413: *damnata fatis tellure*; 6, 640-641: *quem tristis Erichtho / damnarat sacris*; Stat. Theb. 7, 239; Sil. 4, 229: *damnati superis*; 5, 241-242: *nisi quem deus ima colentum / damnasset Stygiae neci*; 15, 76: *degeneres tenebris animas damnavit Avernis*.*

700. Iris . . . roscida: Serv.: *quia cum nubibus est, quae rore non carent*; Sen. N. Q. 1, 3, 11: *illud dubium esse nulli potest quin arcus imago solis sit roscida et cava nube concepta. quod ex hoc tibi appareat: numquam non adversa soli est, etc.* The identity of Iris, the divine messenger, with the rainbow is not recognized by Homer but appears in Hesiod, and often thereafter it is mentioned as her route of descent (cf. Weicker in *P.-W.* 9

(1916), 2039-2042; also Mayer in Roscher, *Ausf. Lex.* 2 (1890), 332). Descriptions of the rainbow and discussions of its cause are numerous in ancient writers; e.g., *Il.* 11, 27-28; 17, 547-548; Anaximenes, fr. 7, 8 Diels (ap. Hippol. Ref. 1, 7); Xenoph. fr. 32 Diels (ap. Eustath. ad *Il.* 11, 27); Arist. Meteor. 3, 373a 33-377a 27; [Epic.] Ep. ad Pyth. 109 (Usener, *Epicurea*, 51); Posid. ap. Sen. N. Q. 1, 4, 4 and Diog. L. 7, 152; Cic. N. D. 3, 51; Lucr. 6, 524-526; Babr. 72, 1; Aen. 5, 609: *illa viam celerans per mille coloribus arcum*; 5, 658; 9, 18-20; Ov. M. 6, 63-67; 11, 590; 11, 632; 14, 830; 14, 838; Sen. N. Q. 1, 3-8; Plut. De Plac. Philos. 3, 5 (*Doxogr. Gr.* 371-374); De Is. et Os. 20; Amatorius, 20; De Amore, 3; Sen. Oed. 315-320 (315-316: *imbrifera qualis implicat varios sibi / Iris colores*); Stat. Theb. 10, 118-124 (118-119: *virgo / discolor*); Silv. 5, 1, 103-104; [Clem.] Recognit. 8, 42; Ael. V. H. 4, 17; Apul. De Mundo, 16; Clem. Protr. 10, p. 73 Stählin; Ambros. De Noe et Arca, 103; Anth. Lat. nos. 543-554 (2, pp. 69-72 Riese) — a series of *tristicha de arcu caeli*; Amm. Marc. 20, 11, 26-30; Basil, Ep. 38; Hier. Comm. in Dan. p. 647 Vall.; Lact. Plac. in Stat. Theb. 1, 311; Fulg. Myth. 2, 1, 69-70; Isid. Etym. 13, 10, 1; also the works cited at 4, 694, n. (*Irim*).

700. croceis: cf. 4, 585, n. (*croceum*).

700. roscida: on the connection of the rainbow with dampness cf. Mayer, *op. cit.*, 2, 321-322.

701. mille, etc.: cf. 5, 88-89: *cum nubibus arcus / mille iacit varios adverso sole colores* (cf. Sparrow, *Half-lines and Repetitions in Virgil* (1931), 120); 5, 609: *illa viam celerans per mille coloribus arcum*; Ov. M. 6, 65: *niteant cum mille colores*; 10, 261: *flores*

702. devolat, et supra caput adstitit: 'hunc ego Diti  
sacrum iussa fero teque isto corpore solvo.'

déuolat O. P. 1099. supra P (supra P<sup>2</sup>). astitit MPacp, adstitit M<sup>2</sup>b, astitit (a m. 2 add.) γ.  
diti huic O. P. 1099.

702-703. hunc . . . solvo: *Macrob. Sat.* 5, 19, 5 — sacram R —; *Schol. Dan. Aen.* 4, 683.  
702. devolat . . . adstitit: *Cento Probae*, 398 — astitit —. 702. devolat: *Gl. Ansil.* 173,  
1305; q.v. 702. supra . . . adstitit: *Gl. Ansil.* 547, 730 — super caput stat —.

[702\*] 703. teque . . . solvo: *Serv. Aen.* 11, 829; *Sacerd. Art. gram.* 1 (G. L. K. 6, 444) —  
corpore s. (corp. s. B) —.

mille colorum; 11, 589-590: induitur vela-  
mina mille colorum / Iris; *Rem. Am.* 353:  
rerum mille colores; Theodulfus, *Carm.* 50,  
21 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 1, 551): et quae mille  
trahens pennas expansa colores; Vida, *Poet.*  
3, 25: mille trahens varia secum ratione co-  
lores; Flamin. *Ad Ant. Mirandulam*, 17-18:  
discere nubigenam quae mille coloribus Irim /  
vis pingat, imbris nuntiam; Bénaky, *Du Sens  
chromatique dans l'Antiquité* (1897), 302;  
and, for the hyperbole, Hunziker, *Die Figur  
der Hyperbel i. d. Ged. Vergils* (1896), 37-39;  
Clark, *Numerical Phraseology in Vergil*  
(1913), 74-75. Cf. the adjective multicolor  
in *Anth. Lat.* no. 543, 2 (2, p. 69 Riese) and  
no. 554, 3 (2, p. 72 Riese).

701. trahens: perhaps suggesting length  
(cf. Conington, *ad loc.*), yet cf. *Ov. M.* 2,  
236; 14, 393; *Quintil.* 12, 10, 44, where there  
is no such notion.

701. varios . . . colores: cf. *Ecl.* 4, 42;  
G. 1, 452; *Cir.* 502; *Ov. M.* 1, 270: nuntia  
Iunonis varios induta colores (cf. *Anth. Lat.*  
no. 550, 1 (2, p. 71 Riese)); also the changes  
rung on this phrase in *Anth. Lat.* nos. 544,  
3; 546, 3; 547, 2; 550, 1; 553, 1 (2, pp. 69-  
71 Riese); *Isid. Etym.* 13, 10, 1.

701. adverso sole: cf. 4, 47, n. (*surgere  
regna*); *Serv.*: bene naturalem rem expressit.  
*Iris enim nisi e regione solis non fit, cui varios  
colores illa dat res, quia aqua tenuis, aër  
lucidus et nubes caligantes inradiata varios  
creant colores*; *Lact. Plac. ad Stat. Theb.* 1,  
311; *Anth. Lat.* nos. 548, 2; 549, 2; 554, 2  
(2, pp. 70-72 Riese).

702. supra caput adstitit: cf. *Il.* 2, 20  
(= *Od.* 4, 803; 6, 21): στή δ' ἄρ' ὑπὲρ κε-  
φαλῆς; *Lucr.* 3, 959: et nec opinanti mors ad

caput adstitit; *Aen.* 3, 194: supra caput  
adstitit imber (= 5, 10); also G. 4, 319; Vida,  
*Christias*, 6, 920: supra caput adstitit ingens;  
and for *adsistere* of the unexpected appear-  
ance of gods, ghosts, etc., *Thes. Ling. Lat.*  
2 (1900), 899, 59-82.

702. hunc, etc.: cf. 4, 30, n. (*sic effata*).  
The reference is to the *crinem* of 4, 698.

702. Diti sacrum: *Schol. Dan.*: *Euri-  
pides* (cf. *Alc.* 75-76) *Alcestin Diti sacratum  
habuisse crinem dicit, quod poeta transtulit  
ad Didonem*; cf. 4, 638, n. (*sacra, etc.*).

703. iussa: *Donat.*: bene dixit 'iussa,'  
quia quod factum fuerat alieni fuit officii  
perindeque ab usurpationis crimine potuit ex-  
cusari quae potioris habuit faciundi auctori-  
tatem.

703. isto corpore solvo: *Schol. Dan.*: *id  
est, animam tuam*; cf. 4, 695, n. (*luctantem  
animam*); the parallelism of this line to 4,  
695 is well emphasized by Henry (*Aeneidea*,  
2 (1878), 860), since *ego* corresponds to *quae*,  
*te* to *luctantem animam*, *isto corpore* to *nexus  
artus*, and *solvo* to *resolveret*. Thus the com-  
mand of Juno is exactly performed. Cf. also  
11, 828-829: *frigida toto / paulatim exsolvit  
se corpore*; *Sen. Ep.* 76, 25: *solutae corpori-  
bus animae*; *Aug. C. D.* 9, 9: *nulla morte  
. . . animi eorum solvuntur a corpore*; *Ep.*  
111, 6: *ultrum eos febris an ferrum de corpore  
solverit*. Cartault (*L'Art de Virgile dans  
l'Énéide*, 1 (1926), 336) remarks that the  
language is like that used of a martyr, and  
that Dido is essentially a martyr, her sin  
being that of the body but not of the soul.

704. sic ait et: = 1, 142; 2, 296; 3, 189;  
5, 365; 9, 749; 11, 520; *Stat. Silv.* 3, 4, 98;  
3, 4, 106; etc.

704. sic ait et dextra crinem secat; omnis et una  
dilapsus calor atque in ventos vita recessit.

séquat O. P. 1099, tulit *cod. Longob. Pierii*.  
delapsus *M* (dilapsus *M*<sup>2</sup>). calor O. P. 1099.

705. dilapsus . . . recessit: *Anth. Lat. no. 15, 162* (1, p. 56 Riese) — color (calor adque inuentor A) —; *Lact. Plac. in Stat. Theb. 2, 1*; *Mythogr. Val. I, 183*. 705. atque . . . recessit: *Serv. Aen. 1, 98*; 2, 562; 8, 403. 705. in ventos: *Gl. Ansil. 315, 1943*.

704. dextra: apparently the hand regularly used for this rite. Smale (in *Cl. Rev.* 25 (1911), 200) points out that in *Luc. 6, 563* Erichtho, in a travesty of this custom, *comam laeva morienti abscedit ephebo*.

704. omnis et una: *Serv.*: uno impetu effusa est vita, id est, anima.

705. dilapsus, etc.: cf. 3, 308 (of a faint): calor ossa reliquit (= 9, 475); *Mythogr. Vat. III, 9, 12*: de Didone expirante 'dilapsus' dicit Vergilius 'calorem,' eos imitatus qui animam dicunt calorem esse, quia recedente corpus friget, 'et in ventos vitam recessisse,' etc. Calor, of 'vital heat,' is found in *G. 3, 272*; *Cic. N. D. 2, 23*; etc.

705. in ventos: cf. 2, 791 (the ghost of Creusa): tenuisque recessit in auras; 4, 322, n. (sidera); 5, 526-527 (of an arrow): tenuisque recessit / consumpta in ventos; 5, 740 (of the ghost of Anchises): tenuis fugit ceu fumus in auras (cf. *G. 4, 499-500*); 10, 819-820: tum vita per auras / concessit maesta ad manis corpusque reliquit; 11, 617: vitam vilaeque cum gemitu fugit indignata sub umbras; *Il. 23, 100-101*: ψυχὴ δὲ κατὰ χθονὸς ἤϊρε καπνὸς / ὤχετο τετραγυῖα; *Emped. 2, 4* Diels: ὠκύμοροι καπνοῖο δίκην ἀρθίντες ἀπέπταν; *Plat. Phaedo, 70 a*: (men are afraid for the soul) μή . . . ἐκβαλνούσα ὥστερ πνεῦμα ἢ καπνὸς διασκεδασθεῖσα οἴχηται διαπτομένη; *Arist. De An. 1, 410 b 28*: ὁ ἐν τοῖς Ὀρφυκοῖς ἔπεισι καλούμενος λόγος' φησὶ γὰρ τὴν ψυχὴν ἐκ τοῦ ὄλου εἰστένα ἀναπνέοντων, φερομένην ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνέμων; *Lucr. 3, 455-456*: ergo dissolui quoque convenit omnem animam / naturam, ceu fumus in altas aëris auras; 3, 580-583: denique cum corpus nequeat perferre animam / discidium quin in taetro tabescat odore, / quid dubitas quin ex imo penitusque

coorta / emanarit uti fumus diffusa animae vis; *Cic. Tusc. 1, 42*: animus . . . ex inflammata anima constat . . . superiora capessat necesse est; *Ov. M. 6, 253*: cumque anima cruor est effusus in auras; 8, 524: inque leves abiit paulatim spiritus auras; 11, 43: in ventos anima exhalata recessit; *Plut. De An. 2*; [*Clem.*] *Homil. 15, 2*; *Sext. Emp. 9, 72*: καὶ καθ' αὐτὰς δὲ διαμένουσι (sc. αἱ ψυχαί), καὶ οὐχ, ὥς ἔλεγεν ὁ Ἐπικούρος, ἀπολυθεῖσαι τῶν σωμάτων, καπνοῦ δίκην σκιδναῖται; *Amm. Marc. 19, 2, 5*: animis in ventum solutis; *I. G. I, 442* (945 of ed. minor): αἰθὲρ μὲν φονχὰς ὑπεδέχσατο, σάματα δὲ χθόν; *Kaibel, Epigramm. Gr. no. 646 a 3*; 723, 1; 1063, 3 etc.; *Isid. Etym. 11, 1, 7*: anima autem a gentibus nomen accepit eo quod ventus sit; *Politian, Manto, 314*: afflavitque animam tenuesque recessit in auras; *Roscher, Hermes der Windgott* (1878), 54-62; *Rohde, Psyche, 4 ed., 1* (1907), 248, n. 1; 2 (1907), 264, n. 2; *Cumont, Astrol. and Relig. among the Greeks and Romans* (1912), 191-193; *Toy, Introd. to the Hist. of Relig.* (1913), 22-23; *Cook, Zeus, 2* (1925), 1039. For the comparison of soul to air or wind, into which it is at death resolved, cf. *Serv.*: dicendo 'in ventos' aut eos sequitur qui animum aërem dicunt, hoc est, 'in materiam quam rediit,' aut certe eos qui dicunt animam perire cum corpore, ut intellegamus 'evanuit, in ventos recessit,' ut in *nono* (312-313) 'sed aurae / omnia discernunt.' Cf. also expressions for giving up the ghost; e.g., *Matt. 27, 50*; *Acts, 5, 10*; *Philostr. Vit. Sophist. 2, 10*: τὴν ψυχὴν . . . ἀφῆκεν. *Buscaroli (ad loc.)* observes that Virgil uses ventos rather than auras in order to secure an alliteration.

705. recessit: cf. 3, 311: lux alma recessit. For the quiet ending cf. 4, 693, n. (tum, etc.).

# ADDENDA

(1 MAY, 1935)

Intr., n. 22: on Book II as a tragedy cf. Fécherolle in *Les Études class.* 3 (1934), 540-545.

Intr., n. 26: for Actium as a triumph of Western over Oriental ideals cf. Campbell, *Horace* (1924), 104.

Intr., n. 28: for the contrast between the odd and even books of the *Aeneid* cf. Conway in *Bull. of John Rylands Library*, 9, 2 (1925), 13-17.

Intr., n. 148: add Demimuid, *De Bernardo Carnotensi . . . Interprete Virgilii* (1873), esp. 36-37 (4, 129-172, describing the hunt, typifies forgetfulness of one's creator amid the pleasures of youth; 4, 165-172 (the cave scene) symbolizes *immunditia carnis*).

Intr., n. 164: Tarn (*Camb. anc. Hist.* 10 (1934), 35) minimizes Cleopatra's beauty.

Intr., n. 166: Tarn, though recognizing (*op. cit.*, 10, 77) likenesses between the two queens, believes (*op. cit.*, 10, 110, n. 1) that Octavian's temptation by Cleopatra is an invented story, designed to glorify his continence.

Intr., n. 172: for Cleopatra's wealth cf. Tarn, *op. cit.*, 10, 37. In the first century after Christ she was believed to have possessed the secret of making gold by alchemy; cf. Taylor in *Journ. of Hellen. Stud.* 50 (1930), 116-117.

Intr., n. 201: add Tarn in *Camb. anc. Hist.* 10 (1934), 80, 97, and n. 2.

Intr., n. 237: cf. the minor characters in other ancient writings, e.g., the Pauline epistles.

Intr., n. 244: in connection with Landor's remark it should be realized that the visit of Teucer to Sidon (1, 619-621) was after the fall of Troy.

Intr., n. 289: on Virgil's philosophy add Conway in *Bull. of John Rylands Library*, 6, 4 (1922), 14-15; 9, 2 (1925), 19; Nock in *Camb. anc. Hist.* 10 (1934), 504.

Intr., n. 299: on the character of Aeneas add Espinosa Polit, *Virgilio el Poeta y su Misión providencial* (1932), 477-496; Longi, *Studi nell' Epica romana*, 1 (n.d.; 1934?), 51.

Intr., n. 311: Longi (*op. cit.*, 1, 36) emphasizes in Aeneas the character of an *οἰκιστῆς* and a *πολιτικός*.

Intr., n. 354: for the likenesses between Augustus and Apollo cf. Ercole in *Ann. d. r. Scuola norm. sup. di Pisa*, ser. 2, 3 (1934), 416-423.

Intr., n. 434: an epic poem is a chapter in the history of Providence; cf. Seeley and Abbott cited by Conway in *Bull. of John Rylands Library*, 9, 2 (1925), 4.

Intr., n. 468: if Book V originally preceded Book IV the phrase *septima aetas* might be more easily explained, as well as the contradiction between 5, 854-861 and 6, 338: *Libyco . . . cursu*; cf. Butler, ed. of Book IV (1935), 32-33.

Intr., n. 470: add Van der Vliet, *Studia eccles.*, Tertull. 1 (1891), 10-12; Schrödinger, *Das Epos des Arator . . . in seinem Verhältnis zu Vergil* (1911).

Intr., n. 472: add Delepierre, *Rev. analyt. des Ouvrages écrits en Centon* (1878); *id.*, *Tableau de la Litt. du Centon* (1874-1875).

Intr., n. 498: on this African tradition cf. Gsell in *Cinquantenaire de la Fac. des Lettres d'Alger* (1932), 10-11.

Intr., n. 511: add Shannon, *Chaucer and the Roman Poets* (*Harvard Stud. in comp. Lit.* 7 (1929)), esp. 48-119; 169-301.

Intr., n. 524: add Friedrich, *Die Dido-dramen des Dolce, Jodelle, u. Marlowe*, etc. (1888); also Dido-tragedies by von Stein-Rochberg (1794), Suringar (1880), and Wilson, *Sunt Lacrimae Rerum* (1930).

Intr., n. 532: add Jarislowsky, *Schillers Übertragungen aus Vergil* (1928).

Intr., n. 534: add Guiard, *Virgile et Victor Hugo* (1910).

Intr., n. 544: add De Wit in *Mnemosyne*, 3 ser., 1 (1933/1934), 217-231, on the origin of these illustrations and their relation to North African mosaics.

1. at: so in Book XII its theme is immediately introduced by placing *Turnus* as the first word.

1. *regina*: on Cleopatra as the queen *par excellence* cf. Tarn in *Camb. anc. Hist.* 10 (1934), 38.

1. *cura*: cf. Plaut. *Epid.* 135.

5. *postera*, etc.: Mandra, *The Time Element in the Aeneid of Vergil* (1934), 112-173 (especially 116-126 on Book IV), gives another chronological scheme, arranging the first books thus: I. 1, 34-305; II. 1, 306-4, 5; III. 4, 6-4, 85; then an indeterminate interval, including most of Aeneas's stay at Carthage, from 4, 86-4, 128; I. 4, 129-168; another indeterminate interval, from 4, 169-197; I. 4, 198-583; II. 4, 584-5, 41. In Book IV this differs little from Heinze's treatment.

8. *male sana*: cf. C. I. L. XIII, 1602, 2 (= *Carm. Lat. epigr.*, Suppl. 1998, 2 Lommatzsch): (m)ale sa(nu)s.

9. *Anna*, etc.: Friedrich (in *Hermes*, 69 (1934), 312) finds in the following lines the influence of Eur. Ἰηπόλυτος καλυπτόμενος, especially in the dream-motive.

12. *credo equidem*: add Grillius, *Comm. in Cic. Rhel.* p. 15 Martin: *credo equidem nec vana fides genus esse deorum — quidem* cod. M—.

12. *genus . . . deorum*: add 7, 556: *Veneris genus*; 12, 127; 12, 515.

14. *exhausta*: add Grillius, *op. cit.*, p. 12 Martin: *quae bella exhausta canebat — qui* cod. G—.

22. *inflexit*: cf. Avit. *Carm.* 2, 255: *inflexos . . . sensus*.

22. *impulit*: cf. Ter. *Andr.* 266: *dum in dubios animus paulo momento huc vel illuc impellitur*.

24. *sed*, etc.: for swallowing by the earth cf. Apul. *M.* 1, 15; Thompson, *Motif-index of Folk-literature* (Indiana Univ. Stud. no. 101 (1933)), 3, 187; and on lovers' oaths add: Otto, *Die Sprichwörter . . . der Römer* (1890), 31; Merrill on Catull. 70, 3; Pearson on Soph. Frag. 811; Apollod. *Bibl.* 2, 1, 3: *διὸ φησιν Ἡσίοδος οὐκ ἐπισπᾶσθαι τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν θεῶν ὀργὴν γινόμενους ὄρκους ὥστε ἔρωτος*.

26. *Erebo*: on this *lectio difficilior* cf. Funaioli in *Atti della Soc. ital. per il Progr. delle Scienze*, 21, 3 (1932), 117-132. On the derivation cf. also Harris in *Bull. of John Rylands Library*, 9, 1 (1925), 25.

29. *habeat*: on *univirae* cf. Kroll, *Die Kultur d. cic. Zeit*, 2 (1933), 49.

44. *germanique*, etc.: against the view that Virgil's half-lines are intentional cf. Owen in *The Year's Work in cl. Stud.* 23 (1930), 21.

52. *hiems*: for a résumé of opinions upon the season meant cf. Mandra, *op. cit.*, especially 154-161, who concludes that "Aeneas did not pass more than five or six weeks in Carthage," and that these were in the winter; cf. 4, 193.

55. *solvitque pudorem*: cf. Prud. *Hamart.* 260: *solvendi . . . pudoris*.

57. *de more*: cf. *Il. Lat.* 550; *caeduntque sacras ex more bidentes*.

57. *bidentis*: Dunbabin (in *Cl. Rev.* 48 (1934), 212) remarks: "Bidens is what is called in Tasmania a 'two-tooth.'"

58. *legiferae*, etc.: the settled life represented by these deities is contrasted with the nomadic lawlessness of the tribes described in 4, 40-43.

68. *infelix*: cf. *Corp. Hermet.* 2, 17a (1, p. 144 Scott): μέγιστον ἀτυχημα καὶ ἀσέβημά ἐστιν ἀτεκνὸν τινα ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀπαλλαγῆναι; Basil, *Ep.* 300: (a youth dies) πρὶν εἰς μέτρον ἡλικίας ἔλθεῖν . . . καὶ διαδοχῇ τοῦ γένους καταλιπεῖν; *id.*, *Ep.* 301.

76. *incipit*, etc.: cf. Anon. *De Semiram. et Nino* (*Erot. Frag. papyr.* 8, 27-28 Lavagnini): (καὶ ἐξο)λέρο τι λέγειν, (πρὶν δὲ φθέγγε)σθαι ἀπεπαύετο; 8, 32-34.

84. *gremio*: against the view that we have here the real Ascanius cf. Mandra, *op. cit.*, 119, n. 252.

88. *minae*: cf. the St. Gall Glossary (*Trans. Am. philol. Assoc.* 15 (1885), 168, 93): *minas: altitudinis propugnaculum*.

89. *ingentes*: on the use of this word in poetry cf. Skard in *Avhandlingar . . . Norske Videnskaps-Akademi i Oslo*, Hist.-Fil. Kl. 2, 4 (1933), 40-41.

93. *egregiam*: sarcastic also in Apul. *M.* 2, 14.

119. *Titan*: add Petron. 122, 128.

126. *conubio*, etc.: cf. *Carm. Lat. epigr.*, Suppl. 1942, 1 Lommatzsch: (co)nubio iuncti.

132. *odora*: on the scent of dogs add Sext. Emp. *Pyrrhon.* 1, 64.



132. *canum vis*: for the monosyllable cf. Campbell, *Horace* (1924), 279, n. 1.

134. *ostro*: purple and gold were combined at Rome in the *factiones* established by Domitian; cf. Pollack in *P.-W.* 6 (1909), 1955. For the discovery of cloth dyed this color see Albright in *Am. Journ. Arch.* 39 (1935), 148.

136. *stipante*: *spissante* (St. Gall Glossary in *Trans. Am. philol. Assoc.* 15 (1885), 182, 260).

137. *chlamydem*: *id.*, 181, 189.

138. *pharetra*: as Dido is here compared to Diana so in 6, 451-454 she is compared to the moon itself.

146. *pictique Agathyrsi*: on tattooing cf. the very important account by Cook, *Zeus*, 2 (1925), 122-124 and fig. 76; and the elaborate articles of Dölger in *Antike u. Christentum*, 1 (1929), 197-211; 2 (1930), 100-116; 2, 160; 2, 297-300; 3 (1932), 204-209; 3, 257-259. The relation of the Agathyrsi to Delos is perhaps to be explained in connection with the 'Hyperborean offerings'; cf. Hdt. 4, 33-35.

159. *aprum*: cf. Knapp in *Cl. Weekly*, 28 (1935), 81-84 on boar-hunting.

165. *speluncam*, etc.: the words *speluncam* . . . *deveniunt* are said to have been used by Loyola in exorcizing an evil spirit from one possessed; cf. the Bipontine ed. of Virgil (1783), *Notitia litteraria*, 273.

166. *pronuba Iuno*: cf. St. Gall Glossary (*Trans. Am. philol. Assoc.* 15 (1885), 176, 458).

173. *Fama*: Professor A. D. Nock calls to my attention the long description of Rumor in Aeschin. *Cont. Timarch.* 127-129, in which cf. *πλανᾶται φήμη κατὰ τὴν πόλιν* (127) with Virgil's *magnas ille fama per urbes*.

174. *Fama*: as a testimonium add Tert. *Ad Nat.* 1, 7: *fama malum quo non aliud velocius ullum*.

175. *adquirat*: cf. Avit. *Carm.* 6, 135: *si non acquirit eundo*.

177. *ingreditur*, etc.: add 3, 619-620: *ipse arduus atque pulsat sidera*.

189. *tum*: on Virgil's use of this word cf. 4, 222; Mandra, *op. cit.*, 33; 178-179.

193. *quam longa*: cf. 4, 52, add. n. (*hiems*); Mandra, *op. cit.*, 64, n. 153.

198. *Garamantide*: on remains of the military power of this race cf. P(icard) in *Rev. arch.* 6 ser., 4 (1934), 190.

206. *Maurusia*: *Mauretania* (St. Gall Glossary in *Trans. Am. philol. Assoc.* 15 (1885), 167, 45).

211. *errans*: is there here perhaps an allusion to a common ancient etymology of Dido as = *πλανήτις*? Cf. Timaeus (quoted on p. 16) and *Etym. M.* s.v. *Διδώ* (quoted at p. 22, n. 142); Meltzer in Roscher, *Ausf. Lex.* 1 (1890), 1013; Rosbach in *P.-W.* 5 (1905), 431; the word would then translate [*ne*] *δίδω*, 'the wanderer.' But for other suggested etymologies see Meltzer, *op. cit.*, 1016-1017; Rosbach, *l.c.*; Harris, *Ascent of Olympus* (1917), 111; 132; 4, 335, n. (*Elisae*), above.

216. *mitra*: *corona et amictus capillorum* (*id.*, 168, 94). For this notion of taboo cf. Hewitt in *Cl. Philol.* 30 (1935), 15.

218. *fovemus*: Butler (*ad loc.*) compares the prayer of Triopas to Poseidon (Callim. *Hymn.* 6, 98-99): *εἴπερ ἐγὼ μὲν / σέυ τε καὶ Αἰολίδος Κανάκας γένος*.

219. *arasque tenentem*: on touching of altars add Dölger in *Antike u. Christentum*, 2 (1930), 161-173.

223. *vade age*: add Grillius, *Comm. in Cic. Rhet.* p. 38 Martin: *vade age, nate, voca zephyros et labere pennis — et labere pennis om. codd. BFM* —.

227. *non illum*: add Grillius, *op. cit.*, p. 44 Martin: *non illum nobis genitrix pulcherrima talem / promisit*.

237. *naviget*: add Grillius, *op. cit.*, p. 38 Martin: *naviget! haec summa est*.

247. *Atlantis*: on sky-supporting mountains cf. Thompson, *Motif-index of Folk-lit.* (*Indiana Univ. Stud.* no. 96 (1932)), 1, 104; 1, 125; no. 101 (1933), 3, 9.

251. *riget*, etc.: cf. Petron. 122, 150: *glacie concreta riget*; 123, 200.

254. *circum . . . circum*: with this repetition cf. those in 12, 476; 12, 479.

258. *Cyllenia proles*: add Petron. 124, 269.

290. *rebus . . . novandis*: on Ennius as a possible source for Sallust and Virgil cf. Klotz in *Philol. Woch.* 54 (1934), 748.

301. *bacchatur*: *discurrit* (St. Gall Glos-

sary in *Trans. Am. philol. Assoc.* 15 (1885), 145, 5).

302. *trieterica* . . . *orgia*: add Nilsson in *Acta Univ. Lundensis*, N. S., 14, 21 (1918), 42, n. 2.

304. *ultra*: in contrast to Aeneas's doubt how to begin the colloquy (4, 284; 4, 291-294).

305. *perfidie*: on 'Punic faith' add Kroll, *Die Kultur d. cic. Zeit*, 1 (1933), 26-27. On the good faith of Aeneas cf. the boast of Ilioneus in 7, 235.

309. *hiberno*: on the meaning of *sidere* (= 'storm') cf. Powell in *Philologus*, 89 (1934), 388.

310. *mediis*: on ancient winter navigation cf. Mandra, *op. cit.*, 157, n. 306, with many cases from Cicero; and for the meaning of *aquilo* (connected with *aquilus* and opposed to *albus*) see Knight in *Cl. Rev.* 48 (1934), 124-125.

322. *sidera*: cf. *C. I. L.* XIII, 128, 5-6 (= *Carm. Lat. epigr.*, Suppl. 2099, 5-6 Lommatzsch): *te tua pro meritis virtutis ad astra vehebat / intuleratque alto debita fama polo*.

327. *saltem*: Mandra (*op. cit.*, 159-160) thinks that Aeneas left before Dido could have known whether she was pregnant, i.e., within four weeks after the cave scene, and he feels that there is in epic no place for the barren woman. Yet there were no children by her marriage with Sychaeus, and Dido would hardly have committed suicide before she could know that there would be no *parvulus Aeneas*. Cf. also 4, 190, n. (*infecta*), above.

345. *Gryneus*: Columba (in *Atti d. r. Acc. d. Sci., Lett., e belle Arti di Palermo*, 17, 1 (1931), as cited by Ercole in *Ann. d. r. Scuola norm. sup. di Pisa*, ser. 2, 3 (1934), 416, n. 2) suggests that Aeneas, in order to persuade Dido, uses for the god Apollo the appellation under which he must have been known to the peoples of Asia (and also to the Phoenicians); cf. the use of *Thymbraeus* in 3, 85.

365. *nec*, etc.: add Grillius, *Comm. in Cic. Rhet.* p. 15 Martin: *non* [sic] *tibi diva parens — patens* cod. M —.

366. *duris*: cf. Sil. 1, 638-639: *et, quem insana freta aut coelus genuere ferarum, /*

*vidimus Hannibalem*; Basil, *Ep.* 269: *τίς δὲ οὐτω λήθιος τὴν καρδίαν, κτλ.* On men born from stone, earth, or trees add Dixon, *Oceanic Mythol.* (1916), 111; Thompson, *Motif-index of Folk-lit.* (*Indiana Univ. Stud.* no. 96 (1932), 1, 154-156).

369. *lumina flexit*: cf. *Ov. Tr.* 3, 9, 22: *lumina flexa tulit*; Avit. *Carm.* 2, 250: *lumina cur flectis?*

387. *veniet* . . . *fama*: add 6, 694.

390. *multa*: on the adverbial use cf. Pease on *Cic. De Div.* 1, 41.

393. *at*: Aeneas becomes *pius* when he is again in spirit the old Aeneas; cf. Mandra, *op. cit.*, 62, n. 151; also Espinosa Polit, *Virgilio el Poeta y su Mision providencial* (1932), 490; Longi, *Studi nell' Epica romana*, 1 (n. d.; 1934?), 33.

401. *cernas*: Mandra (*op. cit.*, 122) thinks this word and *totaque ex urbe* imply full daylight.

408. *quis*, etc.: Espinosa Polit, *op. cit.*, 202, discusses such apostrophes and (460, n. o) cites from a Roman Catholic office of the Dolores of the Virgin, in the midst of Gospel verses describing the Crucifixion, the apostrophe of the Virgin: *quis tibi nunc sensus, dum cernis talia, Virgo?*

414. *summittere*: cf. Avit. *Carm.* 5, 108: *submittite corda timori*.

415. *ne quid*, etc.: cf. Arator, 1, 225: *ne quid inexpertum*.

418. *puppibus*: possibly an allusion to olive branches used to garland a ship at sailing may be seen in Petron. 108, 13.

427. *cineres manesve*: Funaioli (in *Atti d. Soc. ital. per il Progr. delle Scienze*, 21, 3 (1932), 126) defends the reading *cineres*.

436. *quam*, etc.: I had thought of emending *cumulatam* to *tumulata in* — 'when I am dead and buried'; cf. the use of *tumulata* in *Carm. Lat. epigr.*, Suppl. 1997, 8; 2097, 2 Lommatzsch —, but on further consideration prefer to retain the text as printed. Against Ribbeck's emendation *monte* cf. also Wick, *Spigolature Virgiliane e Lucreziane* (1904), 5-8. In defence of *dederis* cf. Frank in *Cl. Journ.* 30 (1935), 464.

446. *aetherias*: cf. *Carm. Lat. epigr.*, Suppl. 1943, 9 Lommatzsch: *aetherias . . . auras*.

462. *sola . . . bubo*: add Thompson, *Motif-index of Folk-lit.* (*Indiana Univ. Stud.* no. 96 (1932)), 1, 303. Mr. M. P. Charlesworth calls to my notice a very apposite case of the owl as a death-portent in Joseph. *Antiq. Iud.* 18, 6, 7; cf. 19, 8, 2.

477. *fronte serenat*: so when Dido was planning flight from Pygmalion (Justin, 18, 4, 9), *dissimulato odio mitigatoque interim vultu fugam tacita molitur*.

480. *solemque cadentem*: though mythology often refers to a goddess of dawn (Eos, Aurora) it has no corresponding one for sunset in the way in which Hesperus corresponds to Lucifer. Among persons mentioned as dying about sunset were Socrates (Plat. *Phaedo*, p. 116 e) and Alexander (Plut. *Alex.* 76, 4; Budge, *Hist. of Alex. the Great* (1896), 352-353). Bernert (in *P.-W.* 16 (1935), 1852) discusses ancient fear of the night.

482. *stellis, etc.*: cf. Shorey on Plat. *Rep.* 7, p. 529 c.

483. *monstrata sacerdos*: on witches in Latin literature cf. Hartshorne in *Vassar Journ. of undergrad. Studies*, 14 (1929), 27-44. Professor A. D. Nock calls to my attention the absence of witches from the magical papyri.

484. *draconi*: on dragon-guardians of treasure add Basil, *Serm. de leg. Libr. Gentilium*, 17; Thompson, *op. cit.*, 1, 278; 2, 88.

485. *servabat, etc.*: for yellow as a color naturally associated with apples cf. Sext. Emp. *Pyrrhon*, 1, 194; for golden apples Thompson, *op. cit.*, 3, 174.

485. *ramos*: the passage cited from Salustius, however, refers to the apple of Paris.

486. *papaver*: Dunbabin (in *Cl. Rev.* 49 (1935), 10) thinks that *papaver* itself may mean 'poppy-seed.'

487. *solvere*: cf. Paul. Nol. *Carm.* 13, 20: *solvere mentes*.

488. *quas velit*: add Petron. 134, 12, 2-3: *cum volo . . . / cum volo*; Budge, *Hist. of Alex. the Great* (1896), 8, where Nectanebus could constrain the gods "whenever he desired."

489. *sistere, etc.*: for the stopping of rivers cf. Thompson, *op. cit.*, 2, 327. Petron.

134, 12, 16 says *et rursum fluvios in summo vertice ponam*; Apul. *M.* 2, 5.

489. *vertere*: add Petron. 129, 10: *in hac civitate in qua mulieres etiam lunam deducunt*.

490. *manis*: cf. Kroll, *Gott u. Hölle* (1932), 487; Hopfner in *P.-W.* 16 (1935), 2218-2234.

493. *invitam*: in 33 B.C. Agrippa had banished from Rome τοὺς ἀστρολόγους τοὺς τε γόητας; add also Philostr. *Vit. Soph.* p. 590: οὐ μὲν οὖν ἀνὴρ πεπαιδευμένος οὐκ ἂν ποτε ἐς γοήτων ὑπαχθεῖν τέχνας ἰκανῶς . . . ἐλθῃκα.

495. *viri*: note that this word is also used in verse to avoid oblique cases of *is*; cf. 4, 423; 4, 440; 4, 498; Norden on *Aen.* 6, 174.

497. *superimponas*: for a defence of *superimponant* (sc. *famulae*) cf. Funaioli in *Atti d. Soc. ital. per il Progr. delle Scienze*, 21, 3 (1932), 125.

499. *haec effata*: cf. Avit. *Carm.* 2, 252: *haec effata*.

501. *furores*: cf. Avit. *Carm.* 2, 41: *concepit corde furorem*.

513. *falcibus . . . aënis*: on the religious conservatism involved cf. Ps. Callisth. 17, 31 (p. 113 Kroll): σιδηρον οὐ καθήκει εἰς τὸ λεπὸν εἰσελθεῖν; Budge, *Hist. of Alex. the Great* (1896), 163; Hartland, *Science of Fairy Tales*, 2 ed. (1925), 306-309; Kroll, *Die Kultur d. cic. Zeit*, 1 (1933), 41; Thompson, *Motif-index of Folk-lit.* (*Indiana Univ. Stud.* no. 96 (1932)), 1, 409; *id.*, no. 101 (1933), 3, 57; for gathering herbs without the use of iron add Marc. Emp. 14, 69; 20, 106; 23, 35; 25, 14; 26, 10; 26, 25; 26, 96: *palo ligneo eruas*; 26, 115: *vulnerabis cupro*; 34, 76; Hartland, *op. cit.*, 307 (gathering herbs barefoot, without use of iron); and for gathering *ante solis ortum* cf. Marc. Emp. 26, 41. Richardson (in *Am. Journ. Arch.* 38 (1934), 558) thinks the use of iron for weapons and tools dates from about 1000 B.C., and suggests (561) that the taboo upon it was originally economic, arising among those who lacked iron or the means of working it.

515. *nascentis equi*: the *hippomanes* also appears, doubtless by error, in the MS reading of Marc. Emp. 30, 14. May we also compare the remedy which he tells us (29, 51)

was taken from the forehead of a first-born lamb at birth?

518. *unum*, etc.: add Marc. Emp. 23, 78; Hartland, *op. cit.*, 307; Thompson, *op. cit.*, 3, 369; Brunel in *Rev. arch.*, 6 ser., 4 (1934), 34-43 (on Jason *μονοκρήπις*); Oepke in *Archiv f. Religionswiss.* 31 (1934), 53; Pfister in *P.-W.* 16 (1935), 1546.

520. *aequo foedere*: add Shakesp. *Merch. of Ven.* Act 3, Sc. 4, 15: "an egal yoke of love."

522. *nox erat*, etc.: cf. *Anth. Lat.* no. 698, 11-14 (2, p. 170 Riese); Shakesp. 2 *Hen. IV.* Act 3, Sc. 1. Professor Campbell Bonner also calls to my attention *Pap. Gr. mag.* 2 (1931), 14-15 Preisendanz, though the context is there different, namely, an emphasis upon silence for the success of magic rites; cf. Nock in *Cl. Rev.* 39 (1925), 18.

528. *corda*: cf. Coripp. *Ioh.* 7, 17: *tunc corda oblita laborum*.

534. *quid ago*: for the indicative cf. also 3, 367; Kern in *Bl. f. d. bayer. Gymnasial-schulwesen*, 27 (1891), 165-166.

534. *inrisa*: cf. Soph. *Aias*, 79; 497-504.

554. *celsa in puppi*: for a description of the vessel of Aeneas cf. Procop. 8, 22, 7-16, who states that it was 120 ft. long and was still preserved in a shed at Rome beside the Tiber.

561. *cernis*: add Petron. 121, 111 (and Baldwin's n.); 114.

569. *varium*, etc.: with the neuter compare Soph. *Aias*, 580: *φιλοκίττιστον γυνή*; Eur. *El.* 1035: *μῶρον μὲν οὖν γυναῖκες*; Jebb on Soph. *O. C.* 592.

576. *sancte deorum*: on the Homeric parallels cf. Hopkins in *Ling. Soc. of Am., Language Dissertations*, 12 (1932), 52.

581.  *rapiuntque ruuntque*: repeated in Prud. *Hamartig.* 237.

585. *Tithoni*, etc.: cf. Dante, *Purg.* 9, 1-3.

590. *flaventis . . . comas*: add Polemo, 41 (*Script. physiogn.* 1, 250 Foerster); Adamant. 37 (*Script. physiogn.* 1, 393 Foerster), on the Scythians and Celts; Anon. *Physiogn. Lat.* 14 (*Script. physiogn.* 2, 24 Foerster): *capilli flavi tenues bonos mores ostendunt*, etc.; 92 (*Script. physiogn.* 2, 120), an indication of the *ingeniosus*. Sieglin, *Die blonden Haare der*

*indog. Völker des Altertums* (1935), I have not seen.

596. *infelix Dido*: only here does Dido apply to herself this familiar epithet.

599. *quem*, etc.: cf. the scene on a coin of Julius Caesar; Grueber, *Coins of the Roman Republic*, 2 (1910), 469, no. 31.

602. *patriis . . . mensis*: additional references to the eating of children or kinsmen are given by Thompson, *Motif-index of Folk-lit. (Indiana Univ. Stud. no. 101 (1933))*, 3, 206-207.

607. *Sol.* cf. Apul. *M.* 1, 5: *deierabo solem istum (omni)videntem*.

609. *triviis*: on magical power at cross-roads cf. Thompson, *op. cit.*, 2, 275.

615. *at*, etc.: Conway (*New Studies of a great Inheritance* (1921), 162, n.) contrasts Dido's curses with those in Apoll. Rh. 4, 382-390, where Medea, anticipating desertion, threatens Jason and he in fear promises to marry her, and points out the greater dignity and pathos of the Virgilian account.

645. *limina*: Gummere (in *Ling. Soc. of Am., Lang. Dissertations*, 17 (1934), 7) thinks this a poetic plural, of a single threshold, but Johnston (in *Cl. Journ.* 30 (1935), 502) suggests that Dido passed through more than one door.

646. *rogos*: for the plural cf. Gummere, *op. cit.*, 17 (1934), 7-8.

651. *sinebat*: cf. *C. I. L. XI*, 7476 (*Carm. Lat. epigr.*, Suppl. 1944, 3 Lommatzsch): *dum fata deusqu(e) sinebant*.

657. *felix*, etc.: add *Carm. Lat. epigr.*, Suppl. 2296, 17 Lommatzsch: *(felix)*, *heu nimium felix, si*, etc.

673. *pectora pugnīs*: add *Carm. Lat. epigr.*, Suppl. 2018, 1 Lommatzsch: *(ne p)ectora tundite v(estra)*; 2155, 5: *quid pectora plangis?*

682. *populumque patresque*: cf. Cic. *De Cons.* 2, 57 (ap. *De Div.* 1, 20): *populus sanctusque senatus*.

689. *stridit*: add Apul. *M.* 1, 13 (of one whose throat has been cut): *stridorem incertum per vulnus effunderet et spiritum ebulliret*.

693. *miserata*: cf. Claud. *Carm. min.* 53, 2: *crebros miserata dolores*; Prud. *Peristeph.* 9, 85-88: *tandem luctantis miseratus ab aethere Christus / iubet resolvi pectoris ligamina /*

*difficilesque moras animae ac retinacula vitae /  
relaxat artas et latebras expedit.*

696. *nec fato*: cf. Petron. III, 11: *si  
antequam fata poscant indemnatum spiritum  
effunderis.*

696. *merita nec*: but cf. 4, 547: *quin  
morere, ut merita es*; Guillemin in *Rev. des  
Études lat.* 12 (1934), 218.

705. *recessit*: cf. Lucr. 3, 439: *cum semel  
ex hominis membris ablata recessit* (sc. *anima*).  
The theory of Miss Crump (*Growth of the  
Aeneid* (1920), 72-73) that the book may

have originally been planned to end with the  
landing at Cumae is ingenious but improb-  
able, for while it creates an analogy to the  
end of Book V it destroys the more important  
parallel to the end of Book XII. As it is, Books  
IV and XII both end with the last breath  
of dangerous adversaries of Rome's future.

The school-editions of Book IV by A.  
Pasoli (1933) and E. Rapisarda (1934) I  
have not yet seen. Bailey, *Religion in Virgil*  
(1935) reached me to/late to be used in this  
volume.

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